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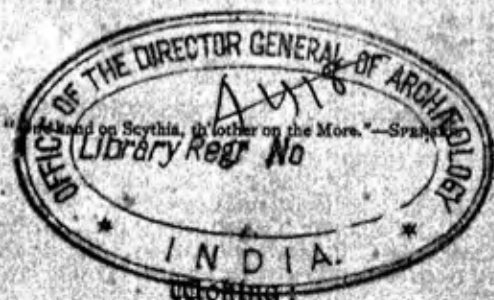


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# A NEW YEAR'S BLESSING (MANGALA) FROM CEYLON— SINGHALA TO ANGALA.



*The above is a rendering into Pali verse of the following :*

[The inhabitants of Ceylon] "SINGHALA, the island of lions and spices, devoted to BUDDHA, waft greetings to [the inhabitants of] SINGHALA-ANGALA, the English island of lions, devoted to BODDH [knowledge], and pray to THE ALL-PERVADING POWER, by whatever name known, that this year of happy omen, 1897,\* according to the Christian Era, may be full of blessing [MANGALA] to ALL THE PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES of their Sovereign, VICTORIA, who has ruled sixty years over them in goodness and protecting their various religions, now all uniting in wishing HER many more years of health and prosperous reign."†

\* "Sādhū Jayā," or "happy Victories," are words of good omen, in allusion to the name of the Queen-Empress, Victoria the letters of which have the numerical value of the present year, 1897, according to the Katapaya alphabet.

† The drawing is that of a Singhalese flag adorned with lions, for the island is called Singhala or Simhala, from "Simha," a lion. The Ceylon emblem of the sun, flanked by lunar hemispheres, contains Her Majesty's portrait.



THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review*,  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD,

JANUARY, 1897.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL AS JUDGES OF  
HINDU AND MUSSULMAN LAW.

BY LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.

ALTHOUGH Hindus and Mussulmans should be the best judges of their own laws and of the advantages which those laws secure to them, yet strictures on the judgments of the Judicial Committee taken from the Indian Press carry less conviction to the minds of English readers than what is written by Englishmen in this country. There is moreover a deeply-rooted belief in England that the government of India is almost perfection, and that it gives complete satisfaction to the people of that country. The October number of the "*Asiatic Quarterly Review*" contains several passages by different writers which ought to diminish this optimism, and which, *inter alia*, throw light upon what is thought in India of the action of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in respect of Hindu and Mussulman Law. Sir Roper Lethbridge in an article in that Review on "the Indian Cotton duties," writes of the dissensions not only on that subject but also of those "which have been reopened over the Suakin military charges, dissensions which are producing *omnium consensu*, an unparalleled amount of discontent throughout India." This statement is much at variance with the assertions of some Anglo-Indian officials who affect to believe that the natives of India have no opinions of



their own and that discontent where it exists is excited by Europeans. Sir Roper Lethbridge was for some time Press Commissioner, and he returned not long ago to India after he had left it, on ceasing to be employed there in a post which had placed him in more unreserved communication with Indian publicists than would be the case with most executive officers from Lieutenant Governors downwards.

Another writer in the "*Asiatic Quarterly*" in reviewing the Journals of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, remarks that: "a paper on 'ancestral property among the Hindus' is simply invaluable in these days when neither the Privy Council nor Indian judges care about Sanskrit or Hindu law."

A Commentary on the Hindu Law has been recently published by Mr. Jogendranath Bhattacharya M.A. D.L., of some 760 pages, which appears to be very complete. It begins with the origin of Hindu Law from the Vedas as interpreted by Manu and the Rishis, and gives the history of the different schools and diverse interpretations followed in various districts. It recites the judgments given by English Courts in India and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The dates of the latter decisions are unfortunately not given. This work, written for students, is so moderate in its language, and abstains so much from either praise or blame, that it requires very careful study to ascertain where the author is at variance with the decisions of the Indian Courts or of the Judicial Committee. I notice one omission in this book; neither the Preface of the first, nor that of the present second, edition mentions whether any copies of it have been subscribed for by the Indian Government for the use of its Courts or public libraries. This omission contrasts badly with the practice of the Government of the East India Company, which encouraged and assisted the publications of the *Hidáyah*, the *Mishkát-ul-Musábih* and other similar text-books. This omission seems to corroborate the statement of the Reviewer quoted above of the

little care now entertained for Sanskrit or Hindu Law by the Courts or the Privy Council.

In his Preface to the 1st Edition, Mr. Bhattacharya says that from the commencement of British rule in India, the Government of the East India Company gave the native inhabitants of the country the benefit of their own laws in matters relating to Inheritance, Succession, Marriage and religious usages; and in his Chapter V. of Part I. he establishes that this right has been confirmed or respected by all the English Statutes passed either before or after the Queen's Proclamation of 1858; but with regard to many decisions of the English Courts to which he takes exception, he writes: "the Judges of our Courts of Law are foreigners. Since the abolition of the office of Court Pandits, they are not assisted by persons who make Hindu law their special study. It is impossible also not to admire their solicitude to conform to the Shasters where they are required by law to do so. But it cannot be reasonably expected by anyone that their judgments as to questions of Hindu law should be accepted without question in all cases. At any event a native Hindu cannot be considered as guilty of disrespect if, in giving an exposition of the law of his country, he feels it absolutely impossible to support these judgments."

In dealing with the failures of the Judicial Committee to interpret rightly Hindu law, I propose to confine myself to Hindu Wills and succession, and to what is called the Tagore case, because this subject matter is similar to that of family *Vakfs*, with respect to which the Judicial Committee, in the opinion of many, misinterpreted Mussulman law. Both Hindu and Mussulman law in this respect tend to the maintenance and perpetuation of families. Heads of families or notables are necessary for the progress and government of a country, and in his recent speech at Oxford, Lord George Hamilton quoted Sir George Clark who told him that when he went to India as a young man the only way to govern the country was by making friends with the notables and governing through their opinions.

#### 4 *Privy Council as Judges of Hindu and Mussulman Law.*

If anyone should contradict this he would be challenged by the question whether he believed that the Indian Government or any Government in its senses expected to govern by the Tarquinian method of striking down the highest poppies. It is related in the "Gulistan" that Alexander the Great was asked how he succeeded in retaining so many countries that he had conquered : and that he replied : " By respecting their great men."

The difficulty of administering Hindu Law without the assistance of a competent Pundit consists in the fact that Hindu Law is divided into 6 schools, which are divided into 30 subdivisions. These are mostly territorial, or ruling in different districts ; but a family migrating from one district to another may retain or lose, according to circumstances, the jurisprudence of its original district.

Ancient Hindu treatises made no mention of wills, and wills appear to have come into use just before British rule begun in India. (Bhattacharya Part VI., Cap. II., p. 267.) In the case of ancestral property, as distinguished from self-acquired property, which may be alienated, wills were not necessary. Mr. Bhattacharya writes :

" It has been settled by judicial decisions that in an undivided family, consisting of a father and his sons, the father has absolute power over his self-acquired property, and that his power of alienation is limited only with regard to ancestral property."—P. 226.

The Privy Council observed in the case of *Bear Pertab v. Rajendra Pertab* :

" It is too late to contend that because the ancient Hindu treatises make no mention of wills, a Hindu cannot make a testamentary disposition of his property. Decided cases, too numerous to be now questioned, have determined that testamentary power exists, and may be exercised at least within the limits which the law prescribes to alienation by gift *inter vivos*."—2 P. C. R. 123 Bhattacharya, p. 275.

Why, indeed, should not the Hindus and Hindu law develop gifts *inter vivos* into testamentary dispositions, just as did the Romans and Roman law? But the Privy Council and the English Courts step in and limit the powers of Hindus by forbidding bequests to unborn



persons (Tagore Will case), p. 286, and by forbidding a perpetuity. Mr. Bhattacharya writes, p. 282 :

"At one time there was a tendency to concede to Hindus even the power of tying up for ever the succession to their property. In *Laksman Chandra Seal v. Karunamoyee Dossee* the testator attempted to impose some limitations on the succession to his property, which was situated partly in British territory and partly in the Dutch settlement of Chinsura. As to the part in Chinsura, the Supreme Court held that the disposition, though bad according to English law, because tending in perpetuity to alter the rules of succession, was valid according to Roman-Dutch law. But the disposition of the property within British territory was held invalid on the ground of its tending to create a perpetuity."

In a later case Peacock C. J. however, said :

"It appears to us that the validity of the will must be determined according to Hindu Law and according to Hindu Law alone. If that law contains no rule against perpetuities, we must hold that a devise is not by that law invalid upon the ground that it tends to create a perpetuity. Then why are we to resort to some foreign Law which disallows perpetuities? There is no rule of Hindu Law which invalidates a conveyance or a gift *inter vivos* upon the ground of its creating a perpetuity. If it is contrary to policy to allow the Hindu Law to prevail to its full extent, let that be modified by the Legislature and not by the Judges."—*Goberdhan v. Sham Chand.* Bourke, 282.

It is to be regretted that the race of Judges like Sir Barnes Peacock is extinct, or, if not extinct, that the Government does not use them to strengthen the Judicial Committee. Mr. Bhattacharya describes at length the Tagore Will case, p. 283, and refers to it as "the most important case with reference to the right of a Hindu testator to create perpetuity." It is too complicated a case to place it before the general reader, and too full of technicalities for me to attempt to summarise it. I think I have said enough to show the difficulties English jurists have to contend with in administering Hindu Law; and it will be better to let a Hindu writer speak for himself, and make his own statement of what the Hindus have to complain of with regard to the Judicial Committee; so I quote the greater part of an article in the *Calcutta Reis and Rayyet* on the debate in the House of Lords of last June.

\* \* \* \* \*

## 6 *Privy Council as Judges of Hindu and Mussulman Law.*

"Similar and even worse interpretations of both Hindu and Mahomedan Law have been given, notwithstanding the infallibility claimed by Lord Halsbury for his brother Judges of the Privy Council. Some remedy is surely called for. We cannot blame the Lords of the Privy Council for this or any other decision in which the law of the Shasters or of the Koran has been misinterpreted. They are foreign lawyers trained in systems of jurisprudence which have little in common with those that obtain in this country. With all their learning, legal acumen, experience of judicial work, and anxiety to correctly administer the laws laid down for Hindus and Mussulmans, they cannot always avoid making mistakes. Nor are they uniformly consistent in the interpretation of their own law.

"What the people of India complain of is that there is not a single native of this country in the Judicial Committee of their Sovereign's Privy Council, and that English lawyers are vested with supreme jurisdiction in matters with which they are scarcely familiar. The result is that, although theoretically the British Parliament and the Indian Legislature have given us the benefit of our own laws in matters relating to inheritance, succession, marriage and religious usages, yet, in practice, we are governed, not by our ancient codes, but, to a great extent, by a medley of dogmatic rules and untenable principles originally laid down in ignorance, and afterwards adhered to for the sake of consistency.

"Take, for instance, the so-called Hindu law relating to wills. As a matter of fact there is nothing in the Hindu Shasters to warrant the recognition of testamentary disposition of property. The ancient codes, as also most of the modern digests, impose heavy restrictions on the power of the father to make sales and gifts *inter vivos* in the absence of necessity. As to testamentary disposition they are almost silent, because, according to one of their fundamental principles, the ownership of a person is by his death extinguished in favour of the heir. In a polygamous country like India, the danger of giving arbitrary power of disposition of property to the parents is so great that the Shasters placed the father and the son on an equal footing with regard to ancestral property. The Dayabhaga of Jimutavahana, who is followed in some parts of Bengal, first recognised the legal validity of sales and gifts *inter vivos* of ancestral property, and explained away the sacred text forbidding its alienation as a mere moral prohibition. But the authorities of the Bengal School maintain, quite as strongly as those of any other, that ownership is extinguished by death, and that there is nothing in any of the codes, ancient or modern, to give countenance to a testamentary disposition. Yet the validity of wills executed by Hindus has been recognised in such a large number of cases that a Hindu, in Bengal at least, has now the same capacity for testamentary disposition as any Englishman. . . .

*Reis and Rayjet* now quotes, as an admission by the Lords of the Privy Council themselves of this capacity, their observation in the case of *Beer Pertab* which I have already given. It then goes on to say:

'The power of testamentary disposition given to Hindus is owing partly to the practice of making wills which grew up in the early days of British rule, through the influence of English lawyers in the Presidency towns. The natural inclination of the father being not to recognise the son's right to control his acts, and testamentary dispositions without reference to the claims of the children being well calculated to check their spirit of insubordination, it is no wonder that the practice, once introduced, found great favour. But a custom which came into existence under such circumstances ought to have been checked, instead of being encouraged and recognised. As testamentary dispositions are held valid on the ground of custom, the sale of ancestral property, by a Hindu father of the Mitakshara School, without legal necessity, may be recognised as valid also, because such sales are frequent,—perhaps much more frequent than wills.

'English Judges have given us not only the right of making wills but have also vested us with almost unlimited powers in dealing with every kind of property, ancestral or self-acquired. The doctrines that have grown round the subject are traceable to an erroneous translation by Colebrooke of a passage of the Dayabhaga. The author of that treatise which is followed in Bengal propounded for the first time the doctrine that the ownership of the son in the property of the father arises not at the birth of the son, but at the death of the father. This view, which made it impossible for the son to claim any right or title in the ancestral estate in the lifetime of the father, is, as we have already said, very much opposed to many sacred texts disqualifying the father from making a sale or gift of ancestral property without the consent of the sons. The author of the Dayabhaga explains away those texts by saying that they are mere moral prohibitions that may bind the conscience of good Hindus, but do not affect the legal validity of a sale actually made.

"To get rid of these texts, Jîmutavahana made an observation which was erroneously translated by Colebrooke as laying down that 'a fact cannot be altered by a hundred texts.' This has as erroneously been identified by English lawyers and Judges with the doctrine of *factum valet* of Roman Law. As a matter of fact, the original does not sanction the view that when a person without absolute ownership makes a sale or gift, the transfer is valid in spite of the defect in his title. The true translation of the passage in the original is 'a thing cannot be altered by a hundred texts,' the purport being that the essential characteristic of an entity, like a legal right, can no more be affected by a text than that of a material object. The word *vastu* in the original can mean only 'thing' or 'substance,' and such words as 'fact,' 'event' or 'act' cannot certainly be regarded as its equivalent in English. The meaning of the observation is that the father being absolute master of every description of property in his lifetime, he has the power of disposing of them in any manner he likes. The essential character of a legal right being the power of absolute disposition, it cannot be said that he has such a right and yet is not competent to deal with his property. Hindu lawyers are of the Realistic School of philosophy, and, according to them, a legal right is an entity. Its essential characteristic being the power of absolute disposition, a text of the sacred



codes, however authoritative, can no more deprive it of that characteristic than withdraw from a material object its weight."

How the mistake of English Judges arose is now very graphically explained :

"To explain what Jimutavahana means, one of his commentators goes on to add that the texts prohibiting the sale of ancestral property by the father without the consent of the son are of the same nature as those that forbid the killing of a Brahman. As in spite of the texts prohibiting the slaying, a Brahman may be put to death, so, in spite of the texts forbidding the sale, an ancestral property may be sold, and when sold the recovery of such property is as impossible for the sons, as the restoration to life of a Brahman who has been slain. English Judges and lawyers took this to be an illustration of the *factum valet* doctrine for which they had already found authority in the epigrammatic observation of Jimutavahana. As a man who has been killed cannot be restored to life, so when any property is sold by the father the sons cannot claim the restoration thereof. This is the conclusion that the English Judges drew from the passage, and this is the foundation of the *factum valet* doctrine which they originally derived from the Dayabhaga, but which has been subsequently applied by them to persons and things that are admittedly not governed by the law of the Dayabhaga as to ancestral property. The doctrine has, in fact, been applied to illegal adoptions, illegal marriages, and to many things else in provinces where even the name of the Dayabhaga is unknown.

"Having granted the power to make wills, the Privy Council would not sanction other advances made by Hindus towards English law. They disallow gifts to the unborn, and, having thus made it impossible for themselves to recognise in its entirety the English law relating to remoteness, have not yet been able to fix the extent to which they would give effect to a gift in favour of a class including unborn persons. They declared a completely disinherited son because of his conversion to an alien faith, as heir to the disinheriting father, after a life taker, and gave an earthquake shock to Hindu feeling by upholding the claim of the unchaste widow to her husband's property."

It is difficult to see on what ground or precedent Hindu Law was set aside in such a case, for Lord Penzance when pronouncing a decree of divorce, deprived the divorced woman of a large portion of money settled upon her on the ground of not allowing of a temptation to adulterers to run away with rich wives. *March v. March and Palumbo*, Law Reports (Probate and Divorce, p. 440), 1867. *Reis and Rayyet* finally points out the *fons malorum* :

"In the debate the Lord Chancellor claimed infallibility for his brother judges and for himself. So far as English law is concerned the claim may be well founded. But

in respect of Hindu and Mahomedan law, it is impossible to repose such blind confidence in judges who know not a syllable of Sanskrit or Arabic."—*Reis and Rayyet*, 8th August, 1896."

With regard to the interpretation of Mussulman law by the Judicial Committee in the matter of family *Vakfs*, I need not repeat what I said in the House of Lords on that subject, but I will give in disproof of the assertions of the Secretary and Under Secretary of State for India, that the judgment of the Judicial Committee on that subject was in accordance with Mussulman law, a Resolution which has been sent to me by a Mussulman Association in Bengal :

"*Resolution*—That the heartfelt thanks of this association be conveyed to the Rt. Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley for having in the House of Lords given expression to the views and feelings of the Mussulman Community in India with regard to the recent decision of the Privy Council on the question of Waqf which the Mussulmans consider as inconsistent with the provisions of their Law and Religion and as tending to disturb many of their long-cherished social, charitable and religious institutions, and to render insecure the existing titles to large properties throughout India."

I received also a Resolution of thanks from another Association, but I do not quote it as it is not so argumentative as the preceding one.

Family *Vakfs* are usual in all Mussulman countries ; but it is to be expected that they should be more common amongst the Indian Mussulmans, than in other countries, because such family arrangements are in harmony with the Hindu system of joint ownership and ancestral property. It would be a great mistake to suppose that the antagonism between the Mussulman and Hindu Religions prevents territorial ideas and customs permeating the mass of the inhabitants, and being common to the followers of both religions.

In the judgment of the Judicial Committee against family *Vakfs*, there were two noticeable points—one was disregard of the way Mussulman law is interpreted and carried out in other Mussulman countries, such as Constantinople where such *Vakfs* are common.

The other point is contained in the following words of the judgment, "Whether it is to be taken that the very



same dispositions which are illegal when made by ordinary words or gift, become legal if only the settler says that they are made as *vakf*, in the name of God, or for the sake of the poor. To these questions no answer was given or attempted, nor can their Lordships see any."

These words seem to me to express in judicial language much the same as what was said to me by an Agnostic that Mussulman Law made the Almighty a Trustee. But why not? "God is the best of Protectors," is an invocation very commonly inscribed over Mussulman houses. It was so under the Mosaic Law, which, like the Hindu Shasters, did not allow of the alienation of ancestral property. The Jews were not allowed to buy or sell the fee simple of property: they could only give a lease to the next Jubilee year, which could not be more than a 49 years' lease of it.\* For the Lord speaking to Moses from Mount Sinai (Leviticus xxv. 1) said v. 23—"The land shall not be sold for ever; for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners† with me." After this it may be said, reverently, that the Lord was Trustee for the children of Israel.

The Government (Imperial or Indian) cannot say that it has not been duly warned that the study of Mussulman Law has been neglected, and that in consequence that Law has been misinterpreted; for in a Preface to "Personal Law of the Mahommedans" dated Reform Club December 20, 1880, published by W. H. Allen and Co., Syed Amir Aly wrote:—

"In India even among educated Moslems, a knowledge of the Mussulman Law, if not actually obsolete, has become extremely rare. Few cultivate it as a science, or study it analytically as a branch of comparative law. Those who apply themselves to its study are satisfied with a barren and unprofitable acquaintance with the simple rules of inheritance. This is the consequence of the policy inaugurated by Lord William Bentinck. Prior to his time, the Mussulmans occupied the foremost position among the people of India. The cultivation of their law and their literature was

\* P. Felipe Scio, afterwards Bishop of Segovia; Note to Lev. xxv. v. 3.

† P. Felipe Scio for sojourners has *colonos*, tenants or husbandmen.

encouraged by successive British governors ; their traditions were respected, and they themselves were treated with a certain amount of consideration due to the former rulers of the land. All this changed under Lord William Bentinck's administration, and the Indian Mahomedans were relegated into the cold shade of neglect. Their institutions gradually died out, and the old race of *Mouleys* and *Mustys*, who had shed a lustre on the reigns of the Marquis of Wellesley and the Marquis of Hastings, became extinct. Whilst the French in Algeria were endeavouring to give a new impetus to the cultivation of Moslem law and literature by subventions and Government assistance, and whilst they were utilising the indigenous institutions with the object of improving the condition of their subjects, the British in India allowed the study of every branch of Mahomedan learning to fall into decay. The mischief which has resulted from this mistaken policy can hardly be over-rated. Owing to an imperfect knowledge of Mussulman jurisprudence, of Mussulman manners, customs, and usages, it is not infrequent, even now, to find cases decided by the highest law courts against every principle of the Mahomedan law. It is not surprising therefore, to learn that every miscarriage of justice adds to the long roll of indictment which the popular mind has framed against the British rule in India. Latterly a desire no doubt has been evinced by some of the local governments—notably by the Governments of Bengal and of Madras—to repair to some extent the evils caused by the neglect of half a century. Nothing tangible, however, has yet been achieved towards securing efficient administration of justice in Mahomedan cases."

Less than ten years later, however, the writer of the above was appointed to a seat in the High Court of Calcutta, and it may therefore be hoped that this example will be followed in other judicial appointments.

A Law Court from which there is no appeal, the members of which are irremovable, and which may not be criticised, must necessarily stagnate. When England undertook to administer Hindu and Mussulman law in India, the Courts were assisted by Hindu Pundits and Mussulman Ulemá ; even when these were dispensed with, English judges in India were able to consult with such persons, and they were more or less conversant with the manners and customs and institutions of the people of India, but the judges of the Judicial Committee have not that assistance, and may lack that sympathy which would shed its light upon law books. There is only one remedy for the evils which Her Majesty's Indian subjects now suffer at the hands of the Privy Council :

namely, to put a Hindu and a Mussulman lawyer into the Judicial Committee. It may be that the Constitution precludes others than British-born subjects from having seats as Privy Councillors: but that is not necessary; it would be sufficient to appoint such legal gentlemen from India to act as assessors to the Privy Council judges when hearing Indian Appeals. There are precedents for this course; the House of Lords employs "Admiralty Assessors" in maritime cases, and the Judicial Committee has Bishops as Assessors in ecclesiastical cases.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has not only usurped legislative power, but an article by "an old Political" on "the Jurisdictions of the Indian Princes and of the Paramount Power" in the October number of the "*Asiatic Quarterly*" shows that it has encroached on Executive functions, and that at a time when the Separation of the Judicial and Executive powers, and the prevention of encroachment by Executive officers on the Judicial officers and the Law-courts, are under consideration by the Government. The "old Political" writes (p. 270):

"Sir H. S. Maine treated some of these facts as proof that sovereignty over a country admits of division between two persons or two States, the prerogatives of coining, making war, providing for justice, pardon, etc., being capable of assignment. The Privy Council in a celebrated and leading case from Bhowanagar went so far as to opine that some of these lordships had thus gradually become territory of the Crown. In several recent works by officers high in the Indian Political service, an endeavour is made to attack this opinion, the argument being that if these territories were British, the High Courts would have jurisdiction over them, whereas the judicial control over the local Political Agency Courts is exercised by the Government which makes its own inquests as a Court of Star-Chamber, and also hears parties like a Judicial Committee."

This last usurpation, amounting to annexation of territory by judicial decision, is equal to anything done in the best days of its predecessors in the time of Queen Elizabeth or the Stuarts; for Hallam is clearly of opinion that the Star-Chamber was not the Court instituted in the reign of Henry VII.—which did not last long—but a Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.



In this country, it might seem a gross exaggeration to compare the Judicial Committee with its ancestor, the Star-Chamber. But except in the matter of twice cropping Prynne's ears (Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i. 449), the Star-Chamber appears to have dealt principally with property. In India, the interference with property and with Hindu and Mussulman Law may bring that Tribunal into as bad odour as that of the Star-Chamber with our forefathers. Neither is it to be assumed that all the members of the Star-Chamber were corrupt or animated by evil intentions. The Duke of Argyll, writing in the "Times" on another Tribunal, says :

"No doubt it has acted conscientiously. But so did the Inquisition. So did the Star-Chamber. But man is so constituted that he desires to be governed by a definite and ascertainable system of law and not in accordance with the opinions of this man or that."

A reform or strengthening of the Judicial Committee by the appointment of Indian assessors for the hearing of Indian cases, is too abstruse a matter to be properly dealt with by a speech in Parliament to an audience that is unprepared, and that takes no very keen interest in Indian subjects. It is better dealt with in the Press and many of the readers of "The Asiatic Quarterly" have local knowledge of, and sympathy with, the question. Moreover, there is more freedom of speech on this subject in the Press than in either House of Parliament: although this ought not to be the case, for Hallam says (*Const. Hist.*, vol. i., 225): 'Civil liberty, in this kingdom, has two direct guarantees: the open administration of justice according to known laws *truly interpreted*,\* and fair constructions of evidence; and the right of parliament *without let or interruption to inquire into*, and obtain the redress of public grievances.'

\* The Italics are mine.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT THE INDIAN ARMY.

BY COLONEL H. B. HANNA, B.S.C.,

Late Commanding at Delhi.

*"May I say that I should not like to put our Indian Troops in front of European soldiers. I should be very sorry to fight France or Germany with Indian Troops."*—Lord Wolseley.

*"At least one-half of the Indian Army is, in my opinion, at the present moment quite equal to the task which may possibly lie before it of meeting an European Army in the Field."*—Lord Chelmsford.

*"The Indian Army, I am proud to think, is in a thoroughly efficient condition, ready and able to take its share in the defence of the Empire in any part of the world where its services may be required."*—Lord Roberts.

WHERE experts differ as diametrically as do the first and third of the Military Authorities whose opinions, recently expressed, I have placed at the head of this article, the natural inclination of the average man, whether soldier or civilian, is to accept the intermediate view, and rejecting as too pessimistic Lord Wolseley's unwillingness to pit any portion of our Indian Army against European Troops, and as too optimistic Lord Roberts' confidence in the fitness of the whole Indian Army to take its share in the defence of the Empire all the world over—to adopt Lord Chelmsford's conviction that one-half of that Army is equal to the task of meeting European Troops in the Field, as a safe and reasonable estimate of the true worth to Great Britain of her Native Troops, in the event of her becoming involved in hostilities with one, or more, of the civilized States of the world.

In reality, however, it is not Lord Chelmsford, but Lord Roberts who occupies the intermediate position in this

controversy ; since the flattering view of the Indian Army's efficiency with which he entertained his hosts and fellow-guests, at the dinner of the Institute of Journalists in Dublin, must be received as the expression of a genial, irresponsible, unofficial mood ; whilst his sterner, more responsible official opinion is embodied in the important State Paper signed by him on the 2nd November 1892, just before he vacated the Indian command, in which he deprecated the employment of soldiers of the Madras, Bombay and Bengal Armies beyond the Indus Frontier, on the ground that, in regions where the course of events might bring us into collision with a great Military Power (Russia), it was essential that we should employ exclusively our "best fighting material," and denied that any men, but those of Northern India, could be rendered fit for service in the "dreaded and rigorous climate of Beluchistan," or "to fight against the enemy" they might have "to encounter." If, however, we exclude the soldiers of Hindustan, Bombay and Madras from the category of troops fit to face a European foe—and if they cannot fight the Russians, they certainly cannot fight the Germans, or the French—that honour must be reserved to the Punjab Troops only, or, roughly speaking, to one-fourth, not one-half, of the whole Indian Army.

Now, I differ with Lord Roberts as to the inferior fighting qualities and staying powers of our Hindustani Troops. No Sikh, or Goorkha regiment ever displayed greater gallantry or endurance, in the rigorous climate of Afghanistan, than the 37th Native Infantry—all Hindustanis—when in October 1841 it fought its way back to Kabul from the Tizeen Valley, against enormous odds ; and it was this same regiment, not British troops, which but a few days later vainly begged to be allowed to attack Mahomed Sherif's Fort, on the recapture of which the fate of Elphinstone's whole Army depended. Did not the 35th Native Infantry—all Hindustanis they too—cover itself with glory as part of the "illustrious garrison" of Jellala-



bad\*; and did not that fine soldier and wise administrator, General John Jacob, evolve peace and order out of strife and chaos in Sind—*not exactly a Paradise in the matter of climate*—with the help of a small picked force of Hindustanis, into whose ranks nothing on earth would ever have induced him to admit a single Baluchi or Pathan? History bears testimony almost equally high to the courage and devotion of which the Sepoys of Madras and Bombay have shown themselves capable; and it is as unjust to suppose that the peace which Southern and Western India have enjoyed for the last eighty or ninety years, has robbed the races which inhabit them of their martial qualities, as it would be to draw the same conclusion from the same premise in the case of the Swiss or the Swedes. All men who have warrior blood in their veins will fight, if they are well led and have something to fight for; and this being so, I should be inclined to agree with Lord Chelmsford that at least one-half of the Indian Army is fit to take the field against an European enemy, if I could make up my mind that this could fairly be said of any part of it.

But when I say an European enemy, I mean an European enemy, *under European conditions*; not a Russian Army advancing upon India, under the disadvantages of transport and supply, which distance, bad roads, untrustworthy railways, dreadful extremes of heat and cold, partial lack of water, and utter lack of local food and forage, must impose upon its movements, and by which its numbers would be restricted to the very narrowest proportions. With such an enemy, the great majority of our Indian Troops are well able to cope, within the natural boundaries

\* "Under my command at various times for ten years in action and out of action, the Bengal Sepoys never failed in zeal, courage, or activity. At Meeani and at Dūbba their 9th Cavalry advanced bravely under a heavy fire; in the Booghtee hills the Bengal Infantry behaved well under severe trials; in the Kobat Pass, Native officers and non-commissioned officers bravely led their men up against the Affreedees. Where have they behaved ill when properly drilled and led?"—*Sir Charles Napier, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India.*

of their own country; and *this* was the European Army that Lord Chelmsford had in his mind, not the well-equipped, well-supplied armies of France and Germany, moving with swiftness and precision to their goal, of which Lord Wolseley was thinking when he said that he should not like to put Indian Troops in front of European Soldiers. Now, as there is not the slightest probability of our ever attempting to fight either of the latter countries, in Europe, with Indian Troops, and as they, or any other European State, which might venture to attack us in India, supposing them to succeed in getting a footing there, which is very doubtful, would fight us under the most adverse conditions for themselves—it would seem as if the Indian Army, for practical purposes, were all that it should be, and that Lord Wolseley did not contradict himself when he followed up the declaration which was supposed by some people to reflect upon its courage and discipline, by the assurance that he had full confidence in its efficiency.

And yet, if we look more closely into the constitution and temper of that Army, grave doubts arise as to whether that confidence is justified. What is it that for the last one hundred and fifty years has been the most potent factor in giving the victory to one body of Native troops over another? Assuredly the European officer—*par excellence*, the British officer. The old East India Company was so sensible of the paramount importance to their interests of the British officer, that they grudged no expense in keeping up the supply of the article to the highest level that the exigencies of war were ever likely to demand.\* To have sent a Native regiment into the field so poorly provided with this first essential of efficiency that a single battle

\* "A grand lesson was given by the Company's European officers at Meeani, when leading their men to attack the enormous mass of Beloochees before them. Each regiment, on reaching the summit of the river bank, which had before hidden their enemies, staggered back, as that vast Belooch multitude, in terrible array, met their sight. Intrepidly then the British officers stood, and the Sepoys rallied, *but it seemed as if, wanting that example, they would have broken!*"—Sir Charles Napier, G.C.B.



might leave it leaderless, or to avert such a catastrophe by the makeshift expedient of attaching to it, almost in the face of the enemy, a number of officers to whom its men were strangers, and who were strangers to its men—would have seemed to the practical minds of its Directors, an act of unpardonable folly. Therefore, in peace as in war, five and twenty British officers were allotted to every Native Infantry regiment of the regular Indian Army—22 to the Cavalry; numbers sufficiently large to admit of deductions for staff duty, for sickness and furlough and for civil employment.\* Outside the regular army there were, indeed, certain regiments, chiefly in Bengal, Sind and on the Punjab Frontier, organized on the so-called irregular system, in which the only European officers were the commandant, the second-in-command, the adjutant, and the surgeon, with sometimes an extra combatant officer attached. This system, which gave great scope to the Native officers, worked well under the peculiar conditions and on the small scale on which it was employed; but its backbone was still the British officer, and its success was largely due to the fact that with the whole highly-officered Native Army behind it on which to draw, the few Englishmen that sufficed for its regiments were the best that could be selected for their posts, and could be indefinitely renewed.

When the Native Army went to pieces in the Mutiny,

\* There was an evil side to this question of civil employment which Sir Charles Napier denounced in no measured language:—"He (Sir Charles Napier) found that the officers of the Indian Army looked at their regiments merely as stepping stones to lucrative civil employments; and that the obtaining of such employments was not in any way dependent upon fulfilment of regimental duties. No fewer than 443 officers in the Bengal Army had thus been withdrawn from their regiments and placed in lucrative employments by the civilian authorities, without any distinct recommendation through the military authorities, or being based on professional character. Thus the mainspring of the Army was relaxed. The officers saw that posts of emolument were not granted for military duties, and military duty became a painful task. The Commander-in-Chief is placed in a false and painful position. Able to punish, unable to reward, he cannot possibly bring the army to that efficiency which his Sovereign and his country have a right to expect."

the corps hastily raised to take the place of the revolted regiments were organized on the irregular system, and with good temporary results, owing to the large number of British officers whom that catastrophe had left unattached, and who formed a reserve from which each corps could replace its losses. But when, after things had settled down again in India, the same system, modified to the extent of giving eight British officers, including a medical officer, to each regiment, was extended to the whole reorganized Native Army, the evils latent in it began to show themselves. Little by little, the reserve of officers created by the Mutiny disappeared, absorbed by the normal requirements of the different regiments, and no steps were taken to form a fresh one. At the same time, staff and political appointments were so multiplied, and furlough to England became so frequent and general, that the full complement of British officers was seldom present with the regiment, and the individuals themselves were so constantly changing that a Commanding Officer seemed to spend the greater part of his time in training subordinates in their duties, only to lose them when they had mastered their work.

The practical result of this starving of the most important element in our Native Forces, was seen more than once in the Afghan War, when Native regiments came out of action with the loss of nearly all—in one instance all save one—of their British officers; and there can be no doubt that the Maiwand disaster was due, in large measure, to the small number of British officers present on that occasion with the Native troops.\* In later campaigns, notably in the Chitral expedition, the injurious effect of the present system on the efficiency of the Native Army as a whole, showed itself in the denuding of the regiments left behind in India of their British officers, in order to fill staff appointments and to increase the number of officers in the regiments detailed for active service. Now, if India were England, with no

\* "There were only ten British officers between the Native regiments engaged."—Sir H. Havelock-Allan, *v.c.*

domestic foes to fear, and if the Native Troops were British Troops, loyal by every instinct of their nature to the flag under which they served, it would be permissible, so far as the security of the Country and Government were concerned, to leave twenty regiments with next to no officers, in order that twenty others might have just enough to render them efficient. But England is not India, nor are the Native Troops of British blood; and as the chief end and aim of the Native Army's existence is to enable the former country to maintain its hold on the latter by checking domestic disorders, and by keeping a vigilant watch on the Forces of the Independent States—the weakening of British influence in each unit of that great body is a danger of unknown depth and extent, quite apart from the injury that it must do to its efficiency as a fighting machine.

But an Army, which cannot put one-ninth of its numbers into the Field, except at the expense of the eight-ninths of its numbers which stay at home—however high its courage, however good its discipline, however great its skill in the use of its weapons—is NOT an efficient Army; and instead of troubling our heads in trying to decide whether one fourth, or one half of its regiments are, individually, fit to fight European Troops, we should do better to ask ourselves what can be done to make it adequate to the duties which are incumbent upon it to-day, and ready to meet the dangers and temptations which may assail it to-morrow.

Judging by the last official speech of the late Military Member of the Viceroy's Council, the Indian Authorities have their eyes open to this serious deficiency in British officers, but are quite hopeless of being able to devise a remedy for the evil.

*"The greatest want in my opinion,"* so spoke Sir Henry Brackenbury on the 26th of March of the current year, *"and, I know, in the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, is an increase to the number of British officers. We have endeavoured to meet this by establishing a reserve of officers,*



*but the attempt has been a failure. Civilians in the service of the State would be far too heavily occupied with their own duties for us to be able to count upon their service with the army in case of war; and the number of British civilians in India not in the service of the State is so small, and they are all such busy men, that it is little wonder that we have had but few applications to join the reserve of officers. Yet, upon the outbreak of war we ought to increase the number of European officers with every unit of the Native Army, and we should require some hundreds of officers for transport duties and for various staff appointments in the field. Where to lay hands upon these officers is a problem that has not yet been solved. Should the finances of India improve, I earnestly hope that this question will not be lost sight of."*

Let me venture to suggest a solution of the difficulty which puzzled Sir Henry Brackenbury, to the consideration of that officer's successor. If there is no chance of our being able to endow the existing native Troops of India with the necessary number of British officers—why not cut them down to a point at which the due proportion between the two could be restored? The Native Army only assumed its present dimensions in 1885, when twenty thousand men were added to its strength with a view to the resuscitation of that Forward Policy with which Lord Ripon had broken; and the abandonment of that policy, which is fast dragging India down to financial ruin and which has no justification in the probabilities, or possibilities, of a Russian invasion, would be speedily followed by that improvement in the state of the finances of India for which her Government has so long been vainly sighing—a saving of seventy-five million rupees yearly would certainly put at its disposal ample funds out of which to create a reserve of British officers for its Native Forces.

To many people, no doubt, the proposal to economize seventy-five million rupees by the voluntary surrender of the seventy-five thousand square miles added to the British Empire since 1876 may seem nothing better

than a stupendous joke; but those who have done me the honour of reading my three *Indian Problems* will understand that I make it in sober earnest, and under the profound conviction that its adoption is essential to something of far more importance to the British people than the ability of the Native Indian Army to meet German, or French troops in the field—that something, the continued existence of British Rule in India. To cling to conquests which never have added, and never can add, anything to the wealth, or the security, of that country is only one degree less flagrantly shortsighted and foolish than to have made them in the first instance; but to do this in the teeth of overwhelming proof of the fatal influence exercised by those conquests on the well-being and contentment of the Indian people, and on the efficiency and loyalty of the Indian Army is not mere folly, but madness—suicidal madness.

This is not the place to bring forward evidence of India's poverty—no one who knows anything of that country will be likely to deny the fact—nor to show the inevitable connection between that poverty and discontent; but the title of this article pledges me to tell, so far as I am able, the truth about the Indian Army, and it is lamentably true that that army is less trustworthy than before the Afghan War. The Native Army, so far as the British Government is concerned, has always been a mercenary and foreign army, and its fidelity is, and ever must be, dependent on the treatment it receives at the hands of its chiefs, and the conditions under which it is called upon to serve. Not once, but many times, that fidelity has been strained to the breaking point, and in three cases out of four, service in unhealthy districts, or, in what, to the troops concerned, was a foreign land was the cause of mutiny.

The mutiny of Velore in 1806 in which 213 British officers and men were murdered, and 1,200 mutineers paid for their treason with their lives,—was partially due to the latter of these two causes; and so, in a more marked

degree, was the refusal of certain regiments to embark for China in 1842 ; whilst the refusal, in that same year, of the Native regiments concentrated at Peshawar to march to the relief of the beleaguered garrison of Jellalabad was attributable partly to the sickness prevailing among them, and partly to their horror of Afghanistan and the Afghans. The far more serious military outbreaks in 1849-50 which but for the prompt measures taken by Sir Charles Napier to repress them on the one hand, and to satisfy the malcontents on the other, might have rivalled the great mutiny in their proportions—arose in part, certainly, out of the Government's indiscreet tampering with the field allowance of the Hindustani troops, but also out of the impatience of the latter at their expatriation to the Punjab, and the unhealthy nature of that country. The great mutiny itself was the outcome of all the discontent which had been smouldering in the Hindustani army since the Afghan War, and, notwithstanding the greased cartridge incident, was rooted to a great extent in the same causes which had led to the minor acts of disaffection last named. In the second Afghan War the same influences showed themselves in the difficulty which the Indian Government experienced in obtaining recruits ; whilst a fresh danger began to manifest itself in the treachery of that Pathan element, which had been introduced into the Army to meet the unwillingness, or supposed unfitness, of our own subjects to serve at long distances from their homes, under unfamiliar climatic conditions. On more than one occasion, as in General Roberts' attack on the Spingawi Kotal, that treachery imperilled the success of a military movement ; and it was secretly at work throughout both campaigns, betraying our plans to an enemy of kin to the men whom we had encouraged to enter our service, and whose loyalty in action was dependent, by Lord Roberts' admission, on our success.

Unpopular as the Afghan War soon showed itself to be with the troops on whose fidelity we had better reason to



rely, there was this in its favour—that it was a passing incident, and the hope of its speedy termination kept up the spirits of the men in the field; but the policy of annexation which set in in 1885 has no limits either in time, or extent, and has saddled the Indian Government with the permanent responsibility of choosing between alienating the soldiers of India proper by condemning them to an abhorred exile, or of leaning, more and more, on races in whom they ought to place no trust. I know by the testimony of officers who have been stationed in different parts of Baluchistan, that our Indian troops loathe their lives in that inhospitable region; and with good reason, for its unhealthiness is notorious, and the monotony of existence in Forts in which the garrisons are virtually besieged—since to go any distance beyond their walls is to invite assassination—is unutterably depressing. Little things which creep out from time to time reveal the dangers lurking under the smooth surface which the supporters of the Forward Policy would fain have it present to the British public. The murder of two British officers at Fort Sandeman, and the wounding of a third, may have been the isolated act of a madman,—but why has the 40th Pathans, the regiment in which the crime was committed, been ordered to return to India, if the authorities do not see in the occurrence the suggestion of an evil spirit pervading the whole body? That regiment, by the way, is composed entirely of Pathans, and has been recruited and localized in the Quetta District, as an expedient for keeping down the number of Indian troops beyond the Indus frontier, so its withdrawal to India ought really to be followed by its disbandment. It is no light matter either that the attack upon the camp of the Waziristan Delimitation Commission should have been led by deserters, and supplied with information from within that camp itself. But surely an army with such good reason for discontent on the one hand, and for treason on the other, cannot justly be called efficient? It may shoot well, it may march well, it may look well on parade, but in the hour of need it could not be implicitly relied on; and

when we remember the vast amount of discontent existing among the poverty-stricken masses of the Indian people, we must tremble before the vision of a revolt far exceeding in magnitude the Mutiny of 1857. That Mutiny, except in Oudh, the neighbourhood of Delhi, and a few other districts, found little active support among the peasantry, who were content—their lot having so far been improved by our rule—to remain passive, waiting to see which side would prevail. Dare we assert that this would be their attitude to-day? Would it be their attitude next year, or in any future year, unless we return speedily to a policy which makes them and their well-being its first objects, and refuses to sacrifice them to the ambitious schemes of Military Politicians?

With the prospect of a mutiny of troops growing into an insurrection of the people hanging over their heads, it might seem as if the instinct of self-preservation must compel the Indian Government to keep intact the due balance between the British and native elements in the Anglo-Indian Army; never for a moment allowing itself to forget that the former should always be more than a match for the latter. Yet they have chosen the very time when by their fiscal policy they are exhausting the patience of the Indian people, and by their military policy they are over-taxing the loyalty of the Native soldier, to increase enormously the proportion of the latter element to the former, by the creation, under different names—Military Police, Frontier Levies and Militia, Imperial Service Troops, Reserves, etc., of armed forces in addition to the 148,500 Regular Troops to whom 72,000 English soldiers were supposed to be rather more than equal; and the military authorities are working their hardest to bring the Native soldier, in all respects, up to the level of his British comrade—with inconceivable folly, actually turning him into the better shot of the two,\* whilst destroying his comfort and

\* Arms of precision, it must be remembered, tend to equalize all troops, bringing the physically inferior to nearer equality with the superior soldier; and they even neutralize the advantage of superior nerve and pluck by making it seldom possible to resort to the use of the bayonet.



irritating his temper by hot weather musketry practice and endless drills.\* Let them only persist long enough in this course of action, and the Indian Government will find itself some day at the head of a Native Army efficient enough to take the field against any European foe, and ready, on the first favourable opportunity, to turn their weapons against their pay-masters.

And it is not only by destroying the true numerical balance between the British and Native Forces, and by further intensifying this disastrous change by effacing the differences between the two in the matter of arms and the ability to use them, that the Indian Government is preparing ruin for itself—it is working steadily and cheerfully in the same direction by reviving the old system of caste and race regiments.† Really when one sees how the rulers

\* "Frequent heavy duties deteriorate discipline, when the excitement of war is absent; and even then when there is not fighting—it wears out body and mind."—*Sir Charles Napier, G.C.B.*, Commander-in-Chief in India.

† "Now when the mutinous spirit arose with our Sepoys (in 1849) the chief leaders were undoubtedly Brahmins, and Brabmins, having a religious as well as a military character, enjoy an immense influence. . . . Thus their religious principles interfere in many strange ways with their military duties. The brave men of the 35th Native Infantry lost caste because they did their duties as soldiers at Jellalabad; that is, they fought like soldiers, and ate what could be had to sustain their strength for battle. There never was a stronger proof than the annoyance which this noble regiment is said to have since received from other regiments of the injury which high caste in a soldier does, and the Brahmin is worst. Having two commanders to obey, caste and captain, if they are at variance the last is disobeyed, or obeyed at the cost of conscience and misery. Military rules sit light on the low-caste man, he obeys his captain. He may be, yet probably is not, inferior in morals to a high-caste man, and as a soldier is superior."—*Sir Charles Napier, G.C.B.*

"The most serious faults existing in, and peculiar to the Bengal Army, appear to me to be as follows:— . . . The most pernicious practice of attending to the caste of Native soldiers, thereby frequently excluding from our ranks the best material for soldiers, and enlisting the very worse. . . . Treachery, mutiny, villany of all kinds, may be carried on among the private soldiers, unknown to their officers, to any extent, where the men are of one caste of Hindus, and where the rules of caste are more regarded than those of military discipline."—*General John Jacob, C.B.*

"I had the honour to command for some years the Queen's Own Sappers

of India disregard the warnings of past experience, one is tempted to wonder whether they have ever studied the history of the country entrusted to their guidance. The Mutiny taught the men who lived through it and who re-organized the Indian military system, after it had been crushed out, that regiments composed exclusively of one nationality or one caste were so dangerous that, with the exception of the Goorkhas and a few Sikh regiments, they must never be allowed to exist again. The system of caste and race companies, or troops, was substituted for it, and there has been ample opportunity of verifying the wisdom of the change. For instance, on the occasion of the attack on the Spingawi Kotal, already alluded to, when the Pathan companies of the 29th Punjab Native Infantry held back, refusing to fire upon their own kinsfolk, the Sikh companies followed their officers to the assault of the Sangars and carried the day. It is worthy of note that the Punjab Government has objected to the reintroduction of the class regiment system into that Province, and that the sixteen regiments in which it has been re-established all belong to the Bengal Army, and are permanently located in the vicinity of their own towns and villages, an arrangement which adds to the ever-present danger that the discontent rife among the civil population may infect the troops quartered in its midst.

"But," so some puzzled reader may exclaim, "your line of argument is difficult to follow: you complain that the Indian Army is not efficient, and yet you warn us against making it more so; you denounce the custom of sending troops away from their own Provinces, and you condemn the localizing them near their own homes—what is it that you really want?"

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and Miners—a Madras Corps that has been distinguished in 37 campaigns and expeditions. I may mention that it is not a class-regiment. . . . Their *esprit de corps* was such that a man, if asked to what caste he belonged, would reply *Sapper*-caste; men on leave would walk almost incredible distances to rejoin their company on hearing that it was ordered on service."—General Sir H. N. D. Prendergast, V.C., K.C.B.

What I want is a Native Army efficient for its true purposes—the upholding of British authority in India and the guarding that country's frontiers against the inroads of semi-barbarous tribes; and I want that army to dwell habitually in its own Presidencies, *among a prosperous and contented people*, whose influence would help to keep them so thoroughly loyal to the Government they serve, that there should be no question of disaffection if at any time the need arose for sending them on frontier, or foreign, service:—I do *not* want an army equal in efficiency to that of Germany or France, but so discontented with its lot that it is as dangerous to send its regiments beyond the frontier, as to keep them at home, among an equally dissatisfied peasantry. With an army efficient after this fashion, we ought, in common prudence, to double the 72,000\* British soldiers who suffice at present to garrison India, and England has not 72,000 additional men to spare to India, and India has not the money to support them could England provide them—therefore there is nothing for it but to cut our coat according to our cloth, and content ourselves by making our Native Army into a good, useful, trustworthy instrument for its proper work, by organizing it on principles least dangerous to ourselves in respect to numbers, discipline, weapons and skill, and then by raising the pay of the troops retained and by doing away with all superfluous and unprofitable hot-weather work. There should be no pampering of soldiers; but nine rupees is too little now-a-days to keep a sepoy and a sepoy's family in comfort;† and as enough work for all purposes of discipline and efficiency can be got out of him in the cold weather, there is no use in making his service gratuitously onerous and disagreeable—and injuring his eyesight into the bar-

\* In 1885 the sanctioned establishment of British troops was 72,000, but since then, it has gradually increased until it reached last year an average strength of 75,589.

† A Sepoy's pay should never be less than Rs. 10 per mensem; an increase of Rs. 1 would only add about a million and a half of Rupees to the military budget.



gain—by tormenting him with drill and musketry practice under a blazing sun. Lastly, we should take care that every Native regiment has at all times an adequate complement of British officers, by fixing a minimum below which their numbers must never be allowed to fall, and by forming a Reserve equal to the requirements of the Staff and administrative departments, *plus* 20 per cent. on the whole number of officers, regimental, staff and departmental, to fill gaps due to sickness, furlough and other causes; every officer to be attached to some regiment and to return to it after a three, or five, years' term of staff, or administrative duty, by which means a very large number of officers would have the advantage of extra-regimental experience.

Supposing the strength of the Native Army to be fixed at what it was prior to 1885, and accepting 8 as the necessary number of regimental officers, there would be 1,525 of them to provide for, instead of 1,650 as at present; 225 would be needed for extra regimental work and 350 to take the place of absentees—thus bringing up the whole number of European officers with the Native Army to 2,100 by the addition of 450 to their present strength. At the outset the cost of this increase would amount, roughly speaking, to Rs. 2,000,000 *per annum*; and though, as the officers rose in rank, this sum would no longer suffice, it could never exceed Rs. 4,000,000—a mere flea-bite compared to the tens of millions now wasted in providing India with an insecure frontier and the Indian Government with an untrustworthy Army.

## "EXECUTIVE" *VERSUS* "JUDICIAL" IN LOWER BENGAL.

BY C. D. FIELD, LL.D.

No institution of Western civilization, introduced into India by British rule, has been more successful than the Administration of Justice. The success has not been equal in all the provinces of this vast empire, for the period of operation has not been everywhere equal ; antecedent conditions have differed ; and race characteristics and proclivities have been dissimilar. In no province, however, has this success been greater than in Lower Bengal. The period of operation, extending over four generations, has here been longest. The intellectual soil was peculiarly suited to the seed sown ; and germination and growth have been promoted, if not forced, by a system of high-class education, one of the strongest features of which was the inculcation of English ideas, English principles, English institutions, English political experiences, and English everything.

It is with Lower Bengal only that this paper and the two questions therein treated are concerned. India is too vast for safe generalization. Reforms that are well and wisely made in one province, at one point of time and progress, may be unwise, even injurious, in another province, where the stage of progress and other conditions are different.

Englishmen are in a manner bound to accept the existing results of their own system ; they must show imperturbable calmness, when the weapons of intellectual warfare, the use of which they have taught, are wielded against themselves ; and they must betray no impatience, if their own actions are tried by the rules of conduct which they have themselves prescribed. Therefore when Mr. Manomohan Ghose, or the National Congress, indoctrinated with the



English principle of judicial independence, finds fault with the administration of justice in Lower Bengal for not being conducted in accordance with this principle, it behoves us to examine with all care and patience, whether this charge be in any way justified, whether we do our best endeavour to practise what we preach. Time was, when Indian administrators complained that there was no public opinion, no Press to inform them of the feelings of the people : and that in consequence they had too often to legislate in the dark. The last quarter of a century has changed this condition of things. We have now a very active Native Press, a considerable amount of Native opinion, and Native criticism, some good, and much bad or indifferent. Criticism such as that of Mr. Manomohan Ghose is good. It meets us on our own ground with our own weapons, and is based not upon mere words, but upon substantial experience and facts collected in the course of professional practice. It is moreover open and candid, not put forward under a pseudonym or supported by unvouched assertions. It is not a personal attack, directed against individuals. Indeed he is overcareful to say that the defects are in the *system*, and that the fault is *not* to be laid at the door of *individuals* : and while holding up these defects to the light, he acknowledges the ability and integrity of the members of the Civil Service and the benefits flowing from the administration of justice under British rule. With the zeal of an advocate he makes the strongest possible case for his side of the question ; but upon the published papers it cannot fairly be said that he has misstated or perverted any of the evidence upon which he relies.

That judicial and executive functions ought not to be combined in the same individual has long been a settled principle of the English System. In 1860 it was decided, after careful discussion and deliberation, that this principle ought to be applied to India—not, however, in all its completeness, to all parts and provinces ; but with a due regard to the conditions of each, gradually and to such an extent

as those conditions showed to be feasible and prudent, and without danger from too radical change. This policy has never since been altered, nor has its soundness been ever seriously questioned. In accordance therewith it was considered in 1860 unadvisable, and partly for financial reasons not feasible, to carry the separation of judicial and executive functions lower down than the District Officer ; but it was then contemplated that the separation should be completely carried out at some future time. The Members of the Police Commission were agreed "that, as a rule, there should be a complete severance of executive police from judicial authorities ; that the official who collects and traces out the links of evidence—in other words, virtually prosecutes the offender—should never be the same as the officer, whether of high or inferior grade, who is to sit in judgment on the case, even with a view to committal . . . that the same true principle, that the judge and detective officer should not be one and the same, applies to officials having by law judicial functions, and should, as far as possible, be carefully observed in practice." Having regard, however, to the constitution of official agency then existing in India, they had to make the District Officer an exception to this rule ; but they were careful to say—"As the organization becomes perfected, and the Force effective for the performance of its detective duties, any necessity for the Magistrate to take personal action in any case judicially before him ought to cease." When the Police Bill was before the Supreme Council, the late Sir Bartle Frere—after observing that it was one thing to lay down a principle and another to act upon it at once and entirely when it was opposed to the existing system, to existing forms of procedure and to prejudices of long standing—advocated the acceptance of the proposed measure of reform, pointed out that even in England it took time to carry out the principle when once admitted, and "hoped that at no distant period the principle would be acted upon throughout India as completely as his Honble. friend" (the Member for Bengal)

"could desire." When, therefore, it is now proposed that the separation of executive from judicial functions should be completely carried out in Lower Bengal by relieving the District Officer of judicial authority, the proposal is not a new one; it is merely the revival of a question which was exhaustively discussed and conclusively settled five-and-thirty years ago.

The contention of those who have now revived this question is substantially this—that the time has come for completing in Lower Bengal the work begun and left unfinished in 1860-1; that this completion is for many reasons very desirable and is now practicable. One of these reasons, advanced by Mr. Manomohan Ghose, is that the union of executive and judicial functions in the District Officer has led to many cases of hardship, injustice and public scandal, which tend to diminish the confidence of the Native public in the administration of justice. He has brought forward twenty-one cases in support of his allegation, all which occurred within his own experience as an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court, and the facts of which are given in some detail. Sir Charles Elliott, the late Lieutenant of Bengal, in the October number of this Review, has published an answer to Mr. Manomohan Ghose in which he endeavours to show (1) that the existing system, under which executive and judicial powers are united in the District Officer, has great merits and advantages: (2) that it in no way trenches on the judicial independence of the Subordinate Magistrates: (3) that there are weighty arguments against its modification besides those arising from financial considerations: (4) that no valid proof has been adduced of any evil arising from it.

He understands the objections made to the present system to be directed against two items in the District Magistrate's position—*first*, that being the executive head of the District, with direct control of the Police, he has the power of trying cases himself; and *second*, that the Subordinate Magistrates, who try the great majority of cases,



are directly under him, receive orders from him, and look to him for such reports on their conduct and capacity as may expedite their promotion;—and being of opinion that his opponents must be strictly tied down to these two points, he proceeds to examine Mr. Ghose's twenty-one cases upon this restricted purview. He minimizes, explains away or concludes to be irrelevant the whole of these cases with a single exception, and in this exceptional case he puts the blame not upon the system, but upon an exceptionally bad Magistrate.

The two points, to which Sir Charles Elliott limits his examination of the question, might perhaps be more accurately stated thus: (1) The District Magistrate being also head of the Police, head of the Revenue department, and of other Executive departments, having in many instances directed a criminal prosecution in his executive capacity, has improperly himself passed judicial orders in the case; or (2) having transferred the case to a Subordinate Magistrate, Subordinate to himself, judicially and executively, has given to this Subordinate depending on him for character and promotion instructions which have had the effect of interfering with such Subordinate's judicial discretion to the prejudice of the accused.

But in truth the two points, however stated, are merely matter of evidence upon the broader issue, which is the proper one—was the union of executive and judicial powers in the District Officer the cause or contributory cause of any of the scandals which have occurred—would the separation of these functions have prevented or rendered less likely the occurrence of these scandals or any of them? It is submitted that a dispassionate examination of the cases, with the aid of competent knowledge, cannot lead to other than an affirmative finding on this issue.

It is not possible within the limits of this paper to discuss the merits of all the cases and the soundness of the conclusions adopted by Sir Charles Elliott. Criticism must therefore be restricted to a few of them. In case No. 3



the District Magistrate wrote to a Subordinate Magistrate that the accused in a certain case ought to be punished with the maximum penalty the law allows. This instruction, which does not appear to have been qualified by the words "if convicted on the evidence," is justified on the ground that when some classes of cases become exceedingly rife, such an instruction may be expedient. It is not alleged and there is nothing to show, that the particular case came within this category. An abstract suggestion as to the necessity of exemplary punishment in order to put down a class of crime that had alarmingly increased may be defensible: but whether such a concrete instruction as the above in a particular case was an improper interference with the judicial discretion of the Magistrate who was trying that case and knew the facts, there cannot be two opinions.

As to the Krishnagarh Students' Case, Sir Charles Elliott says:—"The Lieutenant-Governor" (Sir Rivers Thompson, the excellence of whose judgment will not be disputed) "condemned his" (the District Magistrate's) "conduct in no measured terms, but the fault he found with him was not high-handedness or interference with the judicial independence of Subordinates, but want of judgment and discretion and failure to exercise any real control over the case. The story is therefore hardly relevant to the question at issue." With this compare the following passage from that part of the Lieutenant-Governor's Resolution which dealt with the conduct of the Magistrate who tried the case:—"The decision come to by him was undoubtedly correct, and, *having regard to the official pressure exerted for a conviction*, even if only with the idea of a nominal penalty, it is clear that the right result of the case does much credit to his impartiality and firmness."

Dealing with the Jamalpore Mela Case, Sir Charles Elliott considers that the censure of the *then* Lieutenant-Governor did not impute to the District Magistrate any misuse of judicial power; and contends that the words of the Resolution—"In the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor

these proceedings involved a grave misuse of judicial authority"—were not intended to apply to the District Magistrate. The whole context shows that they were intended to apply. Sir Charles Elliott thinks that the censure of the Magistrate did not "charge" him "with any misconduct which he could not commit, if the views of those who support the separation of his judicial from his executive functions were carried into effect." But the conclusion of the Head of the Local Government who had to deal with the case was—"The whole case is a striking illustration of the danger and inconvenience of the union of executive and judicial functions in the same officer. . . . It is clear to the Lieutenant-Governor that years of patient and careful working on proper lines can scarcely undo the mischief and remove the prejudice against the existing system produced by a single case like the present."

If every prosecution, directed by the District Officer in his executive capacity, had to be initiated by complaint before an independent Magistrate, as every civil suit in which Government is plaintiff has to be instituted by filing a plaint before an independent Civil Judge; and if every step in furtherance of the prosecution had to be taken upon the application of the Government Pleader—none of the scandals, which Mr. Ghose has collected, would have taken place. The fact that no such cases have occurred in the Presidency City, where executive and judicial functions are separated, supports this opinion.

Sir Charles Elliott disparages the evidence supplied by Mr. Manomohan Ghose's cases on the ground of the paucity of instances—a fair argument, if it could be safely assumed that there were no more than some twenty cases in as many years. But this assumption cannot be made. The experiences of a single barrister only have been published, and he declares that they are not all that he could produce. In most of these cases men of wealth or position were concerned, who could afford to seek the higher authorities with the aid of professional advice.

Those who have lived in the Districts smile at the supposition that no other such cases have occurred, because no others have become publicly known or notorious. Upon the evidence, as it stands, there is enough to show that mischief has resulted from the union of executive and judicial powers in the same officer.

It will now be convenient to examine what are the great merits and advantages of the existing system ; and what are the weighty arguments against its modification besides those arising from financial considerations. "In the first place then," says Sir Charles Elliott, "I would point out that the keynote to our success in Indian administration has been the adoption of the Oriental view that all power should be collected in the hands of a single official, so that the people of the District should be able to look up to one man in whom the various branches of authority are centred and who is the visible representative of Government." This wide postulate, embracing the whole of India, cannot be conceded. Of necessity we had to work on Oriental lines at the beginning, when we knew little of the people, and even if we had the machinery of another system ready for use (which we had not), would have been unwise to use it. Our earliest system in many provinces was quasi-military, and therefore wholly in accord with the concentration of power in the hands of a single head. Progress has, however, in India, as in other countries, necessitated the division of labour inseparable from advancing civilization, and step by step we have been getting further away from the original prototype, so far away indeed that the Municipal Government of advanced England has been considered suitable for introduction into India.

In Lower Bengal, with which alone we are at present concerned, the conception of the District Officer as the visible incarnation of all power never existed, as will be abundantly manifest on a study of the history of these provinces, and of the many administrative changes made before 1793 and then and subsequently. When the Com-



pany stood forth as *Díwán*, the native lines of administration were followed; and the same officer was Judge, Magistrate, and Collector for a brief period. The patriarchal system was however even then found impossible to work, and was soon abandoned. The administration of civil justice was placed in separate hands. Then there were Provincial Courts for the weightier cases, civil and criminal, and a Judge-Magistrate dealt with the lighter cases in the District. Some years later provision was made for the appointment of separate Magistrates. In 1821 the appointment of the same person to be Magistrate and Collector was legalized, but it was not till 1831 that the two offices were united. In 1837 they were separated, and in 1859 they were again united. Courts of Circuit, the Superintendent of Police and various Commissioners from time to time exercised large portions of executive and judicial power; and the right of appeal in most matters, civil, criminal and revenue, very practically interfered with that Monotheistic incarnation, in which enthusiasts would have it that the people believed.

The argument from prestige has been abandoned since Lord Kimberley repudiated it in the debate in the House of Lords; but, though the term itself has been discarded, those familiar with the discussion will recognise the substance of the old argument in what Sir Charles Elliott has advanced to support his conclusion that the District Magistrate, who is the eye and ear of Government, should hold in his hands all the threads of the different branches of the administration, and should have the officials in all those branches under his general control. There is a limit to the number of reins that can be grasped in a single hand—to the number of horses that can be driven by the best whip—and if this limit be disregarded, the safety of the coach will be endangered. The patriarchal system was never suited to Lower Bengal; the progress of every decade has increased its unsuitability. Within the last five-and-thirty years the executive duties of the District



Officer have increased enormously. Notoriously he has been unable to find time to discharge judicial functions. His hand is out of practice: and when executive zeal, taken out of its appropriate sphere, is on a sudden and unusual occasion, the very circumstances of which must give a bias to the honestest purpose, applied without the light of daily experience to duties diverse in their nature, it is the fault not of the individual but of the system that things go wrong. More than twenty years ago Sir George Campbell, when Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, realized this and would have relieved the District Officer of judicial functions in order to strengthen the executive—a wiser course without doubt than the retention of duties which he has no time to perform.

"In India," says Sir Charles Elliott, "we want good all-round men, not experts in technical minutiae, nor *homines unius libri*." There is an old saying that a Jack-of-all-trades is master of none. A good all-round man is excellently well suited for newly-annexed, or backward or savage districts. In Lower Bengal (India is too wide for this paper) such an officer most effectively administers the Sonthal Pergunnahs, the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Hill Tribes of Orissa; but in the Presidency Division he is as great an anachronism, as to the modern traveller the palanquin in which the subaltern travelled up the Grand Trunk Road to join his regiment in the early days of the century.

Let us pass to the other merits and advantages claimed for the existing system. Although it is conceded that "the District Magistrate does as a matter of fact try so few cases that no very serious evil would ensue if he did not possess the power," still it is urged that he ought to retain this power that he may be able to try certain classes of offences, such as those committed by Europeans, which under the law a Native Subordinate Magistrate cannot try; and political *causes célèbres*, in which a native might be suspected of bias or of weakness. These are the very last cases

that should be taken up by an official whose hands are full of other business, and whose want of daily familiarity with practice and procedure is likely to result in mistakes, to which the occasion attracts public attention, more especially when skilled advocates of the High Court are brought down. In most districts there are one or more European Magistrates—the Joint Magistrate generally deals with the most important criminal cases. In any practical scheme of separation European Magistrates would find a place, and one could be deputed, upon occasion arising, to any small district in which none such is usually stationed.

Then it is said that the District Magistrate ought to retain his judicial powers that he may try difficult cases and set an example to his subordinates, who being young and inexperienced derive immense advantage in matters judicial from his advice, control and inspection. It is not easy to comprehend how the District Magistrate is to become expert in the science, which he is here supposed to teach his pupils. Certainly the dramatic spectacle of this Officer, *in cathedrâ*, surrounded by his subordinates, who have left their duties at the Treasury, in the Excise, Road Cess and other departments to take a lesson in the administration of justice is scarcely within the possibilities of practical District Administration. If this mode of instruction be desirable, it might be obtained at least equally well by a visit to the Court of Session when sitting. Counsel and advice are excellent—when asked by one who knowing the circumstances understands his own difficulty—and a young inexperienced Magistrate will benefit by consultation with an experienced Senior, when he has reasonable doubt; but advice and guidance are not beneficial, when not sought, but volunteered and impressed with the influence of superior official position. Mr. Manomohan's cases furnish many instances in which the Subordinate Magistrate, following his own instincts, would have been right, but was guided into error by his superior.

Then as to that inspection, which is the breath of the

nostrils of the Magistrate; and of the paramount importance of which it is alleged that those who urge a change have lost sight, it is said that the Judge is not a peripatetic officer, and the District Magistrate is—the Judge is tied to the Bench and the District Magistrate is not; and Sir Charles Elliott tells us that he ordered every District Magistrate in Bengal to *send for and read* over six cases decided by each of his Subordinates, monthly, in order to notice and warn them against irregularities and the growth of bad habits—an excellent direction, no doubt, but the peripatetic District Officer could scarcely read these records when riding *dak*, or acquaint himself with their contents by mere inspection of the *nathees*\* (unless indeed assisted by the Röntgen Rays). He must sit down somewhere to read over the papers; and this he can better do in his private room at Headquarters than elsewhere. The Judge can do the same, and will bring superior knowledge to the examination. How then can it be said with any force of argument that the substitution of the Judge for the District Magistrate would defeat the ends in view? Further the District and Sessions Judge *does* inspect in accordance with the directions of the High Court: and Sir Charles Elliott appears not to be aware of the extraordinary supervision and control over the proceedings of the Subordinate Courts exercised by the so-called *English Department* of the High Court, under which errors of procedure and delay in disposing of cases cannot escape notice—supervision and control, which have had the most successful results as regards the Civil Courts, and would doubtless have the same beneficial influence upon the inferior Criminal Courts.

Then we have the financial argument that the separation of executive and judicial functions would "in all but the largest districts necessitate a considerable increase of the existing staff of Subordinate Magistrates and their establishments and would lead to great expansion in the number of

\* Native term for the bundle of papers in a case fastened together by a string run through the upper corner.



District Judges." In 1860 the financial difficulty was the strongest argument advanced against complete separation : and ever since, as other means of defence have been weakened by time and progress, this big old gun has been brought out as an irresistible piece of artillery. But time has affected this also and it can no longer do the old execution. If the able men, who in 1860 were turned from fully carrying out a reform, of the excellence of which they were convinced, by an impediment then insuperable, how would they have rejoiced could they have seen the impediment swept away by a mighty revenue flowing in from Court Fees—a revenue that no financier could have anticipated thirty-five years ago. If the change would cost a little, could not this little be spared from the tax on justice, that justice may be done? Very little (if any thing) would be required, if the reform were carried out by someone having knowledge of the existing system and some faculty of organization. Bearing in mind the economy that results from division of labour and the large existing establishments ready for re-arranging, it is by no means impossible that an actual saving could be effected. Certainly the re-organized system would be in a better position to deal with that increase of business in an increasing community, which at intervals makes demands for increased establishments impossible to resist.

In 1860, there was no settled procedure for the Criminal Courts in the districts. The substantive criminal law was indefinite, being contained in the "General Regulations," a chaos of legislation filling nine quarto volumes, partly repealed, partly amended and in part altered, until no man could say what was the law actually in force. In 1860-1 the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, replacing this unintelligible mass, and containable in a single small volume, were promulgated. This small volume has been circulated in the English and native languages through the length and breadth of the land, has been read and re-read by classes of remarkable intellectual avidity, stimulated



by the cheapest educational facilities that ever a Government bestowed on its subjects. Railways and other improved means of communication have facilitated the spread of knowledge. The result is that a large educated class have become conversant with the law and procedure in matters criminal; and are not only willing but competent to criticize the administration of criminal justice. They see their countrymen on the Bench of the High Court, not less competent than Englishmen; their awe of a superior race is being dissipated; and taking us at our word they practise that equality which we have proclaimed. We profess to teach them to govern themselves. They ask to be allowed in minor cases to administer criminal justice to themselves with proper safeguards. In the High Court, as Sessions Judges, as Presidency Magistrates they have shown their capacity. The statesman, whose intellectual vision is not limited by the horizon of the system in which he had his first training, and who can see what progress demands, will not resist a concession to Native public opinion, which is now feasible, which cannot be shown upon any solid grounds of argument to be inexpedient, and for the expediency of which the most cogent reasons have been advanced.

## THE PRESENT INDIAN FAMINE AND THE RUPEE.

BY LESLEY C. PROBYN.

EVERYONE must admit the present unsatisfactory condition of the Indian monetary system. When the mints were closed in June 1893 the silver standard of valuation was destroyed, and its place has been taken by a system of monopoly coins, introduced—as I have already pointed out in this Review\*—as the first step towards a gold standard of valuation, but continued without any definitely announced policy or aim, in the expectation of something turning up in the chapter of accidents to indicate what should be the next move.

I purpose in the present paper to discuss how the ability of the people and the Government of India to deal with the Famine which is now threatened is likely to be affected by the present position of the Rupee.

To appreciate the situation it must be understood that though there is a *nexus* between the gold values of silver and of the Rupee (as indeed there is between the gold values of any other commodity which India imports and of the Rupee) the gold value of silver is no longer the dominant factor in determining the gold value of the Rupee. As Mr. O'Connor in his review of the trade of India for 1895-96 puts it

"The closure of the mints did materially alter the relative positions of the Rupee and silver" and "whereas before that date the price of silver obviously determined the sterling value of the Rupee it would seem that since that date the value of the Rupee is determined by quite other factors."

The most prominent result of this divergence of value between silver and the Rupee is the way in which it affects the hoards of that metal held as ornaments or in other uncoined form by the people of India. It is calculated that

\* See Indian Monetary Problem April 1894 and October 1895.

such hoards amount to 131,250,000 ounces, representing under the old value 350,000,000 Rupees, but now, with silver quoted in India at  $79\frac{3}{4}$  Rs. per 100 tolas (it has been as low as  $79\frac{1}{4}$  Rs.), worth only Rs. 255,870,000.\* And it must be remembered that these hoards are not held merely by the wealthy. The peasants have for long been accustomed to use this form for their savings; and in times of pressure have raised money, either by loan or by sale, on these hoards, realizing probably the value in Rupees corresponding to their weight. But now all this is changed, and though I am told there is no cause for political anxiety on this account it must appear hard to the people that their silver should be worth 94 crores of Rupees less than it was formerly. Whether it is the silver which has fallen in value or the Rupee which has risen in value need not be discussed. In the case of all commodities other than silver any alteration in price would have been naturally ascribed to the cheapness (or dearness) of the commodity itself, the dearness (or cheapness) of the Rupee not being thought of by practical people. But in the case of silver—accustomed as the people of India have been for so long to look on their silver as Rupees in another form—I cannot think that they will look on the alteration in relative value as an ordinary incident of trade. I fear they may be induced to believe they have not been dealt fairly with in this effect of the change of the standard of valuation which has taken place. Should however happily my fears be groundless, and should the present relation of the monopoly Rupee to uncoined silver be accepted without demur, it seems to me that the Government and the people of India are in a better position to deal with the famine under the present system than they would have been had the mints remained open for the coinage of silver. For the loss which holders of uncoined silver have appeared to suffer is compensated by the increased purchasing power which its monopoly

\* Silver is quoted in India 100 tolas of fine silver. The London quotation is for silver  $\frac{37}{100}$  fine. The Rupee is  $\frac{1}{12}$  fine.



character has given to the Rupee. Whatever doubts may exist as to the manner in which gold and silver operate as measures of value—whether, as some think, the quantity circulating as money determines prices, or whether, as seems more probable, the quantity of money in circulation in countries with open mints is the result rather than the cause of the relative values of the standard metals and other commodities—it will be generally admitted that where the quantity of money is effectively limited by the action of the State such limitation must materially operate in reducing prices. And this process must be now going on in India, though owing to the peculiar circumstances of the country it can only be traced with difficulty. The extension of railways is operating as a great leveller\* of prices, and by raising them in some places and lowering them in others is causing ordinary statistics to be misleading; and no scheme has yet been devised for separating alterations due to good or bad harvests from those which result from other causes. If the mints had remained open Rupee prices of food produced in the country would have been higher than they are at present, and the peasantry, though they may not see it, have gained at least as much by the decreased rise in the price of their food as they have lost by the apparent decreased value of their silver ornaments.

Any calculation as to what the gold price of silver would have been if the Indian mints had not been closed, must be more or less speculative. Sentiment may have something to say to it, but the relative values of gold and silver,† as the relative values of other commodities, must be determined by supply and demand and cost of production. Although the suspension of the purchase of 54,000,000 ounces of silver per annum by the United States Treasury

\* This is strikingly illustrated by the following extract from a telegram from the Viceroy in the beginning of November: "Effect of railways will be apparently to diffuse distress, making it more general, but less intense."

† Without entering into the question of Bimetallism I assume that at present it is out of the range of practical politics.



under the Sherman Act was precipitated by the closure of the Indian mints, recent events have shown that it would have occurred, though perhaps a few months later, even if they had remained open. This demand for silver, which was a most powerful factor in keeping up its gold value, was not therefore dependent on the Indian mints remaining open. And even the Indian demand has been much less influenced by the closure of the mints than was generally anticipated. The net imports in 1895-96 amounted to 27,018,000 ounces, which was more than the imports of 1886-87,\* and considerably above the average of the years 1872-73 to 1885-86. It seems probable that if the mints had remained open the London gold price of silver, though perhaps it might not have touched 27 pence the lowest point to which it has actually fallen would at any rate have fallen low enough to bring the value of the Rupee nearly down to the shilling which was almost reached in the beginning of 1895. And the diversions in value would have been greater than have actually occurred. The air would have been fuller of rumours caused by the uncertainty of both the American and Indian situations; and though there might not have been the great slump in the value of silver which occurred in June 1893 and which continued with but little interruption till March 1894 there would have been more frequent and greater movements both down and up from which the great fall has saved us. I believe that on the whole the Rupee has had not merely a higher, but also a steadier, gold value, than it would have had if by the mints being kept open it had been allowed to follow the course of silver.

Now let us see what effect this tendency of the gold value of the Rupee to rise, and to become more steady has on the ability of the Government and people of India to cope with the famine which is now threatened.

First of all the rising exchange must encourage imports

\* For figures of intervening years see the number of this Review for October 1895 p. 4.

into India. The Rupee being able to buy more gold will be able to buy more commodities priced in gold. This process of course will not go on for ever. In commerce between two countries commodities are really exchanged for each other and not for the money (gold or silver or paper or monopoly coins) in terms of which the exchanges of the commodities are so to speak registered. And sooner or later the proper adjustment will take place in the local prices of the commodities themselves even though it may be the case of Californian wheat measured in gold dollars on the one hand and Indian tea measured in monopoly Rupees on the other. But just at first while the change in the relative values of the two recording media is taking place—while there is, to use an expression of Mr. Leonard Courtney's, "a temporary hardening of the conditions here and a temporarily increased facility of conditions elsewhere" there will be an encouragement to export from the country the value of the money of which is relatively falling. Just as it was urged that the falling exchange encouraged exports from India so now the rising exchange will temporarily tend to encourage exports from gold using countries.

But let us take a wider view. What effect will the altered position of the Rupee have on Indian trade generally?

As I have said before—as cannot be too strongly insisted upon—it is not a high, nor a low, but it is a stable rate of exchange which is required in the interests of Indian trade. The unautomatic condition of the currency constitutes a serious danger to Indian trade. But I believe that this difficulty might be met if the Government acted with wisdom and courage. Those who have noted what I have written and said on this subject will remember that before the mints were closed I advocated 15 pence as the permanent rate at which gold should be received in exchange for Rupees. It is undeniable that if this rate had been permanently adopted the currency of India would have already been automatically replenished by means of gold paid into the Treasury and held as part of the currency

reserve in exchange for Rupees which would have been added to the circulation. There would then have been for all practical purposes a gold standard of valuation in India at the rate of 15 pence to the Rupee. If at that valuation the currency proved insufficient for the work it had to do it would have automatically expanded and there would have been no talk, as unfortunately there is now, of a possible financial crisis owing to a deficiency of the circulating medium. Even now Lombard Street is waking to the possibility of the shipment of gold at the higher rate of sixteen pence, and if this rate\* be reached without financial trouble it will result in the necessary expansion of the currency, and any danger there may be owing to trade suffering from insufficiency of the circulating medium will be moved. Exports will then be found to pay for the food grains imported, and just as India has in the past out of her abundance met the wants of the West so the West out of her plenty will succour India in the time of her need. What is wanted is only that the currency should be adequate to the requirements of trade, and that there should be some assurance as to the position on which it is to be permanently placed. The measure of value should be such that it cannot be tampered with. The State may indeed have to borrow to meet its expenditure on famine relief and its deficient Land Revenue, but lenders will be readily forthcoming if they are assured as to the character of the money in which their principal and interest will be paid. A fifteen penny Rupee would have lightened the task of Government, and would have been better for many reasons: but a sixteen penny Rupee is probably not impossible.†

\* The rate will really have to be a little more than sixteen pence to cover cost of freight, insurance, etc.

† A plan by which the Indian currency could be made automatic was explained in the form of a draft bill to amend the India Coinage and Currency Acts published in the *Bankers' Magazine* for April 1896. It formulated a scheme under which gold sent to India could, until the Rupees it represented were actually required for circulation in the provinces, be specially ear-marked, and thus, while temporarily strengthening the money market in the large Banking centres, be available for return to Europe should the necessity for retaining it in India pass away.



The Indian legislature will shortly have under its consideration a scheme for increasing the Rupee circulation by releasing two crores from the cash reserve of the paper currency Department. This measure is probably under existing circumstances advisable, though it will tend to retard the acquisition of gold at the prescribed rate. But let it be remembered that the object of the Government should be, not any temporary alleviation of monetary pressure, but the placing of the currency of India on a wholesome footing under which its amount shall be automatically regulated without State intervention. There is food enough in the world and to spare. Its distribution can be best undertaken by the ordinary operations of trade. Let the State see that these are not hindered by the absence of sound money.

P.S.—An Act increasing the Paper Currency Department investment by two crores of Rupees was passed through all its stages yesterday in Calcutta with the express object of relieving the money market. This emphasises what I have said as to the necessity for putting the currency of India on such a footing that it shall be independent of State interference.

L. C. P.

*December 18, 1896.*

Another aspect of the present Indian famine question than the very special, though most important, one afforded by the above valuable paper, is given in a lecture by Sir H. S. Cunningham on "Indian Famines" generally, the interesting discussion on which at "the East India Association" will be found elsewhere in this Review. The lecturer not only gave an admirable history of these calamities, but also eloquently pointed to the measures for their relief adopted by the Government of India. It is due to him, and to the important part that he has himself taken in the Indian Famine Commission, to point out that Indian official administration is not only not inferior to parochial and other charity agencies in England, as he would modestly make us believe, but vastly superior to them, a fact to which we can testify from personal knowledge. One thing, however, which seems to mark to us the utter alienation of the best foreign rule from true India, is the melancholy fact that none of the great Famine Specialists at the meeting, whose official experience was, indeed, well worth recording, and not even the English-knowing native speakers, referred to the all-embracing and incomparably efficient charity organization by the Caste, and other social or religious, agencies in India, compared with which, as the Bengal Lieutenant Governor recently remarked, the most elaborate Government arrangements must be rough and fragmentary.—*Ed.*



# SUN YAT SUN, GENERAL GORDON, AND LI HUNG-CHANG.

BY EX-OFFICIAL.

It is not necessary to assume intentional untruthfulness in the now celebrated Sun Yat Sun kidnapping case. As the "revolution" was, at first, timed to come off in China on the 15th October, and as the arrest seems to have been made about that date, the Chinese object may have been adequately served by merely getting the man under lock and key during the critical moment when the conspirators at Canton and Swatow would be expecting telegraphic messages from London. When Sir Halliday Macartney gives the *dementi* to Sun Yat Sun, and Sun Yat Sun returns the compliment, both may be acquitted of more than a natural prejudice in viewing the same facts. Possibly the Legation, having once made sure of Sun Yat Sun's identity, decided to capture him on the first opportunity, with all due deference to the requirements of British law, and taking full advantage of their own supposed technical rights. The question whether, having arrived at the fatal threshold, the man voluntarily stepped in, was coaxed in, or was pushed in;—all this, in the absence of positive proof, is a matter of no essential importance. Such trickery with the majesty of the law is daily practised by the police of Continental powers, and even by our own; and if British detectives had been able to get at "Number One," with one leg, say, in Kentish waters, and the other on board a German vessel, their zeal and sagacity would have been applauded had they given him an accelerating push into the sea, in order to simplify the situation. The great thing in these matters is to succeed; the next best thing is not to be found out if one fails. Sun Yat Sun's captors—Chinese-like—bungled, and allowed themselves to be caught. Hence the virtuous outcry against Chinese

treachery. Similar captures take place almost daily in China, though, whenever possible, European Consuls always try to prevent any accompanying barbarity and evasions of international law.

During last spring the native Chinese journals contained precise indications regarding the proposed revolution. The leader was stated to be a young man of family whose patronymic was Hwang. This person had spent some time in America, England, and Germany, and, on his return, filled with new ideas, had captivated his countrymen of the south by his glib recitals and exhortations. He proceeded, while at Canton, to affiliate himself to the Sám-hop Ooi, or "Triad Society," and Swatow was promptly drawn within the revolutionary vortex. Four thousand men were secretly enrolled, and agents were sent to beat up recruits in Hong Kong and Macao. The idea was to take possession of Canton, and to throw the authorities off the scent by first creating disturbances at other points. Although Hwang was superficially imbued with European notions, he clung to the *Kuhu* philosophy,—an ancient and obscure system under which astrology and military strategy are combined. The revolution was timed to break out simultaneously at various centres on the "double-nine" day, *i.e.*, the 15th October, on the 9th of the 9th moon. Unfortunately, Governor Ma of Canton (who subsequently died or was assassinated) got wind of the plot, and took counsel with the military authorities and with the Commissioner of Customs at Canton. A secret system of search was organized, 480 arrests were made, and the "active army" of 30,000 men, scattered about Kwang Tung province, was thus prevented from openly assembling. It was believed that they had possession of 100,000 of the best rifles. No Cantonese troops or gendarmes were taken into the mandarins' confidence; the arrests were all effected by An Hwei and Hu Nan men. The Acting Governor Ch'êngyün (a Manchu) died almost as suddenly as his predecessor, and (if the native press is to be believed) an

attempt was also made to assassinate the Envoy Wang Sho-tang at Saïgon, on his return from Russia.

Sun Yat Sun confesses to one *alias*; but whether he is the same man as the above-described Hwang is, of course, a matter upon which he must be better informed than ourselves. Probably details of his arrest, in Chinese form, will soon be given in the native newspapers, which are usually the best informed on such matters.

As to the question whether the Chinese could be so wicked as to inveigle a man into a Legation, and then spirit him away, either alive or pickled, to China for execution, it is sufficient to point out that such proceedings would be in accordance with the established system of administration in that country. Even when the present enlightened Minister to England, Kung, was *taoutae* at Shanghai in 1887, there was a great commotion amongst the Europeans on account of the public torture in a cage by the city magistrate of an unhappy Chinese criminal; and it was only owing to the Consular Body's protest, that the man was saved from a lingering death. During the same *taoutae's* rule, the municipal policeman Ts'ao Si-yung was kept imprisoned for several years without any such evidence of guilt as could be satisfactory to European minds. The same year a prominent native Catholic, named Lo Pao-chih, was beheaded at Chungking, despite the protests of the French Minister, for defending his own house against anti-Christian rioters. During the war of 1841 a regular system of kidnapping and murdering stray Europeans was officially organized at Ningpo. It is within everyone's recollection that rewards were offered for French and Japanese heads during the warlike operations of 1884 and 1894. Sun Yat Sun was quite right in saying that even his dead body would have been "executed," had the living one proved too troublesome. Only a few years ago, the Governor of Kwei Chow province requested the Emperor's permission to decapitate the dead body of a military assassin who had died in gaol, "so that the wicked military may not triumph



over the virtuous civilians." Quite recently, the body of a wretch who drowned himself in the palace precincts at Peking was publicly flogged, in accordance with the law which provides for the whipping of corpses in cases of suicide in the imperial grounds. During the Yün Nan rebellion of 1863, the corpse of the arch-rebel Wu Shih-fan was hacked to pieces before the army, and his head was sent to Peking. In addition to the specific instance mentioned in the "Times" by Governor Des Voeux, there have been numerous cases within the last twenty years in which the Canton authorities have endeavoured to play false with prisoners already surrendered, or whose surrender was required from Hong Kong. The Chinese have always dealt more severely with political offenders than with any other class; nor is it for us to adopt too sanctimonious and censorious a tone when we remember our Wars of the Roses, our religious wars, and our once absurd laws upon the subject of treason. The most humane Emperor of the present dynasty, K'ang-hi, indulged in wholesale drawings and quarterings when he got his victims, under one pretext or another, up to Peking. We all know what happened at Peking to Parkes and Loch, not to mention the poor fellows, their comrades, who were tortured to death and never heard of again. Mr. Baber has given us a graphic account of the slicing to pieces in 1863 of the rebel Shih Ta-K'ai, who had surrendered under a promise that his life should be spared. Both Mr. Baber and M. Rocher have related to us in melancholy language the touching story of the Panthay Sultan's surrender at Ta-li Fu; and, as to the often-told story of Gordon's chasing Li Hung-chang about with a revolver for his treachery towards the Taiping princes,—quite apart from the fact that the true facts can never be known, hinging as they do upon spoken words, or upon documentary evidence which has ceased to exist,—the worst form of treachery, supposing that Li Hung-chang were really guilty of it, would be quite in accordance with Chinese history, precedent, and custom, and therefore



there is really no occasion for us to hold up our hands in exaggerated horror. Did not Admiral Ting kidnap the King of Corea's father in 1885 after inveigling him on board his ship to eat a foreign dinner? Did not the Viceroy of Nanking put two Japanese surrendered spies to death in the basest manner? Did not the Viceroy Tso Tsung-t'ang massacre every living soul in Manas, notwithstanding the promises he had held out? Do not the recent missionary massacres show the absence of all scruple in the Chinese mind when once it gets alarmed and finds its chance?

There is no occasion whatever to discuss the probability of the Chinese Legation having acted in good faith. The above historical facts within our memory prove that the Emperor himself will condone political kidnapping when it is successful: the most prominent officials of the day are imbued with the doctrine that no quarter but quartering is due to a political offender. It may be assumed that the Chinese Legation's action was only influenced by fear of discovery and of British anger. In diplomacy it is the being found out which constitutes the crime. Had their infringement of British liberty never come to light, owing to good management, it would have been no more dangerous to the freedom of our shores than an undiscovered burglary is to the reputation of our police. Luckily Sun Yat Sun had his wits about him. *Vigilantibus, non dormientibus, lex subvenit.* He managed to communicate with his friends, and the informed Government at once saved him: not, of course, because he is, necessarily, of much value in himself, but because the spectacle of an arrest by a foreign power on British territory was calculated to alarm our general confidence in liberty and personal immunity. All the quibbles about "international rights," "ambassadorial sanctity," etc., are beside the question. Any Embassy, be it Russian, French, Chinese, or Haytian, would certainly be sacked by the mob, were it suspected, on good grounds, that an attempt was being made in it to infringe any of the main principles of British liberty; and this, no matter what the

Foreign Office or the Courts might decide; for these institutions are only servants of their masters, the English people, who have fought for their rights and the freedom of their soil from the beginning of their history. The attempt of the Chinese Legation was a *Chinoiserie* which, when discovered, was summarily extinguished. No further diplomatic action is needed. Sir Halliday's share in the fiasco, as related by Sun, may not read well; but we must remember that the witness against him is a self-confessed rebel, whereas Sir Halliday is an official, whose prospects and position depend on his Government.

As to extradition between China and England, it must be remembered that judicial extra-territoriality rules in the East. Even when China was the leading power in Corea, foreign gunboats, in case of trouble, would have landed, and did land, marines upon the Chinese or Japanese settlements in Corean ports, and would do so again if China or Japan failed to protect British rights within those settlements, just as they are still in the habit of landing marines at Shanghai, Ichang, etc. Still, notwithstanding China's inferior judicial status, the Treaty of Tientsin gives her certain extradition rights, the XXI Article providing that "upon due requisition by the Chinese authorities, criminal subjects of China shall be searched for, and, on proof of their guilt, be delivered up. In like manner if Chinese offenders take refuge in the houses, or on board the vessels of British subjects at the open ports, they shall not be harboured or concealed, but shall be delivered up, on due requisition by the Chinese authorities, addressed to the British Consul." The practice in Hongkong is to surrender Chinese charged with non-political crimes, on *prima facie* evidence of their guilt being produced to the satisfaction of a Hongkong magistrate, and the Viceroy of Canton is obliged to add the words "no torture will be used at the trial" to every official application for extradition. In Shanghai, the Chinese authorities are not allowed to make arrests on the settlements unless the Senior Consul (for the Anglo-American

settlements) or the French Consul (for the French settlement) backs the warrant. The subjects of non-treaty Christian powers, though strictly speaking liable to be tried by Chinese courts, are in practice taken charge of by the consular body. No white man would, under any circumstances, be given up to Chinese justice, at all events unless a European assessor were present to approve proceedings. The Indian Government, after satisfying itself of his guilt, handed over to the Yün Nan authorities in 1893 a Chinese soldier who had murdered his officer and escaped to Burma. In practice no Chinese servants in foreign employ are ever handed over, unless the Consul concerned is satisfied that the person charged is really a criminal. The surrender of the municipal policeman To'ao Si-yung in June 1883 was generally regarded as a feeble act on the part of the then Vice-Consul and Assessor of the Mixed Court. In a word, whatever rights the Chinese may have, these rights are granted by treaty, and are not based upon international law; so corrupt and barbarous is their judicial system that every precaution is taken by self-respecting powers to protect even surrendered Chinese, not to say non-treaty Power subjects, from the torture of Chinese courts.

The mention of Li Hung-chang's supposed treachery towards the Taiping princes leads us to digress a moment in the direction of another controversy. It is rather hard upon Sir Thomas Wade that he should be charged, when he is no longer alive to defend himself, with a sort of complicity in Herr von Brandt's alleged scheme to put Li Hung-chang upon the Chinese throne. Apart from Herr von Brandt's prompt denial, which, of course, is worth more than Mr. Boulger's statements at secondhand, the whole story is utterly absurd, nor do Mr. Boulger's successive explanations in the "Times" make it at all probable. General Gordon is dead, and so is Sir Thomas Wade; consequently statements by third parties as to what either of them said are practically worthless. The present writer



had the honour of the acquaintance of both, and met both during the year that Gordon left India to visit China. At that time, Sir Thomas Wade had also only just recently returned from India, where he had worried himself with the opium question. He had also been greatly harassed with the intricacies of the great Foochow missionary squabble over Wu-shih Shan, and had twice narrowly escaped in shipwrecks. The Manchu envoy Ch'unghow was in Russia, making a muddle of the Ili affair. Chang Chih-tung and the blatant school were shrieking for Ch'unghow's head. Strange to say, Sir Samuel Baker turned up two months after General Gordon, so that there was ample opportunity for outsiders like the writer to form an idea as to what was in the air.

The true facts are as follow : at the period mentioned, the English papers in Shanghai and Hongkong had got an impression that Li Hung-chang's position was too powerful and that he was contemplating rebellion. It was the daily talk amongst the foreign "communities" at the ports ; but every sane man who had read anything of Chinese history and precedents, and above all of the crushing of the great triple rebellion of the Three Satraps by K'ang-hi, knew perfectly well that Li, whose character has never been revered by his countrymen—his elder brother, too, having one of the worst viceregal reputations in China—had neither the means, the character, nor the power to aspire to empire. Talk is careless in China. It is unprofitable to enquire what random remarks Herr von Brandt may possibly have made at his "fiv' o' cloquer" chats with his Peking cronies at Kierulff's Hotel, supposing he made any. Perhaps, by the light of Prince Bismarck's recent disclosures, one may believe any stories of German diplomatic cunning ; but Herr von Brandt was certainly no such fool as to, even covertly, incite Li Hung-chang to revolt ; nor was it possible for Li, whose diplomatic conversations, *more Sinense*, are always overheard by his pipe-bearers and other servants, to tolerate any such suggestion, even if it had

been made. Li, however, is like his prototype, Bismarck, in one way. He indulges freely in unconventional "yarns" and "gup." Liu Si-hung, whom Mr. Boulger gives as an authority in support of his rash statements, was a silly, jealous person, who not only charged Li Hung-chang with villainy, but also sent up a memorial accusing Kwo Sung-t'ao, the Envoy to England, of "truckling to the foreigner" by putting on Sir H. Storks' mantle one cold day when he was on board a boat bound for Chatham in that gallant officer's company, and of other ridiculous acts of "treason." Liu died, as he deserved, in poverty and disgrace. But, whatever vague talk Herr von Brandt *may* have indulged in—though he denies the charge, and is therefore, in the absence of proof to the contrary, entitled to belief—it is positive madness to charge Sir Thomas Wade with sharing von Brandt's alleged traitorous views. Whatever faults Sir Thomas had, he was at least a man of honour. Moreover, the keystone of his whole policy in China had always been to support the Manchu government; to teach it the value of centralisation; to insist on its controlling its viceroys; and to place itself in sympathy and touch with Europe. Sir Thomas Wade was no particular admirer of Li Hung-chang, who treated him in the usual insolent Chinese way, by keeping him waiting at the outer door and trying to "run him in" by a side-door when Sir Thomas paid his first visit in 1871. Sir Thomas was rather disposed, whilst aware of Li's power as the head of a military clique, to consider him a peevish and childish statesman. Sir Thomas often spoke to the few persons in China who knew anything of Chinese history of the Satrap Rebellion, and of the impossibility of any Viceroy, under the present system of checks, ever succeeding in overturning the Manchu dynasty. In short, as Lady Wade writes to the "Times," everyone who knew her husband will agree that General Gordon could not have derived his opinions direct from him. To sum up, the whole allegation is a cock-and-bull story from beginning to end, based, if based at all, upon nothing firmer than irresponsible chatter.

The question then arises : " Who started the story ? " All who know anything of Gordon admit freely that he was a great leader of uncivilised men, a God-fearing Christian, and a brave soldier, utterly contemptuous of death. But the possession of high qualities in one direction does not give one the monopoly of all high qualities. Gordon was apt to allow himself to be carried away by religious emotion, hatred of conventional restraint, philanthropic enthusiasm, and a restless desire to let off superfluous steam. What he really wanted was a good wife to keep him in order and calm him. Living a solitary, ascetic existence ; reading daily newspaper yarns of his magnificent generalship, his semi-divine heroism, his salvation of China, and so on ; he really became bewildered. The admiring or curious glances of his fellow-men made him morbidly self-conscious. He was not a highly-educated man, nor was he a good *salon* visitor. The conventionalities of society irritated that human vanity from which few of even the best of us are free. The " army form " which after all, whatever its defects, makes our heroes, was distasteful and galling to him. Tommy Atkins wants beef and beer, and cannot live, like dervishes, upon enthusiasm, or, as one of our generals once said, " like those d— Spaniards, upon oranges." Consequently, throughout his career, Gordon was never quite popular either with his fellow-officers or with Tommy Atkins. A great deal has been said of the madness of sending him to Khartoum and leaving him to perish there. It *would* have been a mad thing to do if any British troops had been entrusted to him ; but he was just the man to inspire with enthusiasm a fanatical race, and if he had strictly obeyed his instructions, probably all would have been well. But he seems to have followed the course which had always kept a real British command out of his reach ; he cast off all vestige of control, declared a sort of *Jihād* on his own responsibility, thus getting his own country into difficulty, and brought the relief expedition to failure. The reception of Gordon in China in 1880 was



rather a cool one. He was as reticent of his intentions as the British authorities were ignorant of them and, consequently, reticent of what *they* were prepared to do in certain eventualities. Hence Gordon eyed everyone, especially every British official, uneasily and suspiciously. As we have said, the newspapers of the time were full of Li Hung-chang and of his supposed ambitions. At Hongkong, Canton, Shanghai, and Tientsin, there was the same "hold-offishness" with Gordon on both sides. The Russian situation was delicate, and, naturally, there existed disquiet and curiosity in diplomatic circles as to what Gordon might do. Chang Chih-tung's famous memorial was published in the foreign papers, and he almost in as many words threatened the Manchu dynasty with a revolution unless Ch'unghow's Livadia treaty were repudiated. At that time both Sir Thomas Wade and Sir Robert Hart were on the tenter-hooks of uneasiness, whilst the Russian *chargé d'affaires*, Koyander, was all ears and eyes. Gordon's interviews with Li at Tientsin and the Tsung-li Yamèn at Peking seem to have "fizzled considerable": at all events, he came thundering down back to Hongkong in rather a bad temper, and at once published his memorandum of advice, which was, in short, to annoy any enemy by night-attacks, wear him out by irritation and anxiety, and deprive him of rest and sleep rather than meet him in the open field. He wound up by saying that any statesmen who recommended war with Russia ought to "have their heads cut" (*sic*).

The writer of these lines had Colonel Gordon all to himself for an hour and was very much impressed with the suddenness of his resolves, the strength of his fervour, the vivacity of his imagination and the unconventionality of his manner. Looking up at a public office, he wanted to know what *Domine, salvam fac reginam* (which he pronounced *rejdynam*) meant. His Latin quantities and his English compositions, though of course small indications, were none the less indications to his impulsive, restless

character. He was apt to suspect without ground, decide without evidence, speak without book, and form theories without information. Everyone who knew Gordon will feel assured that he really believed at the time anything that he may have told Mr. Boulger or written to his sister; but, in our apotheosis of Gordon, we must be just to others. The British public is rather apt to succumb to what the Germans call *Gefühlsduselei*, and it is only chance that has preserved Dr. Jameson from a deification second to that of Gordon. If he had been killed, and if the Rhodes' fiasco had not been proved up to the hilt, Dr. Jameson would, at least, have had a semi-deification. We are all proud of Gordon, whose memory will ever remain engraved in the hearts of his countrymen. He gave up his life for his friends, even if in so doing he committed imprudences upon the gravity of which we are the last to insist. But do not let us commit an injustice to Sir Thomas Wade's memory by claiming for Gordon the posthumous honour of diplomatic wisdom, to which he has no more claim than has Lord Beaconsfield to the honour of smart generalship in the field of battle.

Mr. Boulger's allegations seem to us to be based entirely upon tittle-tattle, and it would have been much better had they never been made. As for Herr von Brandt, he is alive and can take care of himself. At the same time, it may be noticed that the Chinese Legation's "*faux pas*" in "kidnapping" Sun Yat Sun is a very small offence when compared with Mr. Boulger's charge of a conspiracy by the German and English Ministers in China against the very Governments to which they were accredited. Yet the former peccadillo has created a storm of public indignation, whereas the latter grave accusation seems to pass unnoticed, except by the persons immediately interested in repudiating it, as if it were the most natural thing in the world for European representatives in Eastern lands to indulge in such intrigues.

## THE ROYAL NIGER COMPANY'S EXPEDITION.

BY BARON TEXTOR DE RAVISI.

*Fas est ab hosti doceri.* The English Press does not notice British encroachments till their object is successfully accomplished, but the French Press and Government are vigilant. On the Niger, the Nile, the Mekong, indeed everywhere, British policy is ever the same; a rival, enemy or, at least, malevolent to France. We see its game in spite of its able and tenacious diplomacy the object of which is "everything for England and nothing for others."

The *Dépêche Coloniale* has always been a guardian of French Colonial interests. In its issue of the 25th November the exposure of another Jameson raid is given. The *Times* next day had its substance in a telegram and much is made of our evacuation of the outpost of Arenberg, which was ordered, under a misapprehension, by M. Chautemps when the Niger Company insisted on it with threats of armed intervention. By this mistake our interests and rights have no doubt been compromised, but they have not been annulled, whatever the Niger Company and the *Times* may say, and we can still insist on a guarantee for our claims on the right bank of the Niger, in the *Hinterland* of Dahomey. For me the point always was that the French, with singular *naïveté*, believed that the question of *Adamawa* was reserved for diplomatic settlement, a great mistake!

More than a year ago the difficult and delicate task of delimitation between the two interested countries was entrusted to a mixed Commission, the labours of which have scarcely begun. The impropriety of diverting, in the meanwhile, any pending matter to British profit is so obvious than M. Hanotaux had to ask the London Cabinet about the objective of the Niger expedition. The answer received is reported in two different ways; one, that "the



sphere of operations will not affect French rights and interests ;" the other that " the projected expedition will not touch any of the points in dispute." Such an " assurance " has little weight, when the precise objects of the campaign are not stated, especially with a Government that is acting through a Chartered Company, which it can disavow on failure, as it has the noble work (?) of Cecil Rhodes after the *coup monté et raté* of the Transvaal raid.

The composition of the Niger expedition also justifies our fears. The column will comprise 23 officers of the British army who have received 6 months' leave for the purpose from the War Office. What will become of them if the Niger raid fails as did the Jameson farce? There too were officers on regular leave, and thanks to this fiction, Government could wash its hands of the whole business and even prosecute them before the tribunals. We are, therefore, justified in thinking that (1) the British Government knows the exact anti-French object of the expedition ; (2) that it lulls us into a sense of false security now, whilst ready to disavow the Company should it fail ; (3) that it will maintain and keep any successful results obtained by the Company, by sheltering itself under the plea of " accomplished facts." Let M. Hanotaux now speak out !

It must also be obvious to every Englishman, prejudiced or unprejudiced, that the Niger Company is being strongly backed up by the Government. What good this can do to the already sensitive, if not strained, relations between England and France, I will leave your readers to judge, but it seems to me that with extended difficulties and responsibilities on the frontiers of India, Egypt, the Transvaal ; with " a house to put in order " everywhere, further complications might well be avoided. Taking even the narrowest local view, it would seem that the present attempt to appropriate what is no doubt intended to be a large extent of territory, which cannot properly be administered, is a source of weakness rather than of strength to

the adjoining British Colony and Protectorate of Lagos. The claim, for instance, of the Royal Niger Company over Ilorin without any attempt to exercise authority over the people, must, an outsider would think, very prejudicially affect the interests of Lagos. Nor are the slave-raiding propensities of the Ilorins of much moment to the Niger Company, though they are of great, if not urgent, importance to Lagos.

Dismissing therefore these pretexts of the Ilorins and of the occupation of the Arenberg outpost, how about the Company projecting a struggle with Rabah, who so victoriously marched from Chasi to Lake Tchad that English admirers call him the "Napoleon of Central Africa"? This is unlikely, for Rabah does not threaten any British interest, whether commercial or political, though we do not go so far as to say that he is working in concert with the Company to divert towards the Niger and the Benoué the trade which now goes *viâ* Tripoli. The fiction also put forward by the Company in its own interests that the Foulah and other States owe allegiance to the Sultan of Sokoto has been well exposed by German and French explorers and scholars alike, whilst we may dismiss with the contempt that it deserves the pharisaical hypothesis that the campaign is undertaken for the suppression of the slave-trade—that everlasting excuse of British aggressions. What then is the real object of the expedition? One is to punish Sultan Zubeir of Adamawa for having received the French Mission, accepted an outpost of *tirailleurs*, and actually repelled an attack from the Company. He also declares himself independent of Sokoto, in whose name, as in that of the Great Mogul in India, the English seek to annex the countries alleged to be tributary to him for themselves, leaving him the shadow of an invented title. Lakuja to the junction of the Niger and of the Benoué, will, therefore, be the centre of supplies and the base of operations. Yola is the objective of the Company, Yola where the French flag has long waved, where Mizon has established an outpost.

Whilst I repeat, the French naïvely thought that the question of Adamawa was reserved for diplomatic settlement, the Company affirms that it is tributary to Sokoto, and that the Anglo-French declaration of the 5th August 1890 places it in the British sphere of interests. This is not so ; its Sultan is independent of Sokoto and has signed a Treaty with France which places him under the protection of a Power likely to be a match for any Company, even if overtly or covertly supported by the British Government.

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Baron T. de Ravisi's remarks will be read with much interest by those of our readers who are interested in the Royal Niger Company's Expedition. He writes in the evidently sincere belief that the Niger Company's Expedition is intended in some way as inimical to French interests, but this we can assure our veteran contributor with equal sincerity and from positive knowledge is not the case. The Company find that it is absolutely necessary to put a stop to the slave-raiding propensities of a powerful Emir, and the Expedition is directed solely against him. As to Ilorin, it is hoped that the punishment of this Emir will indirectly affect the proceedings of the Authorities there, whose hunting-ground is the Yoruba Country.

Baron de Ravisi is quite right in his remarks in regard to the question as it affects Lagos. The Company claim Ilorin, but wield absolutely no influence there, and are not interested in the proceedings of the Ilorins in the Yoruba Country because the Niger trade is not affected thereby ; consequently it is very difficult to get the Company to do anything towards keeping their unruly tributaries in order. Ilorin is of no use to the Company except to increase the surrender value of the Niger territories when they are handed over to the Imperial Government, as they must be sooner or later. On the other hand, Ilorin is of vital importance to Lagos, because it is from this quarter that all the trouble comes. During Sir G. C. Carter's adminis-



tration the whole of the Yoruba Country has been pacified with the exception of Ilorin, and punishment would have been inflicted on the slave-raiders there long ago, but for the fact that the place was technically outside the sphere of influence of Lagos. The French Government is perfectly aware of the objective of the expedition which is now en route to the Niger, and which, we repeat, does not threaten French interests in any way.—*Ed.*

## THE ORIGIN OF THE GOLD MYTH—AN EPISODE IN RHODESIAN HISTORY.

By A. G. C. VAN DUYL.

WHAT clouds are to the "star-gazer," Limited Liability Companies often are to the investigator of modern political phenomena. An exact knowledge of the situation in Rhodesia will, no doubt, be invaluable to the public as a guide to its proper administration in future. By the promoters of the Chartered Company, however, this Isis has been so thoroughly veiled, that it is almost hopeless to try to see her features. The following is only an account of what disinterested observers perceived in Rhodesia, at a time when they could not possibly have any other object than telling the truth, and when the veil had not yet been drawn so tight as to entirely mask the inscrutable goddess. Yet, to use another illustration, as straws show the way the wind blows, so may the following episode, trivial as its exposure of the invention of the existence of "paying" gold in Rhodesia may be compared with the wrongs that have since been committed, under its stimulus, on the Mashonas and the Matabeles, tend to mark the character and intentions of those who have so long posed as heroes and great administrators before gullible Jingoese. Mr. Cecil Rhodes now proposes, what he ought to have done from the beginning, namely, maintain a certain power of the Indunas over their people, as the only means by which a handful of white men can successfully govern black masses, but the proposal seems scarcely to be a *bonâ fide* one, for it is only based on the greater facility for obtaining taxes and labour, whilst the irreconcilable hostility of the Mashonas, whom the Company pretended, in the first Matabele war, to deliver from the Lo Bengula yoke, only too clearly shows that it is in the conduct of greedy,

immoral and unscrupulous whites themselves that the cause and, if a change takes place in it, the remedy of the present evils can alone be found. In short, Rhodesia requires the administration by a civilized, consistent and strong Government and not by temporarily - converted Company-mongers, lion-hunters and nigger-drivers.

In 1868 the *Natal Mercury* published a glowing account of extensive goldfields, discovered in the territory of the South African Republic. At the suggestion of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, copies of this paper and an official confirmation of the account were sent to Melbourne, causing three ships with about 250 miners to start from there to Durban, whilst many more prepared to follow.

To everybody, knowing the men that sought to influence the course of events and especially Sir Theophilus, the real object of that invitation was clear. It was to swamp, by an influx of foreigners, the Transvaal Dutch Boers who had already settled in the country, and who only desired to be left alone. The monumental ignorance of local facts that seems to be the curse of almost every Englishman who has any connection with South African affairs, was again the cause of a disillusion to those concerned.

Some reports of discoveries by the German traveller Mauch may have given rise to the rumour of goldfields; but it was not before 1873 that gold—in small quantities—was found in a place jocularly called Mac Mac when President Burgers visited it (because he saw so many Scotchmen there). The mines of Pilgrims' Rest were discovered in 1874 by Alex. Grey, one of the men who had come over in 1868.

When the 250 Australians came, there was nothing to show them. Deputations and protests were sent to Pieter-Maritzburg. The officials had to confess that the reports had been misleading; that there was indeed gold in small quantities, and that they had *believed* that the men would soon find more, when once induced to "prospect" the country.



This was disappointing. Many of the men had not money enough to wait for coming possibilities, or even to return to Melbourne. Disturbances occurred in Durban and threats of burning the *Mercury* office were heard. The Cape Mounted Police had to come to Natal and, at last, Government promised those that wished, a free passage back to Melbourne.

In the meantime some of the men had heard from elephant-hunters (the Hartleys) and others, that probably there were paying mines in the Tati, in Mashonaland. Sixty-five resolved to try their luck, but as they had not enough capital amongst themselves they held meetings of storekeepers and enrolled themselves in a "Natal Gold Prospecting Company, Limited," having for its object to prospect the goldfields to the north of the Shashi (river).

This company, which seems to be little known, should not be confounded with "the South African Goldfields Exploration Company." The later expedition was under the command of Mr. T. Baines, who had on his staff Mr. C. T. Nelson, a Swedish mineralogist, of sixteen years' experience in California. The prospectors left Pieter-Maritzburg on the 13th March 1869 and reached the chief's kraal in Matabeleland on the 19th of July.

Another company with the same object had been founded in England. It was called the London and Limpopo Mining Company and was headed by Sir John Swinburne, Bart., and Captain Arthur Levert. This expedition reached the Tati on the 27th April 1869 and afterwards Mr. C. T. Nelson worked with them.

But before either of these two companies had reached the Tati, the Natal Company had already arrived, and was prospecting. It had started with great expectations. The young ladies of Durban had presented it with a nice silk flag, embroidered with the emblem of the company, *Nil desperandum*. Stowed away in the recesses of one of the waggons was also a British flag, to be produced according to circumstances. Besides, the leaders had an official promise

from Sir Theophilus Shepstone, that help would be given them if they got into difficulties.

Moselekatse, the chief of the Matabele, father of Lobengula, was still in power, but very old and seemingly near his end. Some years before he had been making war on some tribes on the other side of the Zambesi and had stayed away for more than a year. His Indunas thought he was lost and some of them, influenced by missionaries, put his son, Kuruman, in his place. The old man, however, had only been detained on an island and, suddenly returning, was in a great fury about the usurpation. Kuruman had to fly for his life and, of course, ran to Natal to Shepstone, with whom he was in the capacity of a gardener, at the time that the Australians arrived.

Shepstone was a man of much resource, and was understood by Sir Bartle Frere (see his correspondence) better than he did most other men and situations. Shepstone's scheme may have been to reinstate Kuruman, when Moselekatse died and to keep him meanwhile under supervision, or to annex as much of his country as might seem feasible. This is probably why the expedition was provided with a British flag and generally speaking had the moral support of the Government of Natal.

The attempt of Mr. Cecil Rhodes on Matabeleland is, therefore, not his sole idea. The designs on Matabele- and Mashonaland, on the contrary, are some thirty years old. Sir Theophilus Shepstone may have been as deep a plotter as Sir Bartle Frere is said to have thought him, a deeper one, perhaps, than Mr. Cecil Rhodes may boast to be, except that the latter seems to have had no scruples to speak of and thus had a greater chance of success.

Amongst the Australian miners was a Dutchman, Mr. P. E. Wolter, who is still living quietly in Holland, and who years ago told me the whole story. As a boy he had, for health's sake, accompanied his uncle, master of a ship bound to Australia. The uncle died during the voyage and the boy was very rudely handled by the mate; so he

ran away as soon as the ship reached port. He could not get on shore, as already then, a strict watch was kept over sailors wanting to bolt to the goldmines. He succeeded, however, in reaching another ship, with which he made several voyages along the coast. He then worked in the goldmines, made some money, and went to Durban, joining the expedition to the Tati. As an experienced miner he soon saw that there was not much to be made there; so he wanted to see the goldfields in Matabeleland, of which the elephant-hunters had told him and his companions.

About that time Moselekatse died and was succeeded, not by Kuruman, or by an English protectorate—the plan of Shepstone not finding favour with the higher powers—but by Lobengula and it was resolved to deliver the country up to him, clean *vis*: without any of the white men in it, who successively had come in.

Before the matter was regulated, some months elapsed and Mr. Wolter, with two or three of his Australian friends had leisure to prospect the whole goldbearing belt, which could be easily done by experienced men, as the belt of slate or traprock at some places was not broader than 200 yards. Remaining in that belt, what the miners call "the colour of gold" was soon discovered and even some alluvial grains of gold in the rivers. The belt goes south-west and north-east and gets broader in Mashonaland; but seldom over two miles and is very distinctly separated from the granite right and left. Not one reef was to be seen which had not been worked out clearly already, at a time when blasting powder was unknown, and when the bringing up of the ore apparently had been done by an inclined plane constructed as a screw.

The mines must have been worked by kindling huge fires, and after this pouring water upon the heated stones, as is even now done in Australia for small quantities of quartz. Everywhere stones were found, hollowed out as a washing basin and which apparently had served to crush the ore. Amongst the reefs, Mr. Wolter and his mates



worked, one was 120 yards long and eighty feet deep. They took the pains to clear away all the rubbish to the bottom. The reef was about two feet six to three feet, and by some specimens, one could see it had given about 3 oz. per ton. But where the former miners had left off working, the reef produced only 3 dwts. per ton. One reef went 4 or 5 oz. per ton, but it was only from 2 inches to one foot wide and gave out at a depth of 36 feet.

There is every reason to suppose that all the really paying reefs had been worked out in the times when the tribes upon the South-coast of Arabia used to navigate along the East-coast of Africa and had entered most of the rivers. And it is amongst them that we have to look for that famous Queen of Sheba who paid a visit to King Solomon.

According to Mr. Wolter's observations, they must have been very experienced miners. They only took out the paying ore and left the works as soon as they struck ore, so low-graded, that it would not have rewarded the trouble. Generally speaking, the formation is not at all like that in Johannesburg and the reefs are much more difficult to work. But not one of them was worked which did not still show the vestiges of having contained fairly good stuff as far as it was worked—not one of the reefs that were unworked, which did not prove much too poor to reward one for the trouble.

Of course, nobody can say for certain that in this country no paying gold mine can ever be found. But as Mr. Wolter had the opportunity of looking over it quite at leisure, and could well judge what parts never could contain any gold reefs, he is still firmly convinced that no mines worth exploring will be found, and that most certainly nothing will be found to compare with Johannesburg.

When the Matabele-mania began in England I thought it right to warn my English friends and through them the English public—but in vain.

As years went by and only confirmed Mr. Wolter's views, no gold to speak of being produced, the conviction

spread that the Chartered Company was not at all meant as a mere *bonâ fide* business undertaking—though even an angel from heaven cannot convert people bent on making money by *fas aut nefas*. Now the conviction has burst upon England that there really is little in the company except speculation and dangerous political schemes. And so it *may* do good, if the warning be once more repeated.

When Mr. Wolter returned to Natal, the diamond-seeking in the Vaal river, near where Kimberley later on sprung up, had taken vast dimensions. Some of the officers even of the Natal garrisons had gone thither, and amongst them one Major Francis, whom Mr. Wolter knew when he first came to Durban. From him he heard that there were good finds in Klip drift (Barkly), and Mr. Wolter and his mates entered into a contract with him to repair thither. Major Francis procured the oxen and six months' provisions. The produce would be half for the major and half for Mr. Wolter and his mates.

It should be observed that there are some indications and that in any case it was believed by experienced miners that diamonds must have been found in these places already before 1867 and that the missionaries of Pniël (from the Mission in Berlin) knew more about it than they cared to tell. In any case, in the time of Mr. Wolter there was one Mr. Calemberg (or Kallenberg) in Pniël, who had the power, or took it, to give licenses and only gave them to Boers of the Orange Free State or special friends. The Natal party was not at all allowed to dig there and to this party belonged Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who already in Klip drift showed that he could not bear opposition. Pniël then was in the Orange Free State and on the other side of the river. But Mr. Rhodes resolved to have a rehearsal of the later Matabele and Johannesburg raids, and the whole Natal party, with waggons and all, armed with rifles and revolvers, crossed, prepared to fight for it if resistance was offered. Mr. Calemberg, of course, could not fight for his rights and allowed the men to work. Soon after Mr. Rhodes left for

Gong-gong, 30 miles down stream, where also diamonds had been found. From that place he went to the Beer's farm. For till now there only had been a question of the wet-diggings, and it is known how one Sunday the great Kimberley mine was found by somebody looking for grass to feed his oxen and the *dry* diggings began.

Rhodes heard of this on the Tuesday after and Mr. Wolter on Thursday. He had been away to Bultfontein, where he had bought some lots of ground. Coming up to the new mine he saw everywhere claims pegged off for Rhodes and his party (Rudd, Ford, Becher, Campbell, Popham, etc.). They had more than 30 together, and as according to law every miner could have only one, Mr. Wolter "jumped" one of Rhodes'. Monday afterwards the licenses were given out by the committee, and Rhodes, of course, objected that Mr. Wolter got the licenses for the jumped claim and for another he had bought. Very characteristically, however, he did not accept Wolter's offer to get the claim back for £50, but told him he would refer to the committee, "where," as he bluntly said, "you of course will lose as almost all the members are of the Natal party."

The other, nothing daunted, calmly replied: "Do as you like; I will call a meeting of all the diggers and then I will gladly prove that you have still many more claims than you have a right to."

As so many diggers were Australians and Mr. Wolter was wholly in the right, they most certainly would have supported him.

So Mr. Rhodes gave in quietly and never again spoke of the matter.

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I do not think it necessary to add any commentary to this simple story. "Paying" gold in Rhodesia is a myth, and even Mr. Selous in his last interview was too wise to commit himself upon this subject. Still investors will not see the unpleasant truth. Even about the agricultural possibilities of Rhodesia strong doubts may be entertained.



When a Cape-colonial writes that Europeans will never be able to settle there I believe he is right, but as long as the craze is on, it is futile to preach, nor do I see much use in reflecting on the acts of Sir Theophilus Shepstone and Mr. Rhodes as shown in the above narrative.

One set of men will always consider that any means, fair or foul, for annexing the whole of South Africa as a British possession, are legitimate, whilst another set of Englishmen are opposed to wrong-doing of any kind even in the supposed interest of their country. Neither set will ever convince the other, for there is an irreconcilable difference in their standpoints and natures.

Time alone will do it. It so happens that the convictions of the burghers of the South African Republic, of the Orange Free State, of the vast majority of Afrianders in the English colonies, and of almost every impartial observer on the continent of Europe, tally with the real facts of the case. There is, therefore, not the slightest urgency for arguing what time will prove without such aid. But if it then appears that multitudes have been estranged from an "imperial policy," it will also be seen that the only cause of this consummation is the continual succession of such "innocent" acts as are shown in the above episode, by so-called Imperialists who are sapping the foundations of the very principles on which alone an Empire can rest.

## THE FRENCH IN INDO-CHINA.

By E. H. PARKER.

NOT going back into the regions of misty antiquity beyond distinctly historical times, the writer sees no reason to doubt that the Annamese people originally had their empire in the Chinese province of Kwang Tung, and in that part of the Indo-Chinese peninsula now known as Tonquin. The Siamese, or Shans, then occupied parts of Yün Nan and Kwang Si. The more southerly part of Indo-China was inhabited by tribes of which we know next to nothing; but Indian colonists formed out of some of them the kingdoms of Ciampa, Cambodgia, and Burma. Those which were not thus absorbed into one or other of these politic systems are very likely to have been much akin to the scattered mountain tribes that still maintain a semi-independence in the peninsula. The Annamese capital was Canton; but 2,100 years ago the Chinese conquered that region; and ever since then the Annamese have been confined to Tonquin and the regions further south, upon which they have, in quite modern times, gradually advanced.

Annamese civilization, like those of Japan (until forty years ago) and Corea, is a mere Chinese graft. The Annamese language (monosyllabic), like the Japanese and Corean languages (agglutinative), is half made up of Chinese, which has permeated the whole three, just as Latin has affected the Teutonic, Slavic, and Celtic groups. All three nations use the pure Chinese written character concurrently with a more or less Chinese-derived popular script of their own. Corea and Annam have, with insignificant breaks, always been politically tributary to China. Japan, with hardly any qualification, has never been so. Siam, Burma, Cambodgia, and Ciampa, all "monosyllabic," fell under Hindoo literary influence, and have thus become polysyllabic.

In A.D. 1428 the Tonquin family of Lai definitely ejected Chinese administrative influence, which, sometimes in direct, at others in indirect form, had for 1,500 years always dominated the land. The Hindoo-Malay kingdom of Ciampa still existed as a rival, south of the Song Coi or Red River. Hué, the present Annamese capital, was the Ciampian metropolis: the Annamese occupied it during the 16th century, and soon afterwards conquered the whole of Ciampa up to the Cambodgian frontiers. But the Annamese Lai dynasty at Hanoi—the present French northern capital in Tonquin\*—was unable to impose more than a nominal control over its satraps at Hué. These formed a sort of khedivial dynasty in the family of Jwan or Nguyen, independently carrying the Annamese arms into Cambodgia, whose king was captured in 1658.

Towards the end of the 16th century the Spanish Dominicans secured a footing in the satrapy of Hué, and the French Jesuits were equally successful in Tonquin with the Chêng or Trinh family, who had asserted their power as a sort of tycoonish or Bismarckian dynasty under the Lai Emperors of Hanoi. For over a century cruel religious persecutions took place, and in 1749 the maladroitness of the French envoy Poivre, who had been sent to conclude a commercial treaty and improve international relations, only made matters worse. It was now that Dupleix, Governor of French India, first conceived the idea of founding an empire in Cochin-China. Civil wars in Annam meanwhile led to the expulsion of the Lai dynasty, and also of the Trinh family of mayors of the palace. Bishop Adran gave his support to Nguyen Anh, whose son was taken to Versailles. Tourane and Pulo Condor were ceded to France, and with France's moral assistance the whole of Annam and Tonquin were soon welded into one empire by Nguyen Anh,—better known to Europeans by his reign-title of Gialong,—who was

\* "Tonquin" is the Chinese Tung-king, or "Eastern Capital." The Japanese form Tō-kiō has the same origin and meaning.



speedily recognised by China. Nothing much came of the above-mentioned concessions to the French during the reigns of the first three opportunist Emperors, who all managed to keep European powers at arm's length; but during the long administration of Tu-Duc (Chinese Sz-têh, 1847-1883) the Annamese empire gradually fell to pieces. In 1856-7 Tourane was bombarded by the French, and M. Montigny endeavoured to realise the concessions made under the treaty of 1787. In 1858 Admiral Rigault de Genouilly actually took Tourane for a time, and also Cape St. James. The war with China interfering with further operations, it was not till 1861 that Admiral Charner occupied the two provinces of Mytho and Saïgon; and by the treaty of Hué, dated 1862, those two provinces, and that of Bien-hoa, were definitely ceded to France. As heir to Annam's rights in these provinces, France proceeded to claim protection over Cambodgia, and Admiral de la Grandière concluded a treaty with that *vieux singe* King Norodom, whom the writer of these lines had the pleasure of seeing in 1888 at Saïgon. Dupuis was at Hankow in 1872, incubating his schemes for supplying Yün Nan with arms by way of the Red River. Garnier had already met Dupuis in Yün Nan, and the two pioneers had arrived by different mental processes at the identical conclusion that Tonquin was the legitimate heritage of France. The writer also met Garnier at Hankow in 1873, and was at Canton during the events immediately succeeding his death, which took place in December of that year. By the treaty of Saïgon in 1874, Quinhon, Hanoi, and Haiphong were opened to French trade, and Sir Brooke Robertson, then Her Majesty's Consul at Canton, paid a visit to Hanoi. The writer was again in Canton in 1879 during the rebellion of the Chinese general Li Yang-ts'ai, who declared for the ancient Lai dynasty of Tonquin. The Viceroy Liu K'un-yi (now at Nanking) used to point out to his friends the daily positions on a large map. The Black Flag leader Lao Vinh-phuoc (Liu Yung-fuh)—the

same man who in 1894 showed his back to the Japanese in Formosa—betrayed his rival rebel to the Chinese general Fêng Tsz-ts'ai, and made things so uncomfortable for the French that a second expedition was resolved upon. [So embittered do the French still feel against Fêng Tsz-ts'ai, that they have just protested successfully, through M. Gérard at Peking, against his receiving a command on the Tonquin frontier. General P'an has therefore been appointed instead, as a salve to French feeling. The last *Avenir du Tonquin* contains the alarming news that Lao Vinh-phuoc is again on the move, and has already allied himself with the rebel Luong Tam-ky.] Rivière took Hanoi in 1882, but lost his life in almost exactly the same way and on almost exactly the same spot that Garnier had done. The Emperor Tu Duc died just before his empire collapsed: his nephew and successor was murdered after a four months' reign: two more puppets were then in turn set up by the French, and the reigning monarch Thanh-tay (to whom the writer had the honour of paying his respects in 1892) still nominally rules at Hué as direct descendant of the Nguyen house and of the founder Gialong. The writer has four times visited Haiphong; twice Siam; twice Burma; once Pulo Condor; twice Hanoi; thrice Tourane; once Hué; once Bac-ninh; once Quinhon; and several times Saigon; besides Quangnam, Faifo, Hongai, Nha-trang, Phu-lang-thuong, Nongsôn, Cholon; and such other colonies as Algiers, Tunis, New Caledonia, St. Bartholomew, St. Pierre, Martinique, Guadeloupe, etc., etc.: it is on these grounds, therefore, that he ventures to hazard a few words upon the French colony of Indo-China.

As our gifted neighbours across the channel are apt to be a little touchy when any point in their colonial administration is unfavourably criticised by non-Frenchmen, perhaps the safest way will be to take the words required to define the situation out of their own mouths, at least so far as possible, and thus avoid any appearance of bias. The *Mékong* of

the 3rd of October last—a Saïgon paper—thus defines the state of affairs at present ruling in Indo-China :

“The Governor-general, M. Rousseau,\* has his seat at Hanoi, in Tonquin—an unlimited protectorate. The colony of Cochin-China is administered by a lieutenant-governor, who resides at Saïgon. The mixed protectorate of the kingdom of Cambodgia—King Norodom I.—is directed by a resident-superior, who lives at Pnom-penh, as does also the King. The limited protectorate of the empire of Annam—Thanh-tay Emperor—is directed by a resident-superior, who resides at Hué, as does also the Emperor. Finally come Tonquin and Laos, administered by residents-superior.”

The short historical outline which we have given above will account for all the divisions of the French dominion mentioned by the *Mékong* except that of Laos, which, as everyone knows, became finally “sealed” to France by the treaty with England of last year. As we shall soon see, the *Avenir du Tonquin* is extremely dissatisfied with this treaty. Saïgon has for many years been a fairly successful colony, contributing considerable sums to the support of her younger sister Tonquin, which region, so far, has been an unexpectedly great drain upon French resources. Here again, however, it will perhaps be more satisfactory to cite the words of a home newspaper, the *Dépêche Coloniale* of the 14th October :

“If the financial system which reigns in Indo-China is deplorable, it is not the *Conseil Judiciaire* which is going to improve it much.”

The newspaper goes on to explain that the comptroller of finance, or inspector-general of colonies, at the head of this *conseil* possesses the right of veto over all expenditures proposed by the governor-general of Indo-China. The budget of Cochin-China, according to the somewhat exaggerated statements of the *Mékong*, now reaches the respectable sum of sixty million francs, although the total population only amounts to two millions of souls. Of this total 1,500,000 francs go as “tribute to the metropolis,” i.e. to France, or to the defraying of home expenses incurred by France in the colony. This enormous annual taxation (if it were a correct estimate) would be consider-

\* Lately deceased.—*Ed.*



ably over a guinea a head, and would exceed, at present exchange rates, the total average cash earnings *per capita* of the family of an Indian ryot or of a Chinese agricultural labourer. Mr. Tremlett, our consul at Saïgon, says :

"The tariff established in 1887 has never ceased to cause complaints by local merchants ; it is stated that in eight years imports have fallen from 120,000,000 fr. to 37,000,000, and that the number of 'patentes' in Saïgon and Cholon have diminished 50 per cent."

The chief stand-by of Saïgon is the rice export : in 1895 this amounted to 612,500 tons, value about £2,500,000. But the colonists complain that prosperous Cochin-China is now merely a sub-prefecture of bankrupt Tonquin, and consider it absurd that the governor-general, six hundred miles away at Hanoi, should still keep Cochin-China, not to say also Cambodgia, in leading-strings.

"To-day," says the *Mékong*, "the situation has changed. Tonquin ought to be self-supporting, and public opinion is disposed in favour of this course ; there is consequently good reason to restore to Cochin China—a French colony—a government of her own, and to give her back the administrative and financial autonomy to which she is entitled."

As Mr. Tremlett says :

"The colonists of Cochin-China are constantly demanding separation from Tonquin, upon various grounds, principally that it has been too often called upon to furnish money for the necessities of the younger district, and to pay a quota of its contribution to France for military or other services."

But the French authorities are not content with strangling their trade in Saïgon and Tonquin by imposing their voluminous general tariff, the mere study of which for the purpose of practically assessing duties wastes thousands of pounds a year in official salaries. It is not an uncommon thing at the Haïphong "docks" to see four listless Frenchmen hanging round a wretched Chinaman as he unloads his *colis* for inspection, and spending hours in valuing trumpery clocks or paraffin oil lamps. Mr. Tremlett reports that :

"The tariff has been revised, and is now computed in francs, payable at the exchange of the day ; this means a serious increase to the already heavy port charges. A duty of 5 fr. per 100 kilos. has been imposed upon petroleum—'consommation.' . . . A stamp duty upon native legal documents has been approved of. . . . The price of postage stamps has

been raised to meet the fall in exchange. . . . The water tax has been raised considerably."

Mr. Tremlett's estimate of the budget differs considerably from that given above by the *Mékong* :

"The budget for 1896 may be placed at £1,240,000 : the amount paid by the colony to France was 4,690,000 fr."

Mr. Tremlett is almost certain to be right, for, besides being a level-headed business man, he comes to a conclusion which closely corresponds with M. de Lanessan's estimate made ten years ago ; and things have not improved financially since then. Perhaps the *Mékong* inadvertently meant to include Annam, Tonquin, and Cambodgia. The issue of that newspaper for the 15th of September demands the abolition of the 5 fr. consumption tax on petroleum, which heavy charge is imposed in addition to 4 fr. import duty. Some local wiseacre, to make matters still worse, has just discovered that the import duty on tin is 30 fr. the 100 kilos., and therefore a tax of 18 cents the tin, or one franc the case, is now being added in addition to the 9 fr. the 100 kilos. As might naturally be supposed, the impoverished people who are ground down by so merciless a taxation, of which the above is only one example, have occasional recourse to the basest means for keeping body and soul together. To quote the *Mékong* for the 17th September :

"Le commerce des petites filles fleurit à Cholon, où de nombreuses proxénètes font métier de voler ou d'acheter de jeunes annamites, qu'elles revendent fort cher aux chinois."

It is but just to the French authorities, however, to add that, when the writer was at Tourane, Pakhoi, and Haiphong, he heard on all sides that the export of girls to China was strictly prohibited and punished when detected.

A year ago, M. Rousseau, who was allowed to explain his own views in Paris before the Chamber, succeeded in obtaining a loan of 80,000,000 fr. for the development of the resources of Tonquin ; but, according to the *Dépêche-Coloniale* of the 22 November :

"The results of the loan seem to have been *nil*, so far as the economic development of the colony goes, and at the same time onerous for its finances : here we have the deplorable effect of half-measures, of that

frittering away which unfortunately is still our manner of acting in France."

Most of the money seems indeed to have been frittered away already, and beyond the works on the new railway line from Hanoi to China, there is nothing to show.

A great deal is hoped in the future from the railway concession which has just been obtained by the Fives-Lille company from China. It is not likely that this speculation will bring much money to the contractors, who, for this purpose, have constituted themselves into a *compagnie anonyme*, working strictly under the control of the specially appointed Chinese administration. The full terms of the contract are published in a native Shanghai newspaper called the *Yih-wên Luh*. Accounts have to be furnished every month as the work proceeds, and all proposed expenditure has to be sanctioned by China beforehand: the company's sole profit may only be a commission on the approved expenditure. The line is to connect Lung-chou, the new treaty port of Kwang Si, by way of the frontier gate called Chên-nan Kwan, with Langson in Tonquin. Lung-chou has only a population of 20,000, and its trade fell from £20,000 in 1894 to £12,000 in 1895. But, if the French will only be easy with their transit dues, a good trade with Hongkong may develop. The concession to work the line is for 36 years, and the Chinese undertake to facilitate the procuring of coolie labour. On the other hand, the *Yih-wên Luh* of the 5th September states that the French have accepted tenders for the construction in seven stages of a line between Hanoi and Langson, at a cost of \$824,000, each stage costing from \$106,000 to \$139,000. The two stages between Langson and Chên-nan Kwan have been contracted for for \$312,000. According to the *Dépêche-Coloniale* of the 10th October, this contract narrowly escaped repudiation at home in consequence of hostile interpellations in the Chamber of Deputies; but the Minister for the Colonies seems to have explained things satisfactorily away:

"After these loyal and eloquent explanations, the Chamber gave, it appears, a bill of indemnity to the Under-Secretary for the Colonies."



This system of paralysing interference and petty meddling on the part of irresponsible people in Paris, which not only hampers the reasonable freedom of governors, but extends downwards through the whole official body, is thus condemned by a former governor-general, M. de Lanessan, in the *Rappel*:

"The capital vice of centralisation is that it inculcates in all the colonial authorities a fear of responsibility; or rather it increases that fear of it which every French functionary already nourishes at the bottom of his heart. I have seen such-and-such a lieutenant-governor, to whom I had already granted complete independence, on the one hand shirk the responsibility of taking steps without first telegraphing to me; whilst, on the other hand, in order to explain away his inaction, he told a long yarn, to all those who would swallow it, to the effect that I kept him too tightly in leading-strings."

The French colonists do not all seem very sanguine about the success of the much talked-of railway. The *Mékong* of the 7th September thus quotes a local correspondent:

"The grass covers our boulevards; the town seems dead. Here, there, big heaps of pebbles remind us that once upon a time great works were proclaimed; but nobody believes any longer in the future great commercial railway line; and if anyone who had visited Langson last year were to take it into his head to return, he would certainly hardly know himself again. The whole trade in which there seems to be any show of activity is that in dried grass, for fuel, and that does not amount to much!"

The agreement between the Fives-Lille Company and the Chinese provides that in case of dispute no foreigners shall be employed as arbitrators or umpires; only Frenchmen or Chinese. Under these circumstances it is difficult to justify the following complaint of a Langson correspondent quoted in the *Mékong* of the 15th October:

"Our charming railway administration has treated by private contract with a Chinese for the work of clearing away the *débris* resulting from a serious land-slip which had recently taken place on the line; and this to the detriment of properly equipped Europeans, who would have done the work on better terms."

This unreasonable jealousy of the industrious Chinese, to whom alone the French owe the modicum of prosperity their colony possesses, creeps out in various other ways. Thus M. Gaston Leriche, in a foolish leading article headed

"La Protection du Colon," falls foul of the governor-general and his wife for buying their clothes at a Chinese tailor's ; whilst another number of the journal in which he writes displays a similar overbearing spirit against the Annamese, and demands a punishment of twenty years' *travaux forcés* for some native troops guilty of using insolent language to private Frenchmen drinking at a restaurant. If the French colonists expect the Chinese and Annamese to work with them loyally, the *protectorat* must not protect the protectors against the *protégés*, but must give all a share alike in the good things that fortune brings.

A Hongkong paper, quoting the *Semaine Coloniale* of the 17th October, instances some striking examples of Chinese enterprise when Frenchmen hang back. Thus, a condemned Government steamer, the *Loire*, was sold the other day, at Saigon, for 36,300 francs, an absurdly low price in the opinion of that journal. The buyer is a Hongkong Chinaman who makes it a speciality to purchase condemned men-of-war or transports. As the *Loire* is the twentieth vessel he has thus bought, the business seems to be profitable. The *Semaine* deplores the fact that no Frenchmen sought to combine to buy the vessel, considering the low price she fetched. It points out that Frenchmen rail at the Chinese, but fall short themselves through lack of spirit and co-operation. Also, the materials of a rice mill, styled the *Rizerie Française*, there, have in the same way been bought by a Chinese syndicate for \$10,200. It is expected that they will get back their purchase money with a handsome profit besides.

According to Mr. Tremlett, the budget of the newly acquired territory of Laos was established for the year 1895 at £67,500, Cochin-china to contribute six-thirteenths, Tonquin five, and Cambodgia two ; but the Colonial Council rejected the proposition. The *Mékong* of the 8th of September asks :

"Whether Laos ought or ought not to have a delegate in the *Conseil Supérieur des Colonies* ? Its budget, its extraordinary expenses are supplied by drafts upon the budgets of Cochin-china and Cambodgia, and also on

that of Annam-Tonquin. . . . Laos is attached to the French domain ; it is annexed ; it is a colony, just as Cochinchina is. A resident-superior has already been sent to Laos, but he had the smartness to declare that his post might be suppressed without inconvenience."

An idiotic correspondent in the *Mékong* of the 21st September, calling himself Zeno, ascribes the failure of Laos to

"L'or Anglais. On le vit naguère fomenter les affreuses révolutions de l'Arménie. L'or Anglais, travaillerait il aussi l'Indo-Chine? Rien maintenant ne saurait nous rassurer."

He then proceeds to speak in sensational style of the vast gold deposits in Attopeu, and the enormous teak forests of Luang-Prabang, which are *not* to be administered. "*On ne le veut pas. POURQUOI?*" The not very consequent answer is: "Des commissaires anglais parcourent constamment le Siam." The Siamese, he goes on to say, despise the French, and he cites as evidence of this alleged fact the "outrages at Pétrin," the "aggressions against the sailors of the *Vipère*," etc. It appears, however, that affairs are not so desperate in Laos as Zeno would have us believe. An anonymous "*Société des étains de Hin-Boun*" has been constituted, with a capital of 210,000 francs, and is said to give great promise. Of course:

"Les administrateurs de cette société devront être de nationalité française."

Moreover Lieutenant Simon of the French navy has just arrived: his mission is to find out how to arrange

"For the passing across the island of Khône of the vessels destined for the Upper Mekong, and for the service organisation. It is also he who will discover a way through the rapids of Kemmarat for the steamer which is intended to run in the upper basin."

A more sensible correspondent, signing himself X., writes to the *Mékong* of the 24th September, and points out that Frenchmen must make up their minds to work, instead of merely chattering, if they are to succeed. According to him, a "*Société d'études des mines d'Attopeu*" has already been formed.

The most recent *Avenir du Tonkin* has the following article on the relations between France and Siam, rendered acute by the Kadir trouble and similar affairs of late:



"Our affairs in Bangkok begin to take a decidedly singular turn, and our Minister for Foreign Affairs must have strong reasons for pretending to be ignorant of what is passing there. The situation becomes more grave from day to day, and we may at any moment expect a sudden rupture. One of the chief reasons is that they will not recognise our right to exercise jurisdiction over our protégés. The Royal government imprisons daily our protected subjects; our representative may protest, but nothing is done, and only during the last few days more than three hundred Cambodians, our protégés, were imprisoned by the Siamese authorities. Other matters too, which should have been settled at once, remain in suspense and are the cause of endless negotiations. Thus we have up to the present day not taken any steps to establish any consulates except at Khorat and Battambang, although since the signing of the Treaty we ought to have been officially represented at Ban-dua Mekong and at Oubone. We repeat, in presence of these very grave facts, which permit the Siamese authorities on all sides to expose our feebleness, and which damage our prestige immensely, if indeed we have any left, that we cannot explain the reserved attitude of our rulers in the metropolis. Three days ago the Agence Havas telegraphed: 'The Ministry know nothing about the conflict in Siam.' If we had acted with a strong hand, we might have given the English an excuse to land their marines, and we know that where our neighbours once establish themselves, it is hard to dislodge them afterwards. We feared perhaps a repetition of their proceedings in Egypt. On this account it is possible that we acted wisely in waiting for a more propitious opportunity. But to prepare for such an eventuality we must be more strongly represented in Bangkok from a maritime point of view. We must be able to occupy the town instantly so as to insure the safety of the foreign residents, and to avoid thus any intermeddling of other powers. Are we now in a position to recommence the game which we then lost? It would be easy to-day to come to an understanding with England about Siam—perhaps this has been effected already after the march of the Anglo-Egyptian forces upon Dongola—and to extend our protectorate over Siam. This is the main thing wanting to the renown of M. Rousseau. Our Indo-Chinese finances too would be greatly improved through such an act."

According to the latest news from China, M. Berthoin's albumen works at Hoihow in Hainan have been destroyed by a Chinese mob. Mention is also made of a similar factory at Chinkiang, in China, but not under French management. The *Dépêche Coloniale* of the 11th October thus describes the new industry:

"The yarns from the factory of MM. Bourgoïn-Meffre at Hanoi can compete advantageously with those from Bombay, thanks to the initiative of M. Berthoin, founder of the albumen factories, who offers the products of Hanoi in exchange for the eggs needed for his industry."

It is stated that these yarns are already selling in the markets of Ha-tinh : they are

"Plus soigné et plus blanc. . . Les chinois eux-mêmes commencent à faire leurs approvisionnements chez M. Berthoin."

On the 16th of June the Thanh-hoa establishment alone received and employed 20,000 eggs. Everyone will be glad to congratulate the French upon the success of such legitimate enterprise as this : it is only their own incorrigible and narrow-minded system of protection which at once defeats its own ends and deprives them of a fuller measure of sympathy. In an article headed "Protection mal comprise," the *Mékong* of the 7th September gives an account of a circular issued by M. Brière, resident-general at Hué, calling for information on behalf of a Parisian firm of the Faubourg St. Denis, desirous of selling to the Annamese

'Glaces, cadres, miroirs, consoles, jardinières, psychés, marbles, etc., dorés et autres."

The *Dépêche Coloniale* of the 14th October takes the matter up, ridiculing this waste of time and trouble :

"It seems to us that the Annamite, who lives in a reed hut, sleeping under one mosquito curtain with his pigs, is scarcely more likely to trouble himself about gilt furniture and Psychés than Dr. Chautemps is likely to do about the prosperity of our colonies."

Why not leave these things to the Chambers of Commerce? So inquires the *Mékong*. The answer is that the Chamber of Commerce of Hanoi has already resigned its functions, whilst their colleagues of Saigon are threatening to do the same. The *Mékong* congratulates the Hanoi Chamber upon its action, and says that

"Leur décision est sur le point d'être suivie par la Chambre de Commerce de Saigon."

The ground of the Hanoi resignation appears to be that M. Rousseau was "deaf or evasive" in reply to their "protest against Chinese invasion." And

"We desire that, as in France, the quality of being a Frenchman shall be necessary in order to compete for contracts."

The late governor-general, however, had little opportunity left to him to show favouritism, except indeed that favouritism which the Frenchmen desire exclusively for

themselves. In calling for public tenders for steam floating shears for Haiphong, and for the wood and metal necessary for three floating piers along the Cuacam watercourse, for a sea-going tug, a river tug, Haiphong improvement works, etc., the proclamation of the governor-general is careful to stipulate that all applicants must be French. This system of buying in the dearest market, and forcing the nation to place public money in private pockets, naturally leads to scamped work and great speculation. For instance, at Hanoi :

"The revolving bridge in front of the market has been constructed in such a way that at this moment it cannot be opened. Now, this is a bridge which dates from six months ago, and has cost 83,000 fr."

The much vaunted military districts established by M. de Lanessan seem to be as full of pirates as ever; even so near to Haiphong as Sept-Pagodes and Phu-lang-thuong, frequent brushes take place; it is with the greatest difficulty that the preliminary works on the Langson railway can be undertaken, and the bandits are continually on the *qui vive* to secure good fat Frenchmen for ransom. The *Mékong* of the 7 September says :

"De plus, Luong-tam-ky est bien loin de posséder, comme on l'annonce à grand fracas, 800 hommes solidement armés."

This has reference to a letter from Cho-moi to the *Echo du Tonkin*, stating that,

"La situation est très-grave. Luong-tam-ky dispose de 800 fusils à tir rapide,"

and pleading that an able delegate of the government, conversant with Chinese, should be sent to Cho-chu. M. Rousseau's recent journey to the third military district seems to have been in connection with the organization of a column which it is proposed to station at Cho-chu this winter. The total French forces in Indo-China at this moment, including the auxiliary services and the gendarmerie, number 24,500 men, 10,000 of whom are Frenchmen or Europeans; to wit, 4,800 infantry marine, 3,600 foreign legion, 1,300 artillerymen. The native tirailleurs number 14,100, and besides these there are 10,000 native militia. Great things were expected from General Dodds;



but he had no sooner got out than quarrels and intrigues commenced : after a few months' absence from France, he is once more in Marseilles. There is some mystery about his recall. Some say it is because he is a creole—presumably they mean a creole in the popular but erroneous sense of an "octoroon," and not in the more accurate sense of a pure white man born in the West Indies or Southern States of America. The *Mékong* of the 24th September says :

"The Dodds business will do no good to M. Rousseau ;"  
and, again, on the 1st October :

"Recalled as he was without any reason that will hold water having been given, replaced without ground in his command of the Indo-China troops which had only just been entrusted to him, the town of Marseilles is preparing a reception," etc.

The latest *Courrier d'Haiphong* chronicles the appearance of brigands in different parts of Tonquin. In many districts, the brigands retreat before the troops, to resume activity the moment they retire. The brigands then levy requisitions on the villages. Should any village fail to furnish supplies to them, or give information to the French troops, the brigands destroy the place and massacre the people. The vengeance taken strikes terror, and the brigands hold their own. The country they infest stretches so far that the military cannot occupy it. The brigands easily keep out of their way, and maintain hold upon the villages by keeping faith with them in the matter of requisitions, by levying only a fixed quantity, and by paying for any supplies they demand in excess.

What tends as much as anything to ruin the prospects of the French colony—so much of it at least as is not already ruined by a crushing tariff and harassing general taxation—is the incessant squabbling which goes on between the civil, military, and naval authorities with each other, on the one hand, and with the Colonial Office, the press, the public bodies, and the individual colonists on the other. M. Cuers de Cogolin, the energetic editor of the *Courrier d'Haiphong*, has after a ten years' career just abandoned the colony in a state of *découragement profond*. M.

Lanessan is one of the few French governors who has had any persistent policy, but even he was occasionally spoken of in Tonquin, with unfair flippancy, as a *fumiste*; General Reste and Admiral Fournier both shook the Tonquin dust off their shoes under his *gérance*; and finally his own government summarily recalled him for intriguing with the press. The comptrollers of customs, M. Coqui at Haiphong, and M. de Montaignac at Tourane, both had to defend themselves against spiteful charges when the writer was enjoying the honour of their hospitality. M. Coqui horsewhipped his accuser in the public street. The same thing in other French colonies; for instance the New Caledonian Assembly, after being dissolved by a hostile governor, re-elects twelve opposition candidates out of sixteen, and protests against the present governor's being continued in his post. What has recently taken place in Madagascar in connection with M. Laroche's removal everyone knows: that country seems on the high-road to economical ruin. The colonists at Mahé wonder why the Indian government runs its railway at a distance of two kilomètres from the French frontier, thus making it impossible for exports to choose the French seaport route. How can they expect trade to be directed into the jaws of a *tarif-général*? Nor do local residents give more satisfaction than governors and generals; the colonists at Tourane, the oldest French foothold in Annam, send up a wail about the absence of all encouragement by their authorities. At Quangnam the resident forbids the circulation of oxen or hides in his province, and without intelligible reason thus puts a stop to the chief local trade: at his public reception he carefully omits to invite any local French colonists. The Saïgon journalists complain of neglect and rudeness at the official receptions. They grumble because Mme. Rousseau sends a boy round with her cards. M. Louis Dutilh thus writes of an official in Tonquin:

"In the suburbs of Hanoi . . . two of our compatriots possess a farm the rapid development of which offended the functionary in question. If

you add to this the fact that our two colonists are newspaper-men, you will easily be able to understand to what length the hatred of a paid official can go."

He then proceeds at length with the old story of official spite and obstruction. M. Jules Siegfried has been instituting careful inquiries as to the comparative number of officials employed by the English and French Colonial Offices. The former costs about 900,000 fr., and pays 79 *employés*, whilst the latter costs 800,000 fr. and pays 231 *employés*. The vice of the home department is that of the colonies,—too many officials, mostly under-paid, nearly all underworked and twiddling their thumbs :

"One ought to see with what a multiplicity of details the functionaries of our colonial administration are encumbered. It is there that a liberal decentralisation is necessary ; but it must be added that this will never be possible until the deputies and senators for the colonies will, on their part, respect the authority and the legitimate attributes of governors, and abstain from meddling by raising difficulties on every petty colonial question."

Take again the French postal and telegraph service, which costs Indo-China \$293,000 a year. The practice of closing all business establishments for a few hours during the *siesta*, instead of keeping the post-office open from 8 to 8 all day, and the fact that all easterns are early risers, drives the Chinese and the natives to remit their money by junks, as the 80 post-office agents, drawing salaries amounting to 620,300 fr. a year, totally fail to satisfy the public :

"Offices shut just exactly at the hours when the activity of business transactions amongst the natives and the Chinese merchants is at its greatest."

The French have a natural bent towards discipline, which is sometimes apt to degenerate into martinetism. French banks even in Paris contain innumerable guichets, at which most of the clerks have for the greater part of their time nothing to do. French steamers are only too apt to leave even engaged cargo behind rather than keep irregular hours. Even to change a few sovereigns at a French money-changer's, one often has to waste time by filling up printed forms. The whole of French public and commercial life is eaten up



with useless scribbling, red-tape, registration, regulations, prohibitions, petty charges, restrictions, delays, counter-checks, and what not. "Administration" is one of the cankerworms which gnaws at the vitals of the nation, and this natural bent of course spreads to the colonies, where, having insufficient to feed on, it "*se replie sur elle-même*": the number of Tonquin decrees, *arrêts*, and orders is stupendous. The *Mékong* of the 10th September publishes a long list of Rules sanctioned by the President of the Republic touching the Réorganisation de la Police de Cochinchine. Another number gives a similar list concerning Le Service Forestier en Cochinchine. Everything is *vu* this and *vu* that, *sur la proposition* of somebody: for instance: here is the official nomination of a panka-coolie to the post of peon!

"Par arrêté du lieutenant-gouverneur *p.i.* de la Cochinchine en date du 6 Octobre 1896: Le nommé Duong-van-Loc, tireur de panka, est nommé planton au secrétariat du gouvernement."

One of the local journals pokes a little fun at this, and ironically asks who has been appointed as the new panka-coolie:

"Une chose nous inquiète pourtant: Qui a été nommé tireur de panka en remplacement de Duong-van-Loc?"

A French official who had been sent out by the Ministry of Commerce on a mission of enquiry once remarked to the writer that the best thing for Tonquin would be to pawn it to the directors of the Hongkong Bank, and let them appoint their own administration. A British deputy-commissioner in India or Burma, himself speaking the local tongue, and aided by a couple of English juniors, half a dozen half-caste clerks, and a few native police, does as much effective work as a whole province full of French colonial officials. The extraordinary part of the business is that the French colonists never seem capable of learning a lesson from experience. In Indo-China they have the example of Hongkong and Singapore. In New Caledonia those of Fiji and Australia. In Madagascar that of Zanzibar. The very best thing for Indo-China would of course be to charter a

British company or engage a British governor for, say, ten years, to start the concern : it would not in the least matter if such of the French officials now there who are fairly competent were left there, so long as they obeyed the orders of the British governor, whose chief virtue would consist in letting every one alone, and, as far as possible, doing nothing on his own initiative. But as this salutary course is, of course, impossible in the nature of things, the next best plan would be to pitch all copies of the Tariff into the sea ; throw open the whole country free for ten years ; put a stop to the gambling monopolies ; insist (as is done in Burma) on every responsible official both speaking and reading the language ; abolish the siesta ; and put all nationalities upon an equal trade footing. First create your prosperous, and thus taxable, material ; then consider where best to put on your taxes.

The writer has personally received every kindness from the French of all ranks and classes in Indo-China, and he therefore trusts that, in speaking out his mind, he will not be accused of ingratitude. The supposed jealousy of French success is absolutely non-existent in England, where the already subsisting strong sympathy would soon develop into enthusiastic co-operation, if French commerce and French finance would only shew a little common sense, and abandon the "dog-in-the-manger" counsels persisted in by a large portion of the French press. At the moment he writes the subjoined telegram arrives from Paris, and he heartily hopes that steps will be taken before long to improve French trade, both with the colonies and elsewhere :

"THE FRENCH SHIPPING TRADE.

"Paris, Wednesday, 2 Dec.—The 'Soleil' to-day declares the French mercantile marine to be in a deplorable condition, and says that the remedy would be to return to wiser economic doctrines, and to remove all impediments to the foreign trade of France, from customs' tariffs to port regulations"—*Reuter*.

## THE DUTCH IN ATJÈH.

BY A. G. C. VAN DUYL.

WHEN I wrote the paper upon Atjèh, published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January and April, 1895, my chief object was to call attention to the valuable works of Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, as I am firmly convinced that it would prove greatly to the country's advantage if they, and especially his "*Mekka*" and "*Der Mahdi*," were better known in influential quarters.

I could then scarcely avoid to say some words on the Dutch war, but I never meant to give this part of the subject much prominence, as it is really impossible to give a clear and complete account of the strife, without the addition of a good topographical map and without entering in more detail than can be devoted to the subject in an English Review.

As, however, the latest events seem to ask for some explanation I will try to give it as succinctly as possible.

The readers of my former paper will excuse my now repeating, that, apart from everlasting petty feuds between the innumerable chiefs, there are in Atjèh two great parties: the *A'dat*-party and the party of the *U'lemá*.\*

Both these parties at the beginning of the war were as one against the Dutch.

When the war began† the Dutch leaders had not the

\* *A'dat* = customs of the country, "customary law." Most chiefs and a great portion of the people are of this party, but they do not often dare to act upon their convictions, when there is a strong opposition from the priests.

*U'lemá* = the learned priests or expounders of the religious Muhammadan law.

† Before the war began there was an opening in this direction. In or about 1873 prompt and resolute action could have averted the war. The Sultan, as will be seen from former articles, had a shadow of a right over the



advantage that a part of the people sided with the invaders. It was only afterwards that it became clear that if allies were to be found they must come from the *A'dat*-party, and that some of its chiefs would gladly take the Dutch side, if they only could be sure of not having to suffer for it, from their own countrymen. But, as I have already said in my former paper, the impression that the unbelievers are irresistible was never really given in Atjèh, for just when this result was nearly obtained and the Dutch troops moved unmolested even in the highlands, there was a reversal of policy in high quarters and the fatal "concentration-policy" of '84-85 slowly but surely undid all that was gained. The authorities meant it as a token of confidence in the peaceful intentions of a large part of the people of Atjèh. The Atjèhnese considered it as a symptom of weakness and in many cases it proved detrimental to the men who had at last taken the Dutch side. So, of course, the well-meaning chiefs could scarcely be convinced of the power of the Dutch to protect them under all circumstances.

In 1893 however there was a change for the better.

The disorderly conduct of some bands of the "priest-party" (a conduct, it should be said, which was rather the rule amongst them, as these born robbers never made much difference between friend and foe) stimulated the desire of some very influential Gampōngs (villages) to get rid of them by the aid of the Dutch troops. Again overtures were made to the Dutch authorities and this time they were accepted.

The man who made them was Toekoe Oemar\* (Toekoe = whole country. But he never was strong enough to enforce his authority. In 1873 some overtures were made by him to the Indian authorities. If these then had done what they did in Siak in 1858 and the English authorities, in 1875, did in Malaya (*cf.* Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, vol. 27: "British Rule in Malaya," by Mr. Swettenham) the course of events would have been quite a different one. Happy the country which at such critical moments has the right man in the right place! In India, just at that moment, he seems not to have been present, or was napping, or travelling. In any case he did not hear.

\* "Oe" in Dutch spelling reads as English "oo."—Ed.

Sir) one of the political adventurers described in a former paper. At first only the chief of a small band of followers, but then already distinguishing himself by great personal courage and especially by craft, he had worked himself up to being "Lord of the Sea," *i.e.* master of nearly the whole of the west-coast of Atjèh.

This man understood exceedingly well the art of making himself beloved and dreaded amongst his countrymen and better still that of gaining influence by wealthy and aristocratic marriages.

One of his wives, apparently his headwife, is Tjoet-diën,\* a daughter of Toekoe Nanta, chief of the Moekim

\* *Tjoet* means "little." As to the language of Atjèh *cf.* the works of Dr. Snouck Hurgronje and of Resident Langen. It is closely related to Malay with many Arabic words. The researches of Dr. Niemann in Delft prove that there is a great affinity between the language of Atjèh and the Tjam in Kambodia, which supports the theory that different parts of the Indian Archipelago got their population from these parts of India.

As to the toponymical features of the country, here are some instances :

*Lam* means village, or what is expressed by the suffix *ton* or *town* in English. So *Lam pisang*, *djamoe*, *ara*, *koenjèt*, *baroe* : of the pisangs, of the guests, of the figs, of the *curcuma* (= *koenjèt*), new village.

*Kroeng* means river (pure Tjam ; the word does not occur in any other language of the archipelago).

*Pakan* means market place. *Pakan kroeng tjoet* = (one of the strongholds) market place of the little river.

*Rajoet* and *Raja* = large or big.

*Blang* = rice field (*sawah* in Malay). *Tjot* = steep, thus : hill.

*Tjot Sabtoe* = Saturday hill. *Bak* = tree. *Bak tjoe* = tjoe tree, meaning a kind of wood of which sword sheaths are made.

*Glé* = hill, but more especially hill with shrub and consequently also : cliff, opening between two steep hills. *Glé kambing* = goats' cliff. For *mount* the pure Malay word *boekit* is also in use.

*Mon* = small lake, pond, pit.

*Oedjong* = cape, promontory.

*Atjèh* itself seems to be the name of a tree, only to be found in that country.

Many of the names are taken from animals and plants, particular to the country, having no equivalent in other languages.

*Siroen* is a kind of wood. *Seboen* a particular fish.

In the names of men *Po* means prince. *Potjoet* = little prince, is the son of a princess, when she is married to a man of no aristocracy. The people of Atjèh (like most seafaring people and mountaineers?) are given to shortening the words, as may be seen by comparing the Malay equivalents.

(a district, or properly a Oeleëbalangship or Chiefship of the xxv Moekim). This man is either dead or so aged as to be of no account. The real Oeleëbalang is his son. As he is quite or nearly an idiot, the acting chief is Toekoe Oemar, or rather his wife, who makes him do what she likes.

Some years ago (and the man cannot have much changed since, as he still is comparatively young, 35 to 40 years of age), a good and very impartial observer described Toekoe Oemar as shrewd, even amongst the Atjèhnese, handsome for his race, a gentleman amongst his people; energetic, enterprising, a man of many gifts, very ambitious, fully resolved to do what is humanly possible to become a real reigning chief. A pity it is that he is an opium-eater or smoker, like almost all men of Atjèh. It is probably this which makes him in a high degree a man of the moment, fickle, given to sudden outbursts of temper, difficult to understand and to manage. In fact, as a rule, it was only the Assistant-Resident Kroesen, whom he fully trusted, and whose advice he almost always followed. But his particular quality, or rather lack of the good quality of stability, often spoilt his own well-conceived plans. Moreover, as most Atjèhnese, he is exceedingly vain, and—as Orientals are only, in exceptional cases, thoroughly understood by Europeans—often must have been hurt by words or actions, which amongst white people would have passed unperceived, as not meant in bad part or as quite innocent. In May, '93, the then military Governor of Atjèh, Deykerhof, rescinded an order by which the export of wares out of the Dutch defensive lines had not been allowed. As a consequence many men of Atjèh came to sell their goods and buy necessities. Returning home, they were often plundered by their countrymen. Toekoe Oemar here saw an opening. He put himself at the head of the opposition

*Sa* (satoe) one; *doewa* (doewa) two; *lehée* (tiga) three; *pet* (ampat) four; *limong* (lima) five; *nam* (anam) six; *toedjoeh* (toedjoet) seven; *lapan* (delapan) eight; *sikoereng* (sembilan) nine; *sepoeloh* (sepoelat) ten.

*Sikoereng* for nine is very curious. It means: one fails = ix.



against the robbers, and in July, '93, men of his Gampōng *Lam Manjang* killed a robber chief Panglima Hassan and some of his party. Retaliating, one Toekoe Bess burned *Lam Manjang*, and murdered some of the villagers. Toekoe Oemar then killed Toekoe Bess and forty of his followers, and after this, on the 19 July, went to Assistant-Resident Kroesen, offering to drive the enemy out of the whole of the xxv Moekim (District) (of which the vi Moekim of Toekoe Oemar's wife is a part), if he could get pardoned (for former acts of which later on). He was assisted by Dutch troops, and allowed to fetch his panglimas (chief-officers) from the west coast. This was conceded (of course also by Governor Deykerhof) and Toekoe Oemar succeeded in doing what he promised. Amongst others he took the stronghold *Kaloet* which the Dutch never could get, also because they never could discover where the fortifications really were, one instance of the difficulties caused by the most luxurious growth, of which I already said some words in my former paper.

When the enemy had been driven out of the xxv Moekim, Toekoe Oemar and fifteen of his followers took the oath of allegiance and he got the name of Toekoe Djohan Pahalawang, with the title of Panglima Prang Besar or great military chief. In the following year he drove the enemy out of the greater part of the xxvi Moekim, so that the war-party only remained in the xxii Moekim, the third great division of Atjèh and the most difficult part of the highlands.

To all the districts, from which the war-party was driven, peace and prosperity were visibly returning. So much so, that the able Editor of the *Deli-Courant*, who had been very sceptical, wrote home, that during a visit in Atjèh, he had been astonished by the amelioration he had witnessed. (*Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* of 15 March, 1895.)

Suddenly and quite unexpected by the authorities in Atjèh (Assistant-Resident Kroesen was absent for the sake of

health) the face of affairs changed. Toekoe Oemar bluntly refused his co-operation in an expedition against the xxii Moekim, which had been resolved on by common consent. He went home with his followers, whilst the Dutch troops were already marching, uncovering by his action the high-ways to the Dutch outlying posts. If orders had not been promptly reversed even the position of Kotta-Raja, the centre of the defence, could have been raided by bands of the enemy. As it was, the garrisons of five or six important fortifications were cut off and had first to be relieved.

It is quite easy, of course, to explain this conduct of Toekoe Oemar by the theory that he was a traitor from the beginning, that he never meant to be fair, that all his fighting of the war-party was only a cleverly acted comedy, and that the almighty dollar had much more to do with his victories than the tremendous shooting, in which there was not much killing. According to this view Toekoe Oemar left when he saw nothing more could be obtained, and some even pretend that he really meant to draw away from Kotta-Raja the bulk of the Dutch troops and take up himself the position in their absence.

This easy explanation indeed is too simple, smacks too much of the melodramatic and is not in accordance with the facts. It can be proved that Toekoe Oemar in all these expeditions *a payé de sa personne*, that the encounters were not at all insignificant to his men, and, as to his defection, it has never been established that he really sided with the war-party. He indeed went home, but only put himself upon the defensive, not taking part in fights before—as a matter of course—he was in his turn attacked by the Dutch.

The weak point, however, in the old co-operation with Toekoe Oemar had always been the profound disgust of the Dutch army and navy for the natives of Atjèh, whom they consider as a very low and immoral people. It is not easy to run counter to such a general opinion which must

necessarily sometimes lead to difficulties. As to Toekoe Oemar there were still other causes for their disgust.

As soon as Toekoe Oemar had gained the supremacy over almost all the chiefs upon the west coast of Atjèh and had driven a very lucrative trade, mostly in pepper, he had already made overtures to the Dutch authorities, and even had rendered them some services during the first negotiations with the *Imâm* of Tenom, the well-known chief in the Nisero affair. Some time after this he again offered to be the mediator, and as such he was a passenger in the warship *Benkoelen*. When he and his followers went ashore they murdered nearly all the sailors in the sloop. Of course, nothing then came of the mediation, and Toekoe Oemar was considered as an arch-traitor—the more so as some time afterwards he and his followers raided a merchant-ship, the *Hok-Canton*.

It only afterwards transpired that Toekoe Oemar was not treated in the warship as he should have been, that officers and men had given far too much vent to their prejudices, and that even when already in the sloop he had been most cruelly insulted and injured. As to the *Hok-Canton* it appeared that the captain of that ship had wanted to make him a prisoner or worse, and to deliver him up dead or alive to his enemies.

In any case when Toekoe Oemar got his pardon from the authorities in Atjèh he must have been able to clear himself sufficiently, as neither General Deykerhof nor Mr. Kroesen, both most honourable men, would else have come to an understanding with him. Notwithstanding this the impression remained, and it may easily be supposed that Toekoe Oemar did not feel himself quite safe, especially now that his friend, Mr. Kroesen, was away. Nothing certain however as to this has transpired, although plentiful is the crop of legends that sprang up, mostly under the influence of the aversion which is very widely spread amongst the rank and file against every man of Atjèh.

The most likely theory is that, especially in the



xxii Moekim, there had grown unawares an exceedingly strong recrudescence of fanaticism, and that Toekoe Oemar clearly saw that even *his* influence would be far too weak to master it. This then would be the cause why he really did not wish to run the risk of an expedition in those parts. And it explains at the same time why some other chiefs, whom the Dutch never had any reason to distrust, were quite powerless against this sudden revival of general fanaticism.

What had to be done after the defection of Toekoe Oemar was promptly and brilliantly done. Heavy reinforcements were sent from Java, and the Commander-in-Chief of the army (General Vetter, known through the affair of Lombok) himself came over.

First the garrisons of the outlying forts were relieved and the fortifications destroyed. Then the bands of the war-party and the bands of Toekoe Oemar were attacked and beaten wherever they showed themselves. After some months the enemy apparently was quite subdued, and if the Dutch army had to regret the lives of many very promising men, the losses never were so great as exaggerated reports made them. Competent authorities compute the total loss as 200 officers and men, killed and seriously disabled, which means not so large a number as disease carries away in the times of inaction. The Dutch Indian army after the operations is not only quite as efficient as before them but even more so. This has been effected not only by drawing upon the strong reserves but also by the special care given to the physical and sanitary condition of the men. Moreover it is well known that an army which sees real active service is a great attraction for fighting material of the best kind.

For all that it may be said that, after these efforts, the Dutch now have only again arrived in 1896 at the point where they were already in '84. In a sense this is true, but the great difference is that they have since learned a lesson. What was done in that year most certainly will

not be repeated. What should have been done then, most certainly will be done now. The direction will not (as then was done with very good but too optimistic intentions) be taken out of the hands of the military chiefs. What then was done for a time will now most probably be a kind of permanent institution, in any case for some years to come. As long as the Dutch troops in 1884 were always upon the move, ready at any given moment to fall upon evil-doers, peace and tranquillity reigned, confidence and prosperity returned. All this came to an end when the so-called "concentration" was decided upon. Not much as yet has transpired as to actual projects. But it looks as if three strong flying columns will be formed, lying in different well-chosen encampments, and that these will be continually upon the move, till confidence is sufficiently restored, to begin with further measures of peaceful organization.

It should be added that this policy has the hearty support of all competent military men, and that the actual Governor-General and the Minister of the Colonies are just the men to endorse it. And public opinion is satisfied that this system is not at all beyond what may be reasonably expected from the Dutch nation.

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After the above was in proof the following facts as to the actual situation in Atjèh have been elicited in the debate of the second chamber of the States-General (debate upon the Colonial Budget, 13 Nov. 1896).

In the first place it may be stated that all the speakers of the different fractions of the house were unanimous in supporting the Government. Everybody appeared to be convinced that the actual policy should be persevered in, till Atjèh was thoroughly subjugated and pacified. And it is quite clear that with a few exceptions the whole country is of the same opinion.

Some difference existed about details as to the means to the desired end, but, as nobody insisted, after the

Minister had given elucidations and the debate ended in an almost unanimous vote of confidence, the actual situation and principal measures for the future will be sufficiently known from his discourse.

As to Toekoe-Oemar: Some members had tried to explain his conduct by former acts of the Dutch-Indian public and authorities.

The Minister declared: "Really no explanation is possible. We simply know nothing at all about his motives. It is not even probable that we shall ever know, as most likely Toekoe-Oemar himself does not know them. If his action is to be deplored, I add that most certainly nobody at this moment deplores it more than Toekoe-Oemar himself."

Later on the Minister called it:

"Decidedly untrue that Toekoe-Oemar could have been under the impression of being slighted by the new Army-Commander, General Vetter, or that he may have thought that this Commander did not like him. (It should be remembered that when the defection of Toekoe-Oemar became known the Indian papers published different theories to solve the puzzle. Amongst these was a tale that Toekoe-Oemar had been slighted by the new Commander of the Dutch Indian army, when he went from Batavia to Sumatra to inspect the situation in Atjèh. This decidedly was not the case. The most plausible explanation to the general Indian public seems still to be that Toekoe-Oemar, not at all liking the expedition to Lamkrak, was suddenly possessed by the old plundering demon, thinking there would be a chance of raiding Kotta-Rajah whilst the Dutch troops were away. But really nothing at all is known and nothing can be known, as it always is difficult to know a native's mind and certainly so, when he does not know it himself.")

As to the actual situation the Minister said:

"The people of Atjèh clearly, by our military operations, got the impression that we are by far the stronger party. Never did the Atjèhese know so well as now, that we are the masters of the situation and mean to remain it. Of course, this impression and what we gain by it should be consolidated. We actually not only have maintained our concentrated position but outside of it we have three fortified encampments, each with one battalion and some artillery. Of these encampments, at a distance of some eight or ten kilometres from the concentrated line,

One is in the xxv moekim at Loknga

" " xxvi " upon the Blan Bintang near Tjot Mantjang

" " xxii " at Samatani.

The eventualities of the war have led us to occupy these positions and



they should be maintained. From them continually incursions are made to prevent conglomerations of enemies, and the throwing-up of fortifications and also to protect the peaceful inhabitants. Since this system came into practice it may be said that all is quiet. But this is not absolute : nor is it that there is nothing more to do for the military. On the contrary, all these garrisons have to be continually ready and are often upon the move to fight some bands and drive them out of the peaceful districts.

It should be understood that these bands are never very numerous. It is the Guerilla usual in such difficult mountainous regions. The casualties are slight, the greatest difficulty lying in the exertions of marching and countermarching in a rugged, sometimes swampy, and always very wooded, country.

The Minister pertinently declared that there was no difference of opinion between the authorities in India and the authorities at home, except, and quite naturally, about some details regarding which he could not yet make up his mind without more information. For instance, they wished in Atjèh to connect the outlying encampments and the concentration line by steam-tramways. As yet he was unable to say if this would be justified by the circumstances.

On the other hand, he had a conviction that it would be very desirable to strengthen the *Maréchaussée* (a very effective corps of mounted army-police) which corps had already rendered very great services. A decision had not yet been taken.

As to other measures : some of the members had "preconised" some special maritime measures. Others thought something could be done by having the duties (along the coast) levied by Government functionaries against an indemnification of the chiefs of each coast-State.

The Minister demonstrated that by the actual maritime measures (a Navigation Act) the situation along the coast could not be called unsatisfactory. On the contrary, according to the reports he received since last meeting the members, the political and economical status of the coast governments was fairly good. It often happened that our

authorities were called in to decide upon differences and these decisions were acquiesced in.

The ports of Edi, Telok Semawah, Oleh-leh, the Sabang-bay in Poeloe-weh, Poeloë-Raja and Melaboeh had been opened.

As to the duties : as a rule, they were already levied by Government-functionaries upon the east-coast and in some places of the north-coast. It is well known however that the native system of levying them is very defective and this makes it almost impossible to take the duties simply into our hands against an indemnification to the chiefs. It should be remembered that it had needed years before this system was arranged in the ports upon the east-coast of Sumatra and the same most certainly will be the case in the ports upon the coast of Atjèh.

After the Minister had spoken, most of the former speakers declared themselves satisfied, and it may be fairly assumed that nearly the whole assembly was of the opinion of one of the Members who said : " I gave vent to some objections in my former speech, but I have to confess that the Minister has poured out to us undoctored wine and I gladly add : his wine is of a quality that quite agrees with my palate."

# ESSAYS BY SANSKRITISTS—THE GURUPUJA KAUMUDI.\*

By C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.

THIS is a collection of short essays on philological subjects, connected with the Sanskrit language and literature, dedicated to Professor Weber, in honour of the fiftieth anniversary of his assuming the degree of Doctor at the University of Breslau. It is prefaced by a letter from Hofrath Bühler, in which he enumerates the services of Professor Weber to Sanskrit research. Hofrath Bühler recalls the fact that Professor Weber published by way of a Doctorial Dissertation, a specimen of the White Yajurveda. He then draws attention to the great edition of the sacred books of the Mādhyandina, by which "you made accessible to Sanskritists without external aid in rapid succession the Samhitā, the mighty Brāhmaṇa, and the Sūtra with the indigenous commentaries." Professor Weber has been, in fact, the great pioneer who has opened out to European scholars the uncleared jungles of Sanskrit and Prākṛit literature. He is, perhaps, best known by his writings on Vedic ritual and his history of Indian literature, but he has left few corners of "Indology" unexplored. The drama, the Epics, the lexicographers have all come under his notice. Hofrath Bühler lays stress upon the Professor's services to Jaina literature. Among others Professor Ed. Müller in his Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jaina Prākṛit acknowledges his obligations to him. It may be predicted with certainty that his writings will always be indispensable to all students of the religious literature of this somewhat neglected Indian sect.

The first essay in the volume is from the pen of the late Professor Roth. He writes on the Vibhidaka, the Terminalia Bellerica of Roxburgh, a tree which the Indians, since Vedic times, have always looked upon as uncanny (*unheimlich*). Its evil reputation is due to two facts, that its fruits were used for the purpose of gambling (as we learn from Rig Veda 10, 34), and its terribly repulsive smell. With reference to the latter peculiarity, Professor Roth quotes an interesting passage from the journal of Mrs. Robert Moss King. The fruits appear to have an intoxicating property, which is in Professor Roth's opinion referred to in the famous hymn of the Rig Veda, above alluded to, which will be found on page 158 of Geldner and Kaegi's Siebenzig Lieder. (See also Muir's Sanskrit Texts V. 425). The same realistic spirit which led the Professor to examine the journal of Mrs. Moss King, prompted him to obtain a dozen of these excessively naughty nuts, prepared for the purpose of gambling, from Dr. Grierson of Gayā, who explained their use. It appears that they are employed much like the ordinary children's toy known as *teetotum*. The side, which settles uppermost after spinning, decides the issue. The

\* *Gurupujā Kaumudī*, Festgabe zum fünfzigjährigen Doctorjubiläum von Albrecht Weber dargebracht von seinen Freunden und Schülern. OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, LEIPZIG; 1896.



Paṇḍit, from whom Dr. Grierson obtained the nuts, had written on one side *pā* (for *Pāṇḍava*) on the other *kau* (for *Kaurava*). Accordingly, observes Professor Roth, "if *pā* had been uppermost, in the great gambling match related in the second book of the *Mahābhārata*, Yudhishtira would have won, if *kau* had been uppermost, Śakuni the Kaurava would have won." Professor Roth cannot admit this explanation. He thinks that it would have been all very well, if an innocent children's game was under consideration, but it is impossible to believe that men of mature age would have persisted in such a dull game for months, and staked on it their possessions and even their wives. "Such games must be of short duration, and played for insignificant stakes." But to a European the "rain-gambling" which takes place every rainy season in Calcutta seems hardly intelligible. And yet it is rumoured that many lakhs of rupees change hands at this game. In any case there is much force in the Professor's remark that Indian scholiasts furnish us with no information except that derived from their times and their surroundings, and many changes may have taken place in the course of centuries. But one thing has continued stable through all social and political revolutions in India, and that is the passion of certain classes of Indian society for gambling, a passion which is ready to choose for its satisfaction the most unexpected instruments.

Professor Leopold von Schroeder writes on some interesting philological points in the *Kāthaka*, on which he has been occupied for many years, and of which some fresh MSS. have reached Europe thanks to the exertions of Dr. M. A. Stein of Lahore.

Professor Oldenberg writes on the chronology of Indian metres. After examining the *Tristubh* and *Jagati*, he comes to the conclusion that the form assumed by these metres in the canonical Pāli poetry represents a stage of development subsequent to that found in the *Brāhmanas* and old *Upanishads*, but anterior to that of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Professor Leumann writes on some rhythmical phenomena in the language of the *Vedas*, and Dr. Johannes Schmidt puts forward a very ingenious theory for the formation of the first person Singular Middle of the periphrastic future in Sanskrit. He considers that *kartāhe* is formed on the analogy of *kartāham*, by a *verdunkelung des Sprachgefühls*. Treating of the well-known dialogue between Yama and Yami (*Rig Veda* X. 10), which is translated on page 142 of the *Siebenzig Lieder*, Professor Geldner pays a high tribute to Sāyana's skill as an interpreter of the *Veda*. He considers that the great unnamed Asura in strophe 2 is Rudra. Dr. Otto Franke illustrates from Pāli the linguistic principle of differentiation.\* He shows for instance that the meaning has influenced the form in the case of the Sanskrit word *maitrī*, which has given birth in Pāli to two forms *mettī* and *mettā*. *Mettī* means "friendship" and *mettā* the well-known Buddhistic "benevolence" towards all creatures in the strictly technical sense. Incidentally Dr. Franke tells us that he will in his forthcoming Pāli grammar treat of what Mr. Sayce calls the principle of "laziness."†

\* See Sayce's *Introduction to the Science of Language*, vol. I. p. 188.

† See Sayce's *Introduction to the Science of Language*, vol. I. p. 195.

Professor Kielhorn illustrates a dark place in that darkest of sciences Hindu grammar; Professor Garbe writes on some lexicographical and grammatical peculiarities in the Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra, which he is editing for the Bibliotheca Indica; and Professor Zachariæ treats of fragments of old verses in the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu. Dr. Klemm treats of Mādhava, his teacher, and his works. He rejects the theory of the late Dr. Burnell that Mādhava and Sāyana were the same person, though establishing the identity of Mādhava with Vidyāraṇya the Abbot of Śringerī. Professor Delbrück discusses the words *akshyoti* and *akshyute* meaning "to mark cattle." Professor Jacobi treats of the Śloka in the Mahābhārata. He considers that "the metrical system of the Mahābhārata, though agreeing in the main with that of the Rāmāyana, has a peculiar character of its own. The reason for this divergence is that we have to deal with two locally differentiated poetical guilds. In the eastern district of India, the home of the Rāmāyana, the poetical art attained perfection and refinement earlier than in the more warlike West." Professor Ed. Müller traces the story of Sumedha and Dipankara in the legendary collections of the Northern and Southern Buddhists. Dr. Carl Cappeller gives an account of two *prahasanas*, Kautukasarvasva and Kautukaratnākara, both existing only in one manuscript. These two MSS. he was enabled to utilize by the kindness of the late Dr. Rost. These farces appear from the extracts given by Dr. Cappeller to be very broad indeed. The dramatic effect is a little spoiled by the fact that the characters in the play have such very significant names. One knows beforehand the policy likely to be followed by such ministers as Śiṣṭāntaka, Dharmānala, Anpitasarvasva, Paṇḍitapīḍaviśārada, and Abhavyasekhara, and of the intrepidity to be expected from the general Samarajambuka. The same objection might perhaps apply to some of the characters of Aristophanes. Philocleon and Bdelycleon tell their own tale. No hint is given of the date of these dramas. The extract from the Kautukaratnākara, in which bibulous propensities are attributed to the moon and planets, reminds one forcibly of a well-known English drinking song.

Professor Windisch connects the Tittirajāṭaka, No. 438 in Fausbøll's edition, with the well-known legend of the origin of the Vedic Taittiriya school. He is of opinion that without this legend the character of the Tittirapaṇḍita, or learned partridge, as it is found in the Jātaka, would never have been created. Professor Ludwig finds a Semitic etymology for the term *kharoshfi*, applied to the alphabet used in two of the northern Aśoka inscriptions and on many coins. The word *kharoshfi* means "asses' lips"; is in fact destitute of any reasonable meaning. Professor Ludwig supposes that the Prakṛit form *kharoṭṭhi* is the original form, and is derived from the Aramaic חרת equivalent to the Hebrew חרש. The term would therefore mean "the scratchy writing." He considers that the word still exists in the Hindi "*kharot*" which means "scratching, scraping." Of course the Prakṛit word was according to the Indian custom provided with a Sanskrit equivalent, and an etymology by no means appropriate. It may be remarked, by the way, that Professor Ludwig takes occasion to pay a well-deserved tribute to Hofrath Bühler's treatise

"On the origin of the Indian Brahma-Alphabet." The next paper is from the pen of Dr. M. A. Stein, and is entitled "Contributions to the ancient topography of the Pir Pāntāl." This pass, leading into Kāśmīr, is ordinarily known to Anglo-Indians by the name of Pir Panjāl, as Dr. Stein points out in a footnote. The invitation to co-operate in the "Festschrift" found Dr. Stein in the mountains of Kāśmīr, when he had no philological apparatus at hand, except what was absolutely necessary for the work on which he is at present engaged, the interpretation of Kalhana's Rājataranginī. Accordingly his paper deals principally with localities and local traditions, as illustrating that chronicle, and is no doubt a foretaste of the illustrations to be looked for in the notes to his second volume. He remarks in the conclusion of his paper that the persistent adherence to local names and traditions, which characterises the inhabitants of the mountainous regions of Europe, is also to be found *mutatis mutandis* in the mountains of Kāśmīr. Professor Zimmer, in the paper that follows, attacks the theory of a general West-European system of accentuation, which he declares to be a phantom.

The first part of the Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie to appear was Dr. Jolly's treatise on Recht und Sitte. When that treatise was written, he had not apparently been able to utilize the Rājataranginī as thoroughly as he has been able to do since the appearance of Dr. Stein's first volume. In a paper in the present collection he makes use of the Rājataranginī, as throwing light on the political and social arrangements of Hindu States. It seems to be a matter for regret that the information on these points, accumulated by Sanskrit and Pali scholars, has been so little used as yet by English writers on the history of India. Dr. Huth, who is well known as a Tibetan scholar, contributes to the present volume some interesting geographical details from a Tibetan work entitled "A general description of Jambudvīpa," by the famous Tibetan priest and *savant* Sum-pa mk'ānpo, of whose life and career Babu Śarat Chandra Das gave an account in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1889.

Professor Heinrich Kern traces a remarkable resemblance between the Mahākapijātaka, No. 407 in Fausbøll's edition, and the story of King Bran in the Mabinogion. In the Pāli tale the king of the monkeys makes himself a bridge, for the rescue of his subjects. The same is done by King Bran the Blessed. When his followers pointed out to him that there was no bridge over a certain river, to which they came in the course of their wanderings, he said, "I will be a bridge." He laid himself across the river; hurdles were thrown upon him; and the army marched across his prostrate body. The extract from the Mabinogion belongs to the oldest saga cycle of the Cymry, as in it the figure of King Arthur does not appear. Professor Kern comments on the parallel, as follows: "Neither the fundamental idea, that it is the duty of a chief to deliver his followers from difficulties, nor the embodiment of it in a fable or narrative, can be looked upon as something exclusively Indogermanic. But the frequent use of this figure to denote a rescuer from distress, and the circumstance that the symbol of a bridge is developed naturally, one might almost say, necessarily, from the two synonymous words *piparati*, *pārayati*, and *tarati* tend to show the high antiquity and the common origin of the figure itself.



and the application of it to individuals, who, being themselves persons of authority and consequence, deliver their subordinates and conduct them to security and success. That the priest is called by the Romans *pontifex*, and that the teacher who delivers from the miseries of existence is called by the Indians *tīrthakara*, *tīrthankara*, *tīrthika*, is to be accounted for by the fact that both manifest themselves as saviours, as furnishing so to speak a "bridge" or "ford."

Professor Kern omits to point out, perhaps because he considers it irrelevant, that the story of the Mahākapijātaka is found on the Bharhut Stūpa (Cunningham plate xxxiii. 4). It has also been found by Hofrath Bühler at Sanchi, if our memory does not deceive us.

Dr. Frankfurter's short paper on the Siamese palace-language is exceedingly interesting. He points out that in Siamese the words borrowed from India exhibit a form more akin to Sanskrit than Pali. "That is naturally to be expected, when we call to mind that the ancient culture of Siam rested upon a Brahmanical foundation, and that the Buddhistic propaganda exerted its influence many centuries later. It is well known that most domestic rites are of Brahmanical origin." It appears that the present king is setting himself against the wholesale use of words borrowed from Indian languages. It is worthy of note that for pig, dog, and ape, which are all unclean animals, only words of Sanskrit origin are used, whereas for the horse which is imported from China, a Siamese word is used, which is only differentiated by the tone from the Siamese word denoting "dog." Dr. Emil Sieg writes on the meaning of the word *pāthas* in the Veda. In classical Sanskrit it means "water," and this meaning is also found in the Veda. Dr. Sieg shows that it is very generally used in the sense of "food," a meaning naturally derived from the former, and he would assign this sense to it even in passages when Roth takes it to mean "place." He considers that it is derived from the root *pā*, to drink. Professor Pischel gives some details about the life of Abhinavagupta, whose commentary on the Bhāratīyanātya Śāstra is quoted by Mammaṭa the author of the well known work on Alankāra, the Kāvya-prakāśa. Dr. Ludwig Heller follows with the solution of a grammatical enigma, and is succeeded by Dr. Wilhelm with some notes on Singhalese. He remarks at the conclusion of his paper: "I here formulate in few words my view of the Singhalese language; it is a purely Aryan dialect, as is shown especially by the history of its vowel sounds, and is a direct development of the Pāli language." Dr. Pertsch gives a detailed description of a Pāli manuscript of the Kammavācā in the library at Gotha, presented "to his Royal Highness Alfred Ernest Edward, Duke of Edinburgh by Waskadeve Subhūti Terunnanse of Amarapura Samāgama, Ceylon." The manuscript is written in the ordinary square Pāli character, but contains certain graphical peculiarities. This paper is illustrated by a plate at the end of the volume. Professor Ernst Kuhn, of whose treatise on Barlaam and Joasaph an account has been recently given by Mr. Conybeare in the Academy, and whose paper in the Byzantinische Zeitschrift on the Migration of Tales was noticed in this Review for April 1895, writes on Buddhistic legends in the Apocryphal Gospels. He traces some legends found in the Evangelium Pseudo-Matthæi and the Evangelium Thomæ to

the Lalita Vistara, one of the earliest works of the Mahāyāna school. The evidence for the presence of northern Buddhist elements in apocryphal Christian literature seems to be overwhelming. Professor Ernst Kuhn refers in a footnote to a parallel between the Kāraṇḍavyūha and the Evangelium Nicodemi pointed out by Professor Cowell.

Professor Julius Eggeling, whose paper concludes the volume, has also selected a folk-lore subject. He writes on the Kathāprakāśa, a manuscript which he has examined in preparing his elaborate catalogue of the MSS. in the India Office Library. The manuscript contains a great many stories extracted from the Kathāsaritsāgara, the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Harivamśa, and the Padmapurāṇa, and ten from the Puruṣaparīkṣā translated by Mahārāja Kālī Kṛishna Bahādur. One of these is that of the thief who escaped punishment by pretending that he had some seeds which would produce golden flowers, if sown by a man who had never been guilty of a breach of the 8th commandment. The King, the Prime Minister, and the Chief Justice see on reflection that they are not able to comply with the conditions, and the sequel is that the thief is made court jester. There remain eight tales, the origin of which Professor Eggeling, in spite of his vast knowledge of Sanskrit literature, has been unable to discover. Of these he gives an abstract, which it is not perhaps desirable to reproduce here at length. We can furnish parallels to some of the incidents. In the Vibhishanaripunjayakathā, the first story analysed, a man named Subuddhi, in order to discover the solution of a secret that puzzles the king, spends a night under a fig-tree (*vaṭa*) where he hears the solution related by a female jackal to her cubs. In the Vth Taranga of the Kathā Sarit Sāgara Vararuchi hears in the same way a difficulty solved by a female Rākṣasī who is talking to her children. In both these cases the young people are promised a fine breakfast the next morning. This story of Vararuchi seems to be alluded to in the story of Lalitāṅga in the Kathā Koṣa. A *bhārūṇḍa* bird apologises for not telling a secret to his young ones saying :

“Very cunning people wander about under the banyan-tree like Vararuchi.”

Of course the secret is at last told and is heard by the interested party under the tree. In the 3rd story the Brāhmanakathā, the wise man, who hears the secret disclosed, is named Vararuchi, as in the Kathā Sarit Sāgara. There are many European parallels to this story. A very close one is found in a Danish story called Swend's exploits, in Thorpe's Yuletide Stories, p. 341. The truth seems to be that the folklore of Europe is largely composed of the tales of Eastern India carried to the West by the Buddhists. In the second story there is a female ape who is changed into a woman by throwing herself from a tree at the time of the entry of the sun into a new sign of the Zodiac. Similarly, in the story of the Couple of Parrots in the Kathā Koṣa, we read of a fountain that changes apes into human beings. A very similar story will be found on page 26 of Professor Jacobi's Introduction to the Parīśiṣṭa Parvan.

It remains to state that all the writers in this collection appear to have been restricted in point of space. Hence all the essays are short, and must be judged accordingly.

# THE EGYPTIAN CHRONICLE OF IBN IYÂS.

BY KARL VOLLERS (CAIRO).

THE Mussulman history of Egypt is perhaps the most neglected corner in the vast domain of Egyptian literature. Whether this be attributed more to the attractiveness of Old Egyptian mythology and archæology or to the scarcity and aridity of Arabic studies, there remains the fact, that the soil of Egyptian history as based upon native records has been hardly more than scratched. The French work of *J. J. Marcel*<sup>1</sup> is the first attempt at sketching the whole period from native, but mostly late and less competent sources. A better start was made by *Prof. J. Weil*, who completed his history of the Khalifs by an ample narrative of the Mamluke dynasties in Egypt, and laid under contribution the best contemporary chronicles.<sup>2</sup> His work, though deserving of the highest credit, cannot be but a preliminary one; the task of perusing a multitude of chronicles in their MS state, almost untouched and bristling with the intricacies of Arabic writing, the labour of extracting and marshalling the facts, is so vast and multifarious, that it may be performed, even by the most laborious worker, only in a rough way. Weil's work was carried on by *Prof. Wüstenfeld*, who, availing himself of all his predecessors, aimed chiefly at setting forth the native records in a clear and well-digested form.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately his publication does not proceed further than the Fatimides, leaving the blank of the Eiyubide, Mamluke and Ottoman times. It is evident that these comprehensive European works must always be supplemented by the publication or translation of Arabic sources. In this respect much has been done, but more remains to do. Among the Egyptian chroniclers of the Middle Age *Ibn Iyâs* has special claims to be considered. His family was of foreign extraction, indeed, but for many generations settled in Egypt and familiar with the Capital and the Court; the author himself was a pupil of the greatest polyhistor of Arabic literature.<sup>4</sup> Last, not least, his chronicle contains in an unbroken chain a summary of the older times, and a record gradually increasing in fulness of detail of the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries A.H. It may be stated, as a rule, that such works enlisting the attention of a few professional scholars are easily overrated, so long as they have not been published as a whole, and thus made accessible to every scholar interested in them. The printed text of *Ibn Iyâs*'s

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de l'Égypte depuis la conquête des Arabes*—(1) in the *Histoire scientifique et militaire de l'Expédition Française en Eg.*, tome ii., 1832; (2) enlarged and revised in the *Univers*, Paris, 1844; other editions, 1848, 1851, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Band 4-5, Stuttgart, 1860-62. Among his authorities are *Ibn Dismâk*, *Ibn Hagar*, *Ibn Kethir*, *an Nuweiri*, *al Makrizi*, *Abu-l-mahâsin*, *Ibn Iyâs*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Statthalter von Ägypten*, 1875-76; *Geschichte der Fatimidenchälifen*, 1881, in 4°.

<sup>4</sup> His Eg. chronicle, MS. Ali Rifa'a fol. 184a, s.a. 855: توفي كمال الدين السيوطي  
وولد شيخنا جلال الدين



chronicle, as based upon Cairene MSS., being now laid before the public<sup>1</sup> we have the best opportunity of examining it in its entirety, and the following sketch tends mainly to afford materials for an unbiased valuation of his book. The account given by *Prof. Wüstenfeld* twelve years ago<sup>2</sup> of the life and works of Ibn Iyās may here be completed by a few details. His name, as stated by himself,<sup>3</sup> was Muhammad b. Ahmad Ibn Iyās (or Ayās). He got the surname Abu-l-Barakāt from his father at the moment of his birth; another one, en Nāsiri, was attached to the family from the times of his great-grandfather,<sup>4</sup> the Circassian Emīr Ezdimur al Omari al Khāzindār, who filled high posts mostly under the Sultan al Melik an-Nāsir Hasan about the midst of the eighth century A.H. He belonged to the school of the Hanafites according to the statements of several MSS. of his own works.<sup>5</sup> As for his received "Kunya," *G. Fluegel*,<sup>6</sup> *W. Pertsch*,<sup>7</sup> and *E. Wüstenfeld*<sup>8</sup> plead for its being spelt Ibn Iyās, apparently because they tacitly presume that the Old Arabic, mostly Bedouin name "Iyās" is found here. But as a London MS.,<sup>9</sup> and it seems also a St. Petersburg one,<sup>10</sup> spell the name إياس, Ayās, it is possible, or even probable, that it is a Turkish or Circassian name independent of the quoted Arabic one.<sup>11</sup> The following dates of his life seem to be guaranteed. He was born in 852 A.H.,<sup>12</sup> he finished his cosmography (نشق الزهار) in 922;<sup>13</sup> the beginning of the Egyptian chronicle was later than 911; the history of al Barkūk was jotted down under Circassian rule or before 922.<sup>14</sup> The statements of the Paris MS. No. 1824, and of a Petersburg one, that the author had carried on his chronicle in 914 up to 912, and in 922 up to 921 are not trustworthy (see below). Haji Khalfa tells us<sup>15</sup> that Ibn Iyās was living in 927, and his chronicle was continued up to the end of A.H. 928.<sup>16</sup> So we may venture to conclude that he died not a very long time after this year, or about 930, at the age of nearly 80 years.

He is said to have written four works:

(1) An Egyptian chronicle called *بدائع الزهور في وقائع الدهور*, "The won-

<sup>1</sup> Cairo, Khedivial Library, 1312 (1894), 3 vols. in 8°, pp. 359, 396, 322.

<sup>2</sup> Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke (1882), No. 513.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Cairo, vol. ii., p. 30; Catal. Mus. Brit., p. 155<sup>6</sup>. The London text is more detailed.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Cairo, v. i., pp. 213, 16; 221, 11; 225, 10, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Wüstenfeld calls him, it seems erroneously, al Hanbali.

<sup>6</sup> Haji Khalfa, Lexicon, v. vii., p. 642.

<sup>7</sup> The Gotha Arabic Catalogue, v. iii., p. 140, n. i.

<sup>8</sup> L. c., but see his foot-note.

<sup>9</sup> Catal. Mus. Brit., p. 155, n. L.

<sup>10</sup> V. Rosen, les MSS. arabes de l'Institut des Langues Orientales (1877), p. 23, No. 46.

<sup>11</sup> The same name occurs rather often in Turkish history and literature, v. Haji Khalfa's Lexicon, v. vii., p. 1106a (Iyas); L. von Hammer, Geschichte des Osman Reiches, v. x., (1835), p. 398b (Ajas). As a name of Turkish Emirs it is found in the Egyptian chronicle, e.g., v. i., pp. 242, 23; 288, 11; 296, 10.

<sup>12</sup> Ed. Cairo, v. ii., p. 30.

<sup>13</sup> Notices et Extraits de la Bibliothèque du Roy, Paris, v. viii., i., p. 4; Pertsch, l. c. p. 140.

<sup>14</sup> Ed. Cairo, v. i., pp. 7, 17; 258, 21. <sup>15</sup> Lexicon, v. vi., p. 323.

<sup>16</sup> MSS. of Cairo, Paris and London; see also Haji Khalfa, v. ii., p. 27.

derful flowers on the events of the times." There are only two nearly complete copies of it in the libraries of Europe,<sup>1</sup> besides a number of scattered volumes. A third copy (with roughly the same lacuna as the Paris and London MSS.) was brought together by the Khedivial Library from its own stock and several private collections at Cairo and put to press in 1894.<sup>2</sup>

(2) A manual of cosmography and geography called *نسخ الزهار في عجائب الاقطار* v. Langlèz in the *Notices et Extraits*, v. viii., 1810, Paris, and Pertsch, l. c., p. 140.

(3) A compilation (*مرج الزهور*) of a very slight literary value containing a popular cosmography, a history of the Patriarchs and Prophets, and a number of discussions on various religious and ascetic topics.<sup>3</sup> In his preface the author announced also a summary of Mussulman history, but none of the MSS. extant contain this part. About other literary questions concerning this book see below.

(4) Haji Khalfa<sup>4</sup> mentions a work called *نزهة الأمم في العجائب والحكم*. I may be allowed to express here some doubts as to whether this last is an independent work at all, if we take into consideration that no MS. trace whatever of it remains, that its name points to the same topics with which the author has dealt in the *مرج الزهور*, and that the works of our author, as I have intimated a few years ago,<sup>5</sup> were usurped by obscure and anonymous writers.

I have already alluded to the fragmentary preservation of the *مرج* in its present state. Still more grave is the fact that a Cairene MS.,<sup>6</sup> although

<sup>1</sup> Paris new Catalogue, v. i., p. 331, No. 1822-23; London, British Museum, No. 941-943. In both of them the years 906-921 are missing. As for the lacuna of the Paris MS. see Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, v. v., p. vii.

<sup>2</sup> List of the MSS. laid under contribution for the Cairene printed text.

#### Khedivial Library.

(1) Part III., dated 1031 A.H., running from 922 to 928, fol. 305, v. the Arab Catal. v. 5, p. 18.

#### Ali Bey Fehmi Rifā'a.

(2) Part II., from 784-906, rather old MS., but worm-eaten and incomplete, fol. 423. Its text differs often from the printed one. The chronicle is called *بدائع الزهور* or only *تاريخ*.

#### Suleimān Pasha Abāza.

(3) One vol., comprising Parts I. and II., running up to 784, titleless, copy-date 1289, fol. 311.

(4) Part II., from 872-906, no date.

(5) Part III., 1 vol., from 784-872, Parts IV.-V., 1 vol., from 922-928, fols. 141, 138, 164. The author is called Ahmed Ibn Iyās.

#### Mohammad Pasha Rāteb.

(6) Three vols., Parts III., IV., V., copied in 1282 by Mohammad Sa'īd el Berberī for the Pasha, fols. 204, 113, 138. In Part III. the author is called Ahmed Ibn Iyās, in IV. and V. only Ibn Iyās.

#### Ali Pasha Mubārak.

(7) Three vols., running respectively up to 784, from 857-906, and from 922-928, copied about 1292, at least partly from the MSS. of Abāza Pasha. The author is called either Mohammad or Ahmed, fols. 219, 249, 262.

<sup>3</sup> G. Flügel, *die Hss. zu Wien*, v. ii., p. 57, No. 823; Pertsch, l. c., v. iii., p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> *Lexicon*, v. vi., p. 323, No. 13675.

<sup>5</sup> *Zeitschrift of the German Or. Soc.*, 1889, v. 43, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> Arab. Cat. v. v., p. 17.

entitled بدائع الزهور, gives broadly the same text as the MSS. of the مرج. Again the same text with slight divergencies, not surprising in books of this kind, is preserved in a popular story-book of a household name, which is printed at Cairo in many editions.<sup>1</sup> A MS. anonymous abridgment of this text is preserved at St. Petersburg.<sup>2</sup> Another abridgment, recorded by Haji Khalfā,<sup>3</sup> looks rather apocryphal.<sup>4</sup> And even the best credited work of Ibn Iyās, the Egyptian Chronicle, suggests several questions which can be definitely solved only by the closest examination of the whole printed text, and of the MSS. preserved at London, Paris, Leiden, Vienna and St. Petersburg. I may be allowed to set forth here what can be gathered from a perusal of the printed text as compared with the sayings of the European catalogues.

First of all there are *two versions* of the text, an ampler and a shorter one. This fact, which did not escape the attention of *Prof. Weil*<sup>5</sup> and *Prof. Rieu*,<sup>6</sup> is now corroborated by the Cairene printed text, to which the words of *Rieu* could be literally applied. A few instances may illustrate this state of affairs. When the author tells his own birth the detailed London text says: وفي ربيع الآخر من هذه السنة كان مولد الناصري محمد بن احمد بن آياس مؤلف هذا التاريخ وذلك في يوم السبت سلس الشهر بعد طلوع الشمس وسماء والده بمحمد ابني البركات, but the Cairene text (v. ii., p. 30), in a shorter shape: وفي هذه السنة كان مولدي؛ وذلك في يوم السبت سادس ربيع الآخر من السنة المذكورة (f.e., A.H. 852).

A more decisive instance is given in the extract which *Prof. Dozy* has published as early as 1845,<sup>7</sup> from the Leiden MS. when compared with the Cairene text (v. i., p. 263). A passage dealing with the clothes of the army is preserved in the Leiden MS., but is missing in the Cairene text.<sup>8</sup> Now there is some evidence that only the unabridged text belongs to the author, whilst the Epitome seems to have been made either by his son<sup>9</sup> or more likely by another anonymous writer of the 12th century.<sup>10</sup> *Weil* and

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Catal., v. v., p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Irapski of the Russian Or. Soc., v. iii. (1888), p. 2166: نسخة لطيفة نقلت من كتاب مزج (مرج. r.) الزهور في احوال الدهور لابن آياس.

<sup>3</sup> Lexicon, v. i., p. 516, No. 1580: ايقاظ الحفام باخبار الملوك والظلماء.

<sup>4</sup> The nisba, al Fārābī, when found in Egypt in the 10th century, A.H., is, to say the least, surprising, and could be a counterfeit of the name of a writer who died in 607, A.H., v. Haji Khalfā's Lexicon, v. vii., p. 1100, n. 3837. As for the title of his book, it seems to have been inartificially put together from the books of two celebrated Egyptian historians, Ibn al Mutaawag (ايقاظ المتغفل واتعاط المتوسل), and al Makrizi (ايعاظ الحفام باخبار الخلق).

<sup>5</sup> Geschichte der Chalifen, v. v., p. vii., according to the Paris MSS.

<sup>6</sup> Catal. Mus. Brit. p. 4326, compertum habuimus, ab uno forte ambo defluxisse: nam eisque fere verbis uterque narrationem exhibet, nisi quod noster multa omittit, alia brevius tradit, omnia vero ad vulgariorem dicendi rationem inclinat, ita ut illius epitomen recentius confectam disceris.

<sup>7</sup> Dictionnaire des vêtements, p. 270: description of the Naurūz holiday as observed at Cairo.

<sup>8</sup> Dozy, l. c., p. 82; ed. Cairo, v. i., p. 304-306.

<sup>9</sup> Catal. Mus. Brit., p. 4326.

<sup>10</sup> The London Epitome was copied from 1115-1117, A.H.



*Rieu*, who had the opportunity of checking the two versions one by another, arrived at the conviction that the shorter text belongs to another writer. With *Rieu* I would lay special stress on the fact that the two texts differ from one another not only in amplitude, but also in their language. As for the Cairene abridged text I have already pointed out<sup>1</sup> that it keeps closer to the colloquial speech of Cairo than other chronicles of the same century. I venture even to think that, besides the Epitomist, another anonymous writer was engaged in revising the chronicle. We have to explain the curious fact that most MSS., both of the ampler and the abridged version, leave blank the years 906-921, or broadly the reign of the Sultan al Ghûri. No Cairene MS. covers this period. In Europe there are only two volumes which fill up this gap, viz., the Paris MS. No. 1824 (A.F. 686), covering the years 906-912, and the Petersburg MS., No. 46,<sup>2</sup> dealing with the years 913-921. A glance at the minute description of these MSS., given by the excellent French and Russian scholars, shows us that both volumes belong together and form only one copy.<sup>3</sup> The general condition of these volumes seems to be excellent, and more trustworthy than any other MS. Although copied in 1127 both refer to an autograph MS. where the author kept close pace with the events. In 914 he is said to have jotted down his narrative up to 912 (Paris MS.); in 922 he had carried it on to 921 (Petersburg MS.). I would not lay great stress on the fact that the Paris volume is called *بدائع الأمور* instead of *بدائع الزهور*.<sup>4</sup> But exactly the same reason which led *Prof. Weil* to give the Paris volume (No. 1824) the preference over the Epitome (No. 1822-23) leads me to suspect the genuineness of the two volumes adduced. If Ibn Iyās himself gave the narrative of this period, we are unable to comprehend why the MSS. of both versions left it blank. On the other side it is easy to understand, and may be explained merely by political reasons, that the author cut short his tale when he reached the time of the contemporary Sultan. <sup>5</sup>After the death of al Ghûri and the downfall of the Mamlukes he resumed his narrative and carried it on closely up to his own demise. Even the Epitomist seems not to have filled up this blank. But another reviser, writing under Ottoman rule, felt himself not bound to regard the susceptibilities of the late Sultan, and did his best to complete this gap. If these suggestions, based entirely upon intrinsic grounds, are well founded, it is evident that the MS. Paris-Petersburg is more or less spurious, and that its author attempted to raise its credit by referring to an autograph MS.

Less important, but always illustrative of the various vicissitudes which the Egyptian Chronicle passed through, are the ways of *dividing* the work into parts. According to the statement of Haji Khalfa the chronicle con-

<sup>1</sup> Academy 1894, No. 1159, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Rosen, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Their common date is 1127, a few years later than the London (1115-17), and the Paris (1118) Epitomes. Their size is the same: 28½ × 16 (17) c. m.; 29 lines.

<sup>4</sup> "Ajouté après coup au commencement" in No. 1824, and "Indiqué dans l'explicit" in No. 1825, says M. H. Irotenberg.

<sup>5</sup> In the copies where the epoch of al Ghûri is missing, the author alludes to his reign with a verse (ed. Cairo, v. iii., p. 2).

sisted of two or four volumes. In accordance herewith the London Epitome (No. 941-943), runs in four parts, viz. :

- (1) From the oldest times up to 648, the downfall of the Eiyubides.
- (2) From 648 to 784, the Turkish or first Mamluke dynasty.
- (3) From 784 to 906, the Circassian or second Mamluke dynasty up to al Ghûri.
- (4) The Ottoman rule, from 922 to 928.

Another set of MSS. stops at the years 784 (Paris, No. 1822-3), and 857 (Paris, No. 1822-3; Leiden; London, No. 317; Ali Mubarak), about the midst of the Circassian dynasty.<sup>1</sup> That the printed version was divided like the London Epitome becomes probable from some passages where the second "part" is said to have comprised the first Mamluke dynasty (v. i., p. 300, 6 [656, A.H.]; p. 306, 2, time of the Kalaunides). On the other side the old and trustworthy MS. of the Khedivial Library is divided into three parts, the third comprising the Ottoman rule, whilst the first came very likely up to 784, the second (like the Ali Rifâ'a MS.) up to 906.

We may believe that the way of dividing the chronicle into three or four parts is the oldest one, not only because it is found in the best MSS., but also because these stopping points are the most naturally called for by the current of events. But later on the work seems to have been split up into several small volumes, the Ottoman time being dealt with in the 4th and 5th parts (MSS. of Suleimân Abâza and Mohammad Râteb). Even in this respect it is remarkable that the less trustworthy MS., Paris, No. 1824, shows a division into more than nine volumes.<sup>2</sup>

The chronicle is called in the MSS. either *بدائع الزهور* or only *تاريخ*. Now it must strike us that Haji Khalfa has recorded two chronicles of the same title, one of them belonging to as-Soyûti, the master of Ibn Iyās, the latter to Ibn Iyās himself.<sup>3</sup> As for the contents of as-Soyûti's chronicle the Turkish bibliographer says: "He selected his materials from 32 chronicles, and mentions the curious happenings from the beginning of the Creation up to his own time. He set forth the Prophets, then the Khalifs, then the Kings, but he did not accomplish his work." That reminds us much more of the *مرج* of Ibn Iyās described above,<sup>4</sup> which in the Cairo MS. is also called *بدائع الزهور*<sup>5</sup> than of the Egyptian chronicle. Moreover an Upsala MS. of the same name and the same contents is attributed to as-Soyûti.<sup>6</sup> The close affinity between the *بدائع* of as-Soyûti and the compilation of Ibn Iyās, called mostly *مرج* and sometimes *بدائع*, is further on testified to by the opening words, which are roughly the same in all the

<sup>1</sup> The terms Bahri and Burgi Mamlukes, constantly used by European writers, are much less clear than the Arabic sources, where the two dynasties are called Turkish and Circassian respectively. The Bahri or Nile-island-M. existed a long time before Elbek, the Burgi or Citadel-Tower-M. were garrisoned and uniformed by the Sultan Kalâûn about 100 years before Barkûk.

<sup>2</sup> The St. Petersburg MS., though not numbered, would be the tenth part in this series. The Paris MS. No. 1825 belongs to a similar copy as to the division, but the text is a different one.

<sup>3</sup> Lexicon, v. ii., p. 26, No. 1707-8.

<sup>4</sup> p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> C. J. Tornberg, codd. ar. pers. et turo. bibl. univ., Upsala (1849), p. 217.

MSS., and in Haji Khalfa's quotation, viz. : [الذي : القديم الولّ الذي]<sup>1</sup> لا يتحوّل<sup>2</sup> [ولا تغيّره الدهور والاضمار]. This affinity being established, there arises the other question: Who is the author of this popular story-book, the master or his pupil? I do not hesitate to say: neither of them. As-Soyûti was, in spite of all his short-comings and his great literary vanity, a serious writer, who had neither the leisure nor any interest to compile paltry story-books. On the other side criticism applied to Arabic literature, although in its pioneering stage, has brought out a number of facts which suffice to show that a good deal of popular literature was marked by the name of the great writer, who stored up by the way of summarizing the bulk of Arabic learning and thinking in his own works. So it would be far from rashness to deny that as-Soyûti is the author of this story-book. And it is still less likely that Ibn Iyās wrote it, because the name being applied to his chronicle he was prevented from publishing a popular counterpart with the same, or nearly the same name. Therefore, I am much inclined to believe that this story-book, ascribed to different authors and bearing different names, is a spurious compilation of the 10(16)th, or 11(17)th century,<sup>3</sup> which has nothing in common with the chronicle of Ibn Iyās but the name. Either it was attributed to as-Soyûti as the most prolific writer of modern literature, or when attributed to Ibn Iyās the compiler or copyist was obliged to slightly change its name. Later on, when the Egyptians had lost sight of the middle-age literature and the chronicle of Ibn Iyās, it was ascribed to him even with the name بدائع. That the confusion of these two works had already set in, when Haji Khalfa wrote his bibliography, becomes probable from the fact that he,<sup>4</sup> though describing in an unmistakable way the Egyptian chronicle, added the words تصلح لمجالس الجليس سنية. أورد فيه نوادر سنية. i.e., he set forth in it fine and interesting topics useful [to be read] in an assembly with good companions. That points to the Vienna MS. of the مرجع, where the second part dealing with various نوادر is divided into twelve مباحث.<sup>5</sup> It is possible, however, that the remark adduced above has been interpolated by a reader of Haji Khalfa who consulted his text, but was imbued with the contents of the story-book.

The credit and trustworthiness of an historical work depend on the personal ability and love of truth of its author, and on the intrinsic value of his sources. In neither respect can Ibn Iyās rank with the loftiness of the great historians of earlier centuries, or even with the monumental learnedness and unwearied assiduity of as-Soyûti. The scarcity of quotations of authorities bears testimony to the fact that he was less interested in an exact narrative of the single facts than in an average account, where the subtle differences are obliterated. Nor is the way of quoting his sources very assuring. Mostly the bare name of the author is brought

<sup>1</sup> In the Upsala catalogue الوّليّ.

<sup>2</sup> In the Gotha MS. يتحوّل.

<sup>3</sup> The Vienna MS. of the مرجع is dated from 1111 A.H., the Gotha MS. is not dated, but Pertsch says (l. c., p. 207): "Gutes, neues Naschi des zuges, wie er in der Türkei gebräuchlich ist."

<sup>4</sup> Lexicon v. ii., p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> p. 10.



forth, or the book is simply called تاريخ. So in many cases we are unable to state what book is meant, and to check his sayings. Even the name of the author is sometimes doubtful, e.g., 70, 1,<sup>1</sup> al Herewi, or 95, 19, Shems-ed-din Mohammad b. Ibrahim el Gezeri. Historians of the 7th century A.H. are seldom quoted, e.g., Ibn al Athir (70, 19, 24,) and Abū Shāma (d. 665) on events of the year 656 (94, 6, 17). We may believe that Ibn Iyās refers here to the supplement "which dealt with the" Eiyubides and the Mamlukes.<sup>2</sup> I am sorry to say that I cannot suggest a single word on an author who seems to have lived in the 8th century, viz., Seif-ed-din Abū Bekr Ibn Asad (173, 23, on the events of A.H. 741). Except this case, which can be accounted for by the incompleteness of our literary documents, the history of the 8th and 9th centuries was obviously based on well-known writers, e.g.:

- (a) The history of Ibn al Mutaawag, an Egyptian judge, d. 730 (74, 13).
- (b) Ad Dhehebi, d. 748, on the plagues (191, 6).
- (c) The poetical as well as the historical works of as-Safadi, d. 764 (183; 186, 22; 189, 13, 18; 191, 23, 294).
- (d) The chronicle of Ibn al Kethir, d. 774 (94, 4; 198, 27).
- (e) Several works of Ibn Abi Hagala, d. 776. His "Sukkar dān" is alluded to (202, 9); his verses are quoted (164; 215, 19; 227, 16); his biography (188, 9) of the Sultan Haggi al Muzaffar was until now unknown.
- (f) Ibn Hagar al Askalāni, d. 852 or 857, seems to have been copiously laid under contribution. His pamphlet on the plagues<sup>3</sup> is twice quoted (192, 24; 348, 20); his chronicle, probably the إنباء الغمر, is mentioned (170, 13; 359, 5).
- (g) Al Makrizi was the principal authority for the events of the first half of the 9th century (253, 17; 264, 4; 316, 13; 347, 8; 349, 18; 350, 13). Unluckily, we cannot ascertain the works from which Ibn Iyās took his information. The remark (253, 17), about the chronicle of Khalil b. 'Arrām, Governor of Alexandria, who suffered a frightful death in 781, is in accordance with al Makrizi's archæology (v. ii., p. 394), but Ibn Iyās seems to have had before him another work with a fuller text.

The accuracy of our author and his grasp of historical and biographical facts is curiously illustrated by the *obituaries*, which he has the habit of putting at the end either of an epoch or of single years. We cannot but confess that here is the weakest point of his historiography. Every allowance made for Oriental indifference in matters of chronology, and for the inaccuracy of his authorities, the following examples cannot be explained, neither by supposing a whole chronological system being disordered, nor by mere confusion of names and surnames.

<sup>1</sup> The following quotations are, save contrary statement, taken from the vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> Haji Khalfa, v. iii., p. 347: قيل; a Catal. of the Bibl. Sprengeriana, giessen, 1857.

No. 53: المذيل.

<sup>3</sup> V. Haji Khalfa's Lexicon s.v. بذي الماهون; the Cairene Arab. Catal. v. vi., p. 117.

Passage.	Person.	Common dates.	Iyās's date.
238, 14ss	Ali b Sa'id	673 (685)	Reign of Shabān (764-778)
201, 11	Ahmed b Fadlallāh	749	755
198, 24	Ibn al Wardi	749, 750)	753
199, 28	Ed Dhehebi	748	753
"	Abū Haiyān	745	753
171, 2	Ibn Seiyid en-Nās	734	740
294	As Safadi	764	792
"	Ibn Abi Hagala	about 776	792

Zeineddin Ibn Habib al Halabi, who died in 726,<sup>1</sup> is mentioned in 779 (243, 21). There can be little doubt that Ibn Iyās meant his son Hasan Bedreddin (or Nūreddin), who is further mentioned in 765 (214, 7), and in 773 (227, 10), and died in 779. Then we should suppose that another Ibn Habib al Halabi, mentioned in 781 (247, 25), was the Shihābeddin who died in 793 (296, 15). Muhibbeddin Ibn Shihna is said to have been appointed Lord Chief Justice at Aleppo in 787 (263, 4); the author meant his father Zeineddin.<sup>2</sup> In the obituary for 801, we meet "Imādeddin al Azraki, the author of the chronicle of Mecca" (319, 11). But we may say on good authority that this chronicler died in 244.<sup>3</sup> A solitary example may suffice to show his conversance with *political history*. The Sultan Khalil b. Kalāūn is reported<sup>4</sup> to have exiled two sons of Beibars to Constantinople in 693 (1294), and there, we are told by Ibn Iyās (128, 13), they were received with great honours by الملك المملوكي صاحب القسطنطينية, or "Lascaris, the Lord of Constantinople." The date being approximatively exact,<sup>5</sup> we are led to state that the name of Lascaris is erroneous, because the last ruler of this family was dethroned in 1261, A.D.

I have already pointed out<sup>6</sup> that the *language* of the abridged Cairene text is rather vulgar, even more than the careless and unadorned speech of contemporary or little older chronicles. That Ibn Iyās did not much incline to vulgarisms, may be gathered from the fact that Haji Khalifa has bestowed upon him the honorary epithet *الاديب*,<sup>7</sup> which, unlike the epithets, عالم, محدث, and other ones lavished upon Arabic writers, points to its bearer being possessed of a rather good command over Arabic philology and fine literature. So we may believe that the bulk of these vulgarisms must be put to the account of the Epitomist or probably a writer of the 12th century, A.H.,<sup>8</sup> when Arabic learning had reached its lowest ebb, even in Egypt. The close affinity of this language with the Cairene vulgar speech of to-day, and modern Arabic in general, may be illustrated here by a few instances. The classical Hamza is replaced by vulgar ي y in *métam*, "mourning assembly," (118, 10), and in *مباشر* pl. of *مبشرة*, "a part of the saddle," (156, 13). That the 'y' of the latter term belongs to the 4th

<sup>1</sup> Wüstenfeld, *geschichtschreiber der Araber*, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. No. 460-461.

<sup>3</sup> Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, v. iv. p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> Weil supposes the year 690 to be correct.

<sup>5</sup> V. II., p. 26, s.v. *بدائع الزهور*.

<sup>6</sup> Ib. No. 58.

<sup>7</sup> p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> p. 14.

century A.H., is testified to by al Gauhari.<sup>1</sup> Classical الـي, or vulgar "elli," is reduced to a mere conjunction meaning "that" or "because" (122, 6), as in modern prose.<sup>2</sup> The vulgar way of forming the nisba of words ending in a vowel occurs in فراوي,<sup>3</sup> "a man of Ghazza" (159, 6). Another vulgar nisba is ابو بكرى,<sup>4</sup> (137, 20). The prototype of modern "auwal bauwal," "by and by," is اولاً بأول (145, 17). The inflectional endings being dropped and the accent drawn back, long final ā of nouns was shortened into a (e), e. g. اوصياء = اوصية, "guardians," (193, 24).<sup>5</sup> Nominal suffixes are attached to unshortened "in," in the masculine plural of nouns, e. g. قلدصينه, "moving towards him" (126, 28), and often غشداصينه, "his comrades," where al Makrizi formed the plural غشداصية.<sup>6</sup>

The common occurrence of vulgar ابى, "what," cannot surprise us here (113, 24; 118, 3; 119, 18; 131, 9; 137, 14), as it is proved to have existed in much earlier times. الحج, "pilgrimage," and الحاج, "pilgrim," are confounded on account of their being spelled in the same way, "al-hagg" (7, 17; 107, 27; 148, 27).<sup>7</sup>

The above-mentioned examples belong to the speech of the chronicler or his reviser. It is quite another case if we look upon the *vulgar poetry* recorded in his book, but flowing from the pen of authors of the Mamluke times. We may call it a good luck that Ibn Iyās has preserved an unexpected number of this kind of literature, and has partly made amends hereby for the drawbacks of his historiography. One of the oldest and most interesting pieces is the lamentation of Shemseddin Ibn Dāniyāl al Khuzā'i on the stringent police laws which the great Beibars had issued in 665 A.H. against hashish, wine and debauchery of any kind (105-106). The poetry of the Dāniyāl inspired an Egyptian poet, Ibrahim al Mimār, to compose another song on the same topics (106), in A.H. 745.<sup>8</sup> Other pieces are the street-song on the Sultan Beibars II., in 709 (150), and the cheery poetry of Khalaf al Ghubārī on the beauty of young Sha'bān (213), his elegy on the death of the same Sultan (236-238), and a fresh, merry song on the victory gained over the Beheira Bedouins in 781, and the recapture of Damanhūr (250-252). Last, not least, comes the lay of an anonymous poet, on the death of the elephant which Timurlenk had presented to the Sultan Farag, and which suffered an awful death by falling into a conduit (343). A vulgar proverb is quoted, 124, 26: الجي مالمو قاتل: "nobody can kill a snake."

(To be continued.)

<sup>1</sup> Lane's Lexicon, p. 20a. In vulgar poetry the افعال, plural of فاعل "augur" is formed افوال, in order to get out a conundrum rhyming with افوال, "horse-beans," (164, 20, 21). The Hamza of the same root became و, "w," in the verbal forms فَوَّلَ (228, 22) and فَوَّلَ (266, 14).

<sup>2</sup> The Antar romance, *passim*; Habicht, Epistolae 15, 8; Tantavy, Traité, pp. 27-73, L.D.M.G. 1891, pp. 64, 5, Ousāma ed. Dérenbourg, pp. 43, 11.

<sup>3</sup> V. Khalil Ed-Dāhiry ed. Kavalise p. 134, المملكة الغزاوية.

<sup>4</sup> V. al Makrizi, v. ii., p. 390, ابو بكرى.

<sup>5</sup> I do not venture to say what is cause and what effect in this process.

<sup>6</sup> V. Dozy's Supplément aux dict. Arabes, v. i., p. 352b.

<sup>7</sup> The affinity with modern Arabic speech is yet more prominent in lexicology. I hope to elucidate this point in my "Dictionary of Arabic as used in Egypt at the present time."

<sup>8</sup> He died in 781 (254, 9).



# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## BIBLICAL HEBREW AND ARAMAIC—OLD TESTAMENT.

SINCE our last Report, several interesting publications have appeared in the domain of Bible study. We shall mention, first, two new fascicles of the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, a critical edition of the Hebrew Text printed in colours, and prepared under the direction of P. Haupt. The first is the *Book of Daniel* with notes by A. Kamphausen, and the other is the *Book of Genesis* with very numerous and suggestive notes, exhibiting the composite structure of the book, by the Rev. C. J. Ball. At the same time we have to note in the "Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft" two treatises published as *Beihefte*: the composition and historical value of Ezra-Nehemiah by Charles C. Torrey, and the Epoch (die Datierung) of the Psalms of Solomon by W. Frankenberg: this latter work giving the Hebrew of the Greek text of the Psalter.

The 10th fascicle of the Dictionary of the Bible, edited by the Abbé Vigouroux and published quite recently, contains, in addition to some interesting articles, four remarkable plates, two especially representing in colours the Egyptian Queen Karomama (after the statuette in bronze at the Louvre Museum), and some capitals of columns at Karnak and Tell El-Amarna.—Under the title "Jesus' Mother-tongue," A. Meyer, privat-docent at Bonn, has written an article which will possibly draw attention to the Galilean Aramaic.\*

Finally, we single out a new edition of Kautzsch's Hebrew Grammar.†

## ASSYRIAN.

Assyriology has just been enriched by the second part of Hilprecht's great work: Old Babylonian Inscriptions chiefly from Nippur‡ (The Babylonian expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.) The results obtained by the American excavations from 1888 to 1896 have been most remarkable in confirming and completing those at which M. de Sarzec arrived by his none the less celebrated discoveries at Tello.

Till within these last years, the most ancient Kings of Babylonia with whom we were acquainted, were Sargon of Akkad and Naramsin, these carrying us back to about the year 3750 B.C. The labours of the American

\* *Das Galiläische Aramäisch in seiner Bedeutung für die Erklärung der Reden Jesu*, Freiburg in B. und Leipzig, Mohr, 1896.

† Gesenius, *Hebräische Grammatik*, entirely revised by E. Kautzsch, 26 Edit. Leipzig, Vogel, 1896.

‡ Vol. I. part II. (68 pp. and 50 plates) Gr. 4, Philadelphia (Erlangen, Merkel), 1896.

Expedition carry us much further back, and we could not dream of assigning a date much later than between seven and eight thousand years before the Christian Era.

#### ARABIC, ISLÂM AND ETHIOPIC.

From Beyrouth, the Catholic printing-establishment announces several new publications on the Arabic language, one in Latin,\* the other in French,† both bound to be of practical value in the study of this language.

We are pleased to note the appearance in German of an interesting account of a journey to Morocco, written in a most independent spirit by a lady, Elsa von Schabelsky.‡ 'There is no doubt that there is an increase of works meant for the larger reading public, in which Islam is no longer judged from the point of view of European prejudices, which are prone to condemn without giving a fair hearing.

M. R. Basset, the eminent professor of Algiers, continues the publication of the translation of the *Æthiopic Apocrypha*.§

There appeared first the "teachings of Jesus Christ addressed to His disciples" and some magical prayers, and quite recently a most interesting tract: "the rules attributed to St. Pakhome."

#### SYRIAC.

Syriac publications are becoming more and more numerous. The *Codex Lewis* has given rise to a new study by A. Bonus, who has collated its text with those of the *Codex Cureton* and the *Peshitto*.||

There has also been begun the publication of "a compendious Syriac Dictionary"¶ founded upon the *Thesaurus Syriacus* of R. Payne Smith.

Finally, the last part of the important work issuing from the Catholic printing-press of Beyrouth, of which we have already spoken in our former Reports, has appeared: *S. Gregorii Theologi liber Carminum iambicorum, pars altera* (ed. H. Gismondi).\*\* The first part, prepared by J. Bollig, was edited a year ago: thus this publication is completed, and it is one which does great honour to the Beyrouth press. The first part includes the very ancient Syriac version (in the opinion of the Editor Bollig, it goes back to the close of the 6th century) of the Poems of Gregory of Nazianze, according to a MS. in the Vatican. The second part contains the Syriac translation of 15 Poems by Gregory, derived from a Syriac MS. in the British Museum. This translation, which is a complement to the fragmentary version of the Vatican MS., is, according to the Editor, of the same origin. A table of comparison with the Greek text edited by Migne, facilitates investigations. We would draw the attention of specialists to the beauty of the Estrangelo type, which has been cast for this publication.

\* *Durand and Cheiko, Elementa grammaticæ arabicæ, pars prior, Beryti, 1896.*

† *Belot, Cours pratique de langue arabe, Beyrouth, 1896.*

‡ *Harem und Moschee, Reiseskizzen aus Marokko, Berlin, S. Cronbach, 1896.*

§ Fasc. VII. and VIII., Paris, Librairie de l'art indépendant, 1896.

|| *Collatio codicis lewisiani rescripti evangeliorum sacrorum syriacorum, etc., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1896.*

¶ Edited by J. Payne Smith (Mrs. Margoliouth), Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1896.

\*\* Gr. in-8, IV.—60 pp. Beryti, 1896.

## NATIVE AND EUROPEAN GRAMMARIANS OF ARABIC.—A REPLY.

BY PROF. M. J. DE GOEJE.

IN the last number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* Dr. Howell published a criticism of the third edition of Wright's Arabic Grammar. As I am chiefly responsible for the revision of that work, I feel it my duty to say a few words in reply. I am entirely of Dr. Howell's opinion when he declares it to be "a matter of deep regret that the author, whose vast learning and ripe experience so well fitted him for such a task, should not have been spared to make the contemplated revision." Undoubtedly Wright would have performed the task far better than I have been able to do. It is not unlikely that he would have altered some passages which I have left unchanged; but I do not believe that this would have happened in any of the cases specified by Dr. Howell. As for the article ج, it is evident, as Dr. Howell surmises, that there was some vacillation in Wright's mind, since the statement in § 19 rem. c that the vowel with hêmza is original does not fit in well with the theory in § 345 that the *h* is prosthetic. The former passage had been printed off before I undertook the task of revision, begun by Robertson Smith. But unless it had escaped my attention, I should have contented myself with inserting [perhaps]. For to judge by his *Lectures on Comparative Grammar*, p. 114, it would appear that Wright afterwards felt more inclined to the former theory. As for Wright's opinion that the article was originally a demonstrative and that the ج in ذلك is akin to it, I feel convinced that he would not have made any alteration. Dr. Howell is right in saying that this view finds no support in the works of the native grammarians. Those learned men must undoubtedly be regarded as very high authorities, but we are not therefore justified in following them through thick and thin—not to mention the fact that they often disagree among themselves. We have at our disposal means of judging which they did not possess. Thus, for example, we are better qualified than they were to determine the origin and signification of the prefixes and suffixes of the Perfect and Imperfect. Wright would certainly not have altered a jot in the revision of § 89. But he would never have thought it possible that he could be suspected of taking the *م* in *محرمة* for anything but the feminine termination. If Dr. Howell had taken the trouble to consult *Comp. Gramm.*, p. 167 *seq.*, quoted in the remark, he could not have written what he did. He might as well have accused Wright of mistaking the termination *ون* for a pronoun.

I cannot help doubting whether Dr. Howell would seriously have proposed that the clear and simple words "prefixed pronouns expressing the nominative" should be replaced by what he gives as the definition of the native grammarians, who "hold them to be mere preformative letters, constituting parts of words, not entire words, and consequently to be devoid of independent signification, having no more effect in expressing



the nominative than they have in expressing the accusative, when the verb happens to be transitive." The term "prefix" implies that these letters are not entire words. If Dr. Howell means that they have no signification save as prefixes of the verb, his definition is tautological. That they have a real signification nobody will deny. The native grammarians, for instance, call the *l* the *elif* of signification (الف العبرة), because it is significant of the speaker (see Lane). The last words of Dr. Howell's definition are quite an enigma. Do these shortened pronouns not express a nominative? And how could they possibly express an accusative when the verb happens to be transitive?

Dr. Howell discovers an omission in § 91. He ought to have consulted the sections which treat of the reduplicated verbs, where he would have found what he requires, viz. in § 120, rem. *a*.

Wright explained the expression ما افضل زيدا as almost all European scholars think that it ought to be explained. Fleischer has shown in his *Kl. Schr.* iii. 17 that ما cannot be taken absolutely in the sense of "a thing," i.e., "a great thing." Compare *Grammar* § 353\* 1: "ما—with the sense of *something*—is never thus employed unless with a qualificative complement." Hence the explanation proposed by Dr. H. cannot be accepted. It was in accordance with the purpose of Dr. Howell's work to collect the various explanations of the native writers; the purpose of Wright was a different one. He stated what he thought correct, and only in exceptional cases made mention of contrary opinions.

As for *ل*, Dr. Howell ought again to have consulted the passage of the *Comp. Gramm.* quoted in rem. *b*., where he would have seen the answer to his question.

The meaning of Dr. Howell's remark on § 196 is not clear to me. He cannot mean, I think, that there do not exist nouns of the forms فعلى and فعلى, for examples are given by Wright. Perhaps Dr. Howell forgot to read § 309 *c*.

Dr. Howell is wrong in concluding from § 351 rem. that Wright considered كم and كائى as interrogative pronouns. He says only that they are derived from such pronouns, and the correctness of this view cannot be questioned, notwithstanding "the concurrent statements of Ibn Hishām and Al-Ushmūnī" and whatever other authorities Dr. Howell may choose to cite. Had Dr. Howell referred to vol. ii. § 44 *c*, rem. *d*, he would there have found Wright's definition of the two words as *interrogative nouns of number*.

What Dr. Howell says about ما mainly concerns myself, since I inserted this section. Does Dr. Howell mean that there were originally two or more different words which in process of time alike assumed the form ما? If not, I must maintain the correctness of my statement that in all the cases mentioned we have the same pronoun ما employed in different ways.

I now come to the last remark. Dr. Howell asserts that ادواف has not the same signification as حروف. I must refer him to Lane, who says s.v. ادوة: "Hence, in grammar, a *particle*, as being a kind of auxiliary; including the article ال, the preposition, the conjunction and the interjection;

but not the adverbial noun." Unless Dr. Howell can prove that Lane and his authorities were also in error, his statement about "confusion of terms" is not to be accepted. The native scholars who include the article *ال* among the particles (not all of them hold this opinion) are certainly mistaken, as has been stated above. Dr. Howell complains that Wright has placed *امام*, *بعد* etc. among the prepositions. It is true that the native grammarians call them adverbial nouns, the meaning of the preposition *في* being included in them. But this is precisely what Wright teaches, when he says (§ 357): "those of the second class are simply nouns of different forms in the accusative, determined by the following genitive," and again (§ 359): "these are all, as before said, the construct accusatives of nouns"; compare also vol. ii., § 64: "Many words, which are obviously substantives in the *accusative of place* (see § 44 *b*) may be conveniently regarded in a certain sense as prepositions." Wright has placed them here because we consider them as prepositions, and every student will look for them under this heading. Could Dr. Howell find a better place?

My conclusion is that not only there is not "much to be deplored," but nothing at all. Moreover Dr. Howell must pardon me for addressing a question to him. His criticisms relate, with one or two unimportant exceptions, to the second edition of the Grammar, of which the first part was edited by Wright in 1874, the second part in 1875. Between this latter date and the death of my lamented friend there lies an interval of 14 years. Why did not Dr. Howell publish his comments at that period, so that Wright himself might have an opportunity of answering them? Or why, knowing Wright personally, and being aware that a third edition of the Grammar was contemplated, did not Dr. Howell submit his remarks to the author by letter? Among the letters containing observations on the Grammar, which Wright carefully preserved in his own copy of the book, I have not found a single line from Dr. Howell.

FOURTEENTH REVIEW ON THE  
 "SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.  
 CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

THE ZEND AVESTA. PART II. TRANSLATED BY  
 JAMES DARMESTER.

(Vol. XXII.)

BY THE REV. L. H. MILLS, D.D.

IN this volume the lamented author has given us what may be considered, from a poetical point of view, as the "pearl" of the Avesta. Except in those parts of the Yasna which are themselves of the nature of the Yashts (also excluding the later chapters of the Vendidad), we have nowhere such rich imagery or colour; they remind us of the better Riks at every turn. We have also here some of the most important of the documents of Zoroastrianism regarded in the light of historical and doctrinal value.

In Yasht XIII. we have the fullest statements which occur as to the Ameshaspends in their later forms as fully personified beings, remaining however (as they do) six in number and having "one father and commander Ahura Mazda."

It is also in this part of the Avesta that the tracing of the soul's progress after death is made, the passage being one of rare beauty, and perhaps the choice bit among the treasures of the later Avesta, i.e., Yasht XXII. Yasht XIII. gives us, again, a full list of Iranian names of the highest interest to the study of etymologies, and affording a large portion of the interest which the Yashts possess as materials for history.

The diction is crowded with graphic allusions to impressive natural phenomena and even its inferior descriptions are poetical to a high degree.

The Yashts may be considered as essentially the Pagan part of the Avesta (if I might make use of such an expression); and as such, they are of the very highest interest. They preserve in the Mithra-Yasht (Mihr Yasht) alone if not almost a counterpart to the Mithra-Varuna worship of the Rig-Veda, at least something which strongly reminds us of it; and this alone does for us the invaluable service of drawing the Veda and Avesta closer together. I have noticed elsewhere the truly astonishing aspect of the *data* which lie before us in these circumstances. Before a word of discussion has been uttered upon it, the matter in its *primâ facie* appearance presents one of the most interesting problems that could well be suggested of the kind, and this without regard to whichever view we may take as to the resulting verdict in the various questions which arise in the course of our investigations.

Here in the Yashts there is (for instance) hardly a mistake as to the presence of a polytheism, for Ahura and Mithra occur without any such relief as is afforded to the union of Ahura and the Ameshaspends by the



interposition of such a doctrine as that of a tri-unity or a heptade. Even the characteristic dual number is freely used of the two leading deities, Ahura and Mithra, and that both in the nominative and in the oblique cases. Some have indeed doubtfully claimed Mazdâ-Ashâ as duals in Y. 50, 10 (in spite of the fact that Ashâ stands in the instrumental in the near context); yet even if Mazdâ and Ashâ are the related duals like Ahura and Mithra, and Mitra-Varuṇa, we must always remember that such a union between Mazda and Asha could only have originated from the fact that Asha, in one view, is a part, or an attribute, of Mazda, which is not at all the case in the matter of Mithra and Mazda-Ahura. Mithra was an independent Aryan god of the highest antiquity and does not begin to be spoken of in the Avesta as a "son of Ahura Mazda," who is however Asha's "father," and though it is said in one place that Ahura created Mithra, the statement seems to be artificial. The prominence of Mithra taken by itself gives this volume especial importance, for it affords the needed antithesis to the most striking peculiarity of the Gâthas, which would miss much of its point without this circumstance to affect it. From the Gâthas Mithra is utterly absent as well as other deities inferior to him, and the fact that Mithra is not only present but prominent in the other parts of the Avesta makes this absence from the Gâthas one of the most remarkable circumstances in ancient anthology. Even on the impossible assumption that the Gâthas were a product of the century before or after Christ this absence of Mithra from them remains as curious as ever. The Gâthas are often written in a tone of passion, the composer being off his guard, but this great God of Iran is never mentioned, while here in the Yashts he is in full power and possession; what are we to think of it?

See my Introduction to the XXXIst. vol. of the "Sacred Books of the East," and also my article Zoroaster and the Bible in the Nineteenth Century Review of Jan. '94. Mithra, even if he were suddenly dismissed from the theology of Gâthic times, has still not *suddenly* returned in the Yashts. He is quite at home in every farmhouse as in the battle lines of every army corps. Sudden changes in the objective features of religious beliefs are like sudden changes in geology, only to be accepted with suspicion. Nothing is really "sudden," though it may seem to be without remotely distant causes. All transformations and those of the nature of reformations especially, are the results of the long and silent operation of intellectual forces, though the final issues may indeed seem precipitated. Was there no Mithra in the Gâthas because their composers knew of no Mithra; that is to say, did the Gâthas antedate the existence of his cult? If so, what an antiquity may we ascribe to them! for who was older than Mithra in Vedic days? The Gâthas must in that case be by centuries the oldest of ancient books, a supposition which is so contrary to our usual habits of thought that it is nearly incredible; yet the question must be met, unless we stultify ourselves, and the question arises from these Yashts.

Here we have, a century or centuries after the Mithra-less Gâthas (whatever may have been the age of their origin), the rich Pagan Yashts with Mithra enthroned in them as he is in the Rik; and no hypothesis can vulgarize the fine distinctions which underlie the point of this fact. And

what may be said of Mithra may be said with less emphasis of Haoma (who was Soma) and of a throng of later gods beside.\*

So much for this most exceptional circumstance in the history of the theology which prevailed in Iran at the time of the composition of the Yashts, bearing as it does so forcibly upon the history of the Gâthic age, and its theologies. But it will be profitable to give the reader an idea of the contents of this volume piece by piece.

*Yasht* means the act of worship, "the performance of the *Yasna*," and the word is often used in Parsi tradition as synonymous with *yasna*, but it has also been applied to a certain number of writings in which the Izads (or Yazads) are worshipped. There remain only twenty Yashts extant (in twenty-four chapters) and fragments of another but doubtless every prominent Izad had originally his, or her, Yasht.

The order in which the Yashts are arranged is that of the *si-rôzah* or "thirty-days," which is the name of a prayer with thirty invocations each one being an invocation to one of the several Izads which preside over each day of the Parsi-month. There are two *si-rôzahs*, one more full than the other, but otherwise they are practically the same.

Their only importance for us is that they afford us an opportunity to observe the kind of ideas which were bound up with the reverent mention of different names. The second *si-rôzah* is to Bahman (Vohu Manah), and the ideas of the two wisdoms (*sic*), the heavenly and original wisdom, that wisdom which was derived from instinct and that wisdom which was "acquired through the ear" are associated with Bahman or the Good Mind. In the 3d two deities which are not Ameshaspends are united with Asha-vahishta, the holy Order of the Law; one is Airyaman and the other Saoka (the latter otherwise not prominent). In the 4th Khshathra-vairya, the Sovereign-power, the-(much)-to-be-desired, has become a God of metals: "mercy and charity" are accidentally (?) associated with him.

Spenta Aramaiti however is not mentioned as "the earth" in number 5, in which particular this number 5 is so much the more critical; but an inferior deity, Râta accompanies her.

Hanrvatât is also without the usual (later) reference to water, though Ameretatât carries with it an allusion to corn (a later idea). Atar, the Fire, is worshipped as the "son of Ahura-Mazda" and the Glory and Weal of the Aryas and of the Kavis are mentioned with it, as well as the King Husravah, Nairyô-sangha coming in later. The heavenly river Ardvî-sûra anâhita is also named with the Waters in 10, etc., etc. The 29th *si-rôzah* praises the Holy Word (nothing to do with the Logos). The 30th appropriately culminates in the worship of Garô-nmâna, the sovereign place of eternal weal, also with the Bridge of Judgment, giving praise also to the Son of Waters, the Lightning (?), and to all the holy gods heavenly and material, also to the Fravashis which were the souls of the fathers as well as the guardians of the living.

The Ormazd Yasht enumerates the names of Ahura, and their efficacy;

\* We can actually see the growth of a god in the Yasna as well as the developments of the Ameshaspends. Before we had any personal god Verethraghna we have the phrase "Ké Verethrem-jâ," where V. is not a proper name.

they are placed at twenty and so numbered; in sections 7-8, in 12-15 they are varied and added to.

We may notice in passing that the name of one of the Ameshaspenta Asha vahishta is attributed to Ahura. Among other expressions we may note, "My name is the creator"; "my name is the strong one"; my name is "all-good-things made-by-Mazda" (*sic*).

"My name is Understanding, the most beneficent, the one in whom is no harm, the unconquerable, the healer." "I am the keeper, the priest most priest-like of all priests." "I am the discerner; the King who rules at his will, the King who rules most." My name is "he who does not deceive"; my name is "He who is not deceived"; "the wisest of the wise," etc., etc.

He who shall pronounce these names when he rises up and when he sits down, that man shall not be wounded, etc.; the end of this Yasht is devoted to Verethraghna, the blow of Victory. An important feature here is the positive statement that Vohu Manah and the other Ameshaspenta are Ahura's creatures. "Here is V. M. my creature; here is Asha-vahishta my creature, Khshathra-vairya and Aramaiti my creatures, and Haurvatât and Ameretatât my creatures."

We worship, so the Yasht proceeds, the memory of Ahura Mazda to keep the holy word, His understanding to study it, His tongue to speak it, etc., etc. The Haptan Yasht, or the Yasht of the Seven Ameshaspends, is an extract from the *st-rôzahs*. "Who is he in whose house every demon is destroyed?" so it runs. "It is he who takes the Seven Ameshaspends, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent, as a shield against his foes. He has renounced trespasses and faults when he throws down the destroyer of Vohu Manah, and throws down his words with a hundredfold preaching, and he takes away the Law of Mazda, that was carried away as a prisoner, from the hands of those who are destroyed by his strength."

The Yasht of Ardibahisht is for a great part devoted to the praise of a certain prayer called the Airyaman prayer which drives away diseases. When this Yasht turns more directly toward Ardibahisht it is curiously enough put into the mouth of Satan himself who speaks of Ardibahisht (Asha-vahishta the best holiness) just as the author of the piece had spoken of Airyaman. "He rushes forth, Woe is me," he cries, "here is the God Ashavahishta who will smite the sickliest of all diseases, the deadliest of all deaths, the most fiendish of all fiends," etc. The Khordâd Yasht is that of Haurvatât, the Ameshaspenta of Weal (health and happiness; later a genius presiding over water). After two sections, it celebrates the *baresnum* ceremony which was solemnized by Airyaman to drive away diseases; and this seems to be the reason why it becomes prominent in this Yasht to the Amesha of Health; it need not detain us. The Âbân Yasht or the Yasht of the waters is devoted to Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the Anaitis of the Greeks. She is called the high, powerful and undefiled. Darmesteter regarded it (or her) as the river of the sky from which all waters are derived, chiefly by means of the rain. She is, he thought, the celestial Ganges; this may be a correct opinion, but I am rather inclined to believe that the idea was first suggested by one of the great local rivers.



The Mount from which she, that is to say, Anahita, flows down is described in the later Parsism as the mythical Hukairya of the star region; but in the Avesta proper we have no reason to suppose that it was not an actual mountain somewhere toward the West; so at least says the Bundahish which is of course late evidence. The beauties of this piece are shown in passages too lengthy for quotation here. "All the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over, when she, the River, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, with her thousand channels streams down there." "From this River of mine flow all the waters that spread over all the Seven Karshvars (quarters) of the Earth."

After the Iranian fashion she appears as a human figure, beautiful "with her white arms, thick as a horse's shoulder," "and still thicker." "Who will praise me?" she cries, "who will offer me a sacrifice?" "To whom shall I cleave? and who will cleave to me? and who is of good will to me?" "Offer sacrifice, O Zarathushtra, to this spring of mine."

She drives forward on her chariot thinking thus "who will offer me a sacrifice." Four horses drag her chariot; they are all white, of the same colour, of the same blood, crushing down the hates of all the haters. "Strong and bright, tall and beautiful of form is she." Her charms are such that Ahura Himself begins the series of sacrifices. This is piquant and quaint most certainly, and perhaps it implies no particular degradation to the Supreme Deity, on the same principle upon which royal persons themselves are punctilious in giving every princelet his proper title; but what a bathos from the tone of the Gâthas! The chief worthies of the early world follow Ahura in her service, begging boons, and the recitals of their prayers are characteristic to a degree. The Khôrshêd Yasht is the Yasht to the Sun. "When the light of the Sun grows warm then the heavenly Izads arise, by hundreds and by thousands, they gather together its glory, they make its glory pass down, they pour its glory upon the earth for the increase of the world of holiness, for the increase of the creatures of holiness, for the increase of the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun; and when the Sun rises up then the earth made by Mazda becomes clean, then the waters become clean," etc. "Should not the Sun arise! then the Dævas would destroy all things that are in the Seven Karshvars of the Earth."

Nor would the heavenly Yazads find any way of withstanding them or repelling them. "I will sacrifice also to Mithra, another name for the Sun, to Mithra with a thousand ears, and ten thousand eyes," this recalls the object in Ezekiel full of eyes before and behind; and the singer ends with the exclamation "I will sacrifice unto the club of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, the club well struck on the Dæva's skulls." Mithra was likewise "the friend." I will sacrifice to that "friendship" the best of all that reigns between the Moon and the Sun (the correspondence of their movements). The Mâh Yasht is the Moon Yasht. "Hail to Ahura; hail to the Ameshas; hail to the Moon that holds the seed of the Bull (*sic*); for fifteen days the moon doth wax, for fifteen days it wanes; who is there but thee who makes it wax and wane" (this last is quoted from the Gâthas), etc.

The Tîr Yasht is the Tishtya (Sirius\*) Yasht. Tîr presided over the

\* "Plutarch de Iside et Osiride," § 47. (Darmesteter.)

dog-days. The struggle depicted in this Yasht is the effort to secure rain. Apaosha is the drought. The imagery here is most striking; it should be read in the book, pp. 93-109.

The Gôsh Yasht praises the Sacred Cow called also Drvâspa "health for horses," and Gôshûrûn, which means "the Soul of Kine." The same heroes who appealed to the Waters in the Âbân Yasht appeal to Her. "Grant me this boon, O good and most beneficent Drvâspa that I may never fear nor bow in terror before the Daevas, but that all the Daevas may bow and fear before me." "Grant me this boon that I may banish thirst and hunger, old age and death, and both the hot and the cold wind." "Grant me that I may overcome the Dragon Dahâka, three-mouthed and three-headed, six-eyed, with thousand senses, and that I may deliver his two wives Savanghavâch and Irenavâch the fairest among women and the most wonderful beings in the world." Zarathushtra's prayers seem to be directed toward the edification of his wife; "that I may bring Hutaosha to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, and that she may spread my law and make it known." Kavi Vishtâspa prays "that I may put to flight Ashta-aurvant the all-afflicting of the brazen helm, of the brazen armour, of the thick neck, backed by seven hundred camels . . . that I may smite Sinjaurushka and bring the nations of the Varedhakes and of the Hoyasnas to the good law."

The Strong Drvâspa, Gosûrûn, made by Mazda, granted all these boons. Of the Mîhr Yasht I have already spoken. It is indeed a noble piece. Among its peculiarities may be noticed that Ahura Mazda is kept supreme on the theory that He created Mithra, but made him as worthy of sacrifice as Himself, which last doctrine smoothes over the difficulties presented in the fact that Mithra receives worship equal to the worship paid Ahura; and as Mithra became His colleague, Ahura sets the example of worship towards Him, and offers Him a sacrifice in high Garô-nmâna, much as He offered to Ardvî Sûra Anahita, by the good River Dâitya in Airyana Vaējah.

The Yasht to Craosha "the listening to obey" goes back nearer to the Gâthic period, as Craosha is a Gâthic Quality or Deity; it is a most interesting piece. The Rashu Yasht is to Rashnu Razishta the truest Justice. According to later conceptions he was one of the three Judges of the departed, Mithra and Sraosha being the others. He holds the balance in which deeds are weighed, "and he will not vary so much as a hair, neither for the pious nor for the wicked." To the Fravardîn Yasht I have already alluded. The Fravardîn are the Fravashis, and these (originally the spirits of ancestors) had become a sort of guardian spirits. In the days of the decadence between the Gâthic times and those of the later Avesta, the idea of the guardian spirits became at once so exalted and so degenerated that every object from Ahura Mazda, on His throne, to the earth, and even to inanimate objects upon it had its guardian spirit. These existed before the being to whom, or to which, they belonged was produced, in many cases, and the fravashi looks something like a preconceived idea of the object to be created, so that a vague image of the Platonic Ideas may at times have floated loosely in the imaginations of the more refined of the people. But

the piece itself abounds in valuable detail, and from its XXIVth section it becomes, as Darmesteter said, a "Homer's catalogue." It is curious that none of the Sasanians are mentioned in it, and for this reason it would seem to be a document belonging to an earlier age. The Rām Yasht is the Yasht of Rāma Hvāstra, the genius of good housing and good pastures; and it is devoted to his colleague Vayu. The same series of supplicants begin begging of Vayu their boons; and Ahura Mazda, not to be forgetful of good breeding, again leads the way with a sacrifice to his inferior.

He puts in the appropriate request that he might smite the creation of Angra Mainyu, and that nobody might smite the creation of "the good spirit." Vayu accedes to this. Haoshyangha asks that he may smite two-thirds of the Dævas of Māzana and of the fiends of Varena; but the doughty Takhma Urupa, the well-armed, not only asks for victory over all Dævas and men, and sorcerers and Pairikas, but he aspires to mount on the Devil's back itself, and ride Angra Mainyu around the earth for thirty years! And Vayu accedes to this request; etc.

The Dīn Yasht celebrates the Daena or holy Faith and the Chista which might be called the gnosis; it is followed by a valuable Yasht to Ashi Vanguhi the good Ashi, an impersonation of the beatitude of piety, and "the good wealth" which follows as its recompense, while the Ashtād Yasht celebrates Arshtā, which Darmesteter defined as "truthfulness."

In the very important and beautiful Zamyād Yasht, the Yasht of the Earth, we have the fullest expressions which occur in the Zend Avesta with reference to the millennial reign of the last Saoshyant; who shall appear before the end to raise the dead.

The Yashts and those parts of the Avesta which are kindred to them are of most value to students of the Shah-namah, and Darmesteter enriched his volume with frequent allusions to that great poem. He indeed gave us the memorable explanation of the words Savanghavach and Erenavāch by his brilliant recognition of them in the Shahrināz and Arnavāz of the Shah-namah; see his *Études Iranienues* II., page 253 seq.

I regard this most agreeable and instructive volume of the Yashts as Darmesteter's greatest achievement, and especially in this its older form when he worked on the Avesta without any suspicion at all that its surviving fragments were not ancient.

As to that somewhat sudden change which took place in his opinions on the subject of the antiquity of the Avesta, I trust that I may be excused from saying anything of an extended character at this time. I may be allowed however to remark that I regard his suspicion of the remote antiquity of the Avesta as a most natural one, and as a necessary doubt. Nobody who studies the Gāthas with a close eye can fail to be struck by the advanced character of some of their terminology.

A reader would be very obtuse indeed if he did not feel a suspicion of the remote antiquity of any document which expressed such moral distinctions as those which exist between "thought, and word, and deed," and "this bodily life and the mental," "life and non-life (this for 'death')," etc. I myself expressed such a doubt in the Introduction to the work which I composed at Professor Darmesteter's request. I must indeed



confess that the body of proof in favour of the remote antiquity of the older parts of the Avesta seems to me to be irresistible ; but this is not to say that a discussion of the matter would not have a wholesome effect.

Surely it would not be well to allow Zend scholars to "settle upon their lees," and pursue their tasks with no repetition of the challenge which should periodically question the solidity of their claims. If the Gâthas are not ancient they still retain of course great importance, in some respects even greater importance than before ; for they would in that case afford evidence of the existence of an entire civilization (of letters) in Iran, about B.C. 100, of which we have never had a suspicion ; but still they would lose much indeed of their value in the light of antiquarian research ; and it is well that we should be threatened with this misfortune, and from a quarter too which would secure a hearing for the doubt.

Private readers should understand that even schools of experts like a startling idea even if at the same time they feel that it will be soon exploded. There is, I grant, too much of this craving for a sensation ; but still it exists and it certainly stirs up the energies of research and enforces a new defence of long-acquired territory. Darmesteter was the only person who possessed the power even to bring on a discussion of such doubts as he revived, and I do not think that any harm will result from them. That he has had no followers in his advocacy of these long-forgotten views is not at present true. A very brilliant young scholar of the name of Blochet, one of Darmesteter's best pupils, tells me that he has in the press a lengthy article in which he goes even further than Darmesteter in this last direction. But whatever we may think, he would be a churl indeed who could utter a harsh word over the grave of such a brilliant and noble-hearted author, or wish other than praise to his honourable memory.

I can lay my tribute of gratitude upon his resting-place, for he emphatically broke the sardonic law in accordance with which one should never expect to be forgiven for doing a literary man a favour. He entreated me to take the translation of the Yasna in the series of the S. B. E. "*dans l'espoir d'une réponse favorable,*" and, strange as it may seem to cynics, he actually showed his gratitude by important printed statements which have been already of great service to me in keeping off the attacks of small detractors, and which will also materially assist me in repelling the assaults of more serious villany when they come. It is a small tribute indeed on my part to his sacred memory to record my appreciation of this great work, this valuable and suggestive translation of what might be called (for its poetic colour) the Rîg Veda of Old Iran, the most poetical and æsthetic portion of what remains to us of the Parsis' ancient books.

L. H. MILLS.

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## ANGLO-INDIAN COOKERY.

BY COLONEL A. KENNEY HERBERT.

It is by no means an exaggeration to say that social and domestic life in India has undergone a complete reformation since the pre-Mutiny period of our occupation of the country. The manners and customs of the days of John Company which were chronicled in time past for English readers have altogether changed. This, of course, has come to pass in the natural order of things. During the last thirty-five years Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay have been brought so much nearer to England than of old that the conditions of life in Hindustan are no longer what they were. People can now run home frequently, maintain touch with their kith and kin, and form ideas in keeping with what they see and hear in English Society. They no longer look upon India as their home for the term of their natural lives, and have ceased to be contented with the semi-Oriental method of existence which satisfied their simple-minded forefathers. The fossilised Colonel Capsicum who, in the earlier half of the century provided the humorist with pabulum wherewith to adorn an Indian tale, is extinct. Look where he might to-day the man who knew India when great Dalhousie ruled the land would find nothing but innovation, for in their food, wine, and dress, in the furniture and arrangement of their rooms, in their amusements, in the tone of Society, in their thoughts, words, and deeds, Anglo-Indians have verily become a new people. In regard to some points perhaps it may be questioned whether the new order of things is better than the old. Indeed certain of the elders who still hang on lovingly *sub Jove torrido* are wont to shake their heads at times and declare, not without justice, that many modern improvements are mere veneer to cover paltry economies, that instead of the honest heartiness and spontaneity that once characterized Indian hospitality you now find English frigidity and exclusiveness, and that speaking metaphorically good old curry and rice was, after all, better fare than the europeanised *entrée* of the new school. But these good souls dream of a day before the globe-trotter was invented, when guests came in by twos and threes, not in big battalions, when the rupee was sometimes quoted at two shillings and twopence, never below the florin, and when even local produce was procurable at rates which taken all round were at least half those of the present time;—of a day, too, before the art of curry-making had fallen into decay, and the native cook had been lured from the time-honoured simplicity of his condiments and ghee, to penetrate the cultured mysteries of "*à la*." It is an admitted fact nowadays, indeed, that as dietetic taste and culinary knowledge have advanced with the age, setting aside the stimulating dishes of the country in favour of more delicate and refined cookery, the skill of the curry cook has deteriorated; and it is quite probable that those who visit India in the course of their winter



travelling are soon disillusioned with regard to this great standing dish, and often meet far worse compositions there than they managed with the aid of proper materials to extract from Mary Jane at home.

The change in regard to food and feeding in India has naturally brought with it a corresponding reform in the service and style of Anglo-Indian entertainments. For many a year, as indeed was the custom all over England, dinners were long, tedious, and overdone; all the dishes were placed upon the table, and table-decoration was a thing unknown. By degrees, slower a good deal than at home, this cumbersome and inartistic method of dining was improved away, and little dinners carefully composed became the fashion. Carving was transferred to the side-table, and the ponderous display of silver plate inseparable from the *burra khana* was banished in favour of floral adornment. Since this very desirable step was first taken great progress has been made, and people have gone on picking up ideas and wrinkles, and developing their taste, until a really excellent pitch of decorative skill has been attained. Native servants become after a little instruction very clever in this branch of their work, and tables in India are quite as prettily decked out to-day as they are in England.

Turning now to Anglo-Indian cookery, it would, I think, be positively discourteous not to revert to the subject of curry and rice. A few facts in regard to the past and present of this, the chief dish of the country, may be interesting. These may be prefaced with a warning:—Let not our friends at home rush away with the idea that *any* native of India who may happen to sojourn for a time in London must, as a matter of course, be able to cook a curry as met with at its best at the tables of English residents in the land of Ind. It is no doubt true that few if any of the classes from which domestic servants are drawn in that part of the world are unable to dress the national dish in the manner peculiar to the resources of the province and taste of the caste to which they may belong. But these concoctions are rarely food that the generality of English people can eat. In one locality the pounded chilli predominates to such an extent that the preparation seems to be veritably "the food of devils," in another it is too spicy, in a third too acid, while an all-pervading flavour of garlic and general greasiness characterize the whole category. Of these curious compositions the curry affected by the Englishman in India is of course a mild and carefully worked-out modification. The early settlers had no alternative but to adapt the local *cuisine* to their uses, and thus necessity was the mother of the combination which has been handed down to us. Fashion, as I have said, has of late years given a cold shoulder to curries except for breakfast or luncheon, and the cook has turned his attention to Gallic rather than Oriental dishes. Nevertheless, in the majority of private houses where the maintenance of a good *cuisine* is considered desirable, it is quite possible to taste a good curry. When this is the case the credit is generally due to the personal supervision of the mistress, not to the zeal of the cook, for if left to himself with his latter day views of Anglo-Continental cookery the *bobochee* would probably depute the work to his dusky handmaiden or mate as a task beneath his notice. In the dinner *menus du jour* of clubs and hotels curries still

appear, but concerning the quality of the dish as served at an Indian hostelry the less said the better.

The cultivation of daintiness and refinement in cookery to the exclusion of the rougher methods of the olden time has resulted in the attainment of a higher level in their *cuisine* by our brothers and sisters in India than we of a similar social status can hope for in England. It is not uncommon to hear of Mary Jane and Mary Ann declining employment in the establishments of retired Anglo-Indians "because they expect so much"! Now it must be confessed that the mistress of a house in a good Indian station is in many ways more advantageously situated than her cousins and her aunts at home. She has to deal with a servant who belongs to a race possessed of the culinary instinct and aptitude—a patient painstaking creature, light of hand and quick of brain. His fault perhaps is forgetfulness which can be overcome of course by repeating the instruction. He may be described, in fact, as an excellent machine like your watch, requiring regular winding up to keep it going. Sometimes he may be handicapped by false doctrine which has to be improved away; sometimes he may be stubbornly fond of his own way; but, on the whole, with judicious management and kindness, he soon reaches a very much higher standard of skill than can be found in England save in quite the first-class of professionals. In establishments where things are really well done depend upon it that the lady is the presiding genius. She thinks out her *menu*, picking up the necessary recipes from her favourite book or wisely preserved manuscript. Of later years this has become far commoner than formerly, for there is no little rivalry in Indian Society in the matter of nice little dinners, and fair *châtelaines* have discovered the truth of the saying, "If you want a thing well done do it yourself." The old practice of leaving everything to the head servant did well enough, no doubt, in the days of curry and rice, but small art studies require nice discrimination, and an educated taste. Here, for instance, is a *menu* which reached me by the last mail from Southern India:

*Canapés à la Norvégienne.*

*Potage à la Julienne.*

*Filets de pomfret sauce aux câpres.*

*Chaud-froid de volaille et foie-gras.*

*Grenadins de bœuf au crème d'anchois.*

*Canards sauvages à la bigarade.*

*Savarin aux pêches.*

*Œufs à la Rossini.*

*Dessert—Glace à l'arlequin.*

My young lady correspondent had superintended this little banquet herself—just for a small party—and it may be taken as a type of the modern style in India generally. How different from the kind of repast which gladdened Thackeray's Nabob of Boggley Wollah!

There is another point in favour of the English lady in India, and that is that she has "three in the kitchen." Her cook has two assistants who have nothing but their kitchen-work to do. When you add to this perfect docility and discipline, and that the mistress has not to think twice whether

an order may be politic or otherwise, or whether it would be wise to find fault with this, that or the other, I think it will be conceded that she possesses a more efficient and pleasant machine to work with than her sister at home. Success in such circumstances becomes a mere matter of judgment, perseverance, and knowledge of the subject, and if peradventure a lady has picked up an acquaintance with cookery sufficient to understand a recipe as she reads it, and to perceive what must be and what need not be in its various details, we may be sure that she will soon have cause to be gratified with the verdict passed upon the results of her management.

It may be asked, perhaps, why Anglo-Indian cookery should be more pretentious and aim at a higher level than that which satisfies the majority of moderate livers in England? The answer is not difficult. The fact is that the resources of the two countries are wholly different. In a land flowing with milk and honey, in other words possessing the finest meat, fish, game, and vegetable supply in the world, simple "roast and boiled" when intelligently performed, may suffice for those who consider that style of feeding the best that can be. But when such opportunities do not exist the method must adapt itself to the means, and art must step in to atone for shortcomings. This is what by degrees our exiled kinsfolk have discovered in India. So poor is the market supply of Hindustan generally that much has to be done to produce food with it fit for the consumption of people who look upon gastronomy from the modern standpoint, and entertain a sincere respect for their interior economies. The climate, moreover, is for many months out of the twelve quite unsuited to a heavy meat dietary even if the best materials were procurable. Light dishes mostly of fish, poultry, cereals, and vegetables, are the most acceptable besides being obviously more wholesome. Butcher's meat at such times is chiefly needed for soup-making. Our ancestors in India certainly strove to maintain the ancient British method of life in spite of a bad market and the thermometer. But those were veritably times when only the very strongest survived the ordeal. The gradual discovery that notwithstanding their lack of quality the local foodstuffs were not without considerable possibilities in the hands of a good cook gave rise to the creation of a new dietary altogether. The struggle to make English joints out of Indian butcher's meat, and to carry out an Anglo-Saxon regimen in spite of Nature, was by degrees abandoned, and, with the very teachable creature aforesaid in the kitchen to work with, reform progressed with commendable rapidity. In this we observe a repetition of the history of cookery. The reform which led to the development of *la haute cuisine* in France was brought about exactly in the same way. Was it not to make the best of a bad market, and refine the rough Gallic system of cookery, that Catherine de Medicis brought her *cucco segreto* with her from Italy to Paris in 1533, and thus laid the foundation-stone of the great French School? The soil was ready for the good seed, and before long the pupils surpassed their masters, but unless their possibilities had been shown them French cooks might have gone on in darkness for another century.

Much as betterment was needed in Anglo-Indian cookery for the reasons that have been given, it could never have been carried out without a



complete reorganization of the kitchen. Time was when we whose lot fell to serve in Hindustan never dreamt of entering that apartment. To speak candidly we dared not. Our consciences made us cowards. We feared that we might see sights which would set us altogether against the food necessary for our existence. So we stayed away, imitating the action of the ostrich when hard pressed by the hunter, burying our heads in the sand, so to speak, and closing our eyes to what we knew would appal us were we to raise them. This strange disregard of the essentials demanded by civilized man in the preparation of his food was no doubt handed down to us by our predecessors. It had never been the custom to see *how* the cooking was done, everything was left to the *major domo*, and by degrees a state of things which actually baffled description was the result. Not only did masters and mistresses allow the kitchen to become a species of *terra incognita* wholly beyond their sphere of influence, but they took no pains to know what utensils were used, or whether the articles absolutely essential for the carrying out of clean and even moderately enlightened cooking were on the premises. The Native is a singularly ingenious person, as we all know, and in hitting upon makeshifts has no superior among God's creatures, accordingly—but why rake up dear old Indian chestnuts? Why harrow my reader's feelings unnecessarily? "We inveigh against native filthiness," wrote I on this subject many years ago, "but are we justified in so doing? Is it the cook's fault that things are as we know them to be? Why, instead of denouncing the unfortunate man I make bold to say that, handicapped as he is by our apathy and indifference, we have positively no right to expect him to be clean." Now modern cookery demands certain accessories, and something in the shape of a *batterie de cuisine*. This has naturally led to the development of appliances, and since ladies have taken to management, the kitchen of the Indian bungalow has in numerous instances ceased to be a donjon black as Erebus. Stoves adapted to the use of wood as fuel have been largely adopted, and thus the awful smoke of the "cook room" has been overcome.

The points in regard to which the Indian cook needed no improvement, remain as good as ever. He could always roast well because he used the spit and live charcoal as the accomplished French *rôtisseur* does to this day. *Rôts* thus cooked surpass our English oven-roasted meats to such an extent that the two methods cannot be compared for a moment. Then out of his portable earthenware or metal oven, fashioned in the style of the French *fourneau* with a rimmed lid capable of holding charcoal in addition to the fuel beneath, he could always produce *soufflés*, cakes, and the like, which Mary Jane attempts so often fruitlessly in her patent range. Those then who reform and reorganize their kitchen are therefore well advised when they leave these things alone. In the compass of an article of this kind it is obviously impossible to go closely into details. I have said enough I think to show that great improvement has taken place, and that this has raised the standard of cookery in India to such a pitch that newly retired Anglo-Indians sigh in vain for their native *chefs* when they find out the shortcomings of the English women who call themselves cooks.

A few words in conclusion concerning the English ladies who have done

and are doing so much towards the improvements I have spoken of. Little do their sisters at home know of the trouble they take to keep up their establishments to concert pitch, and entertain their friends nicely. Over obstacles which are often most dispiriting they generally triumph, and the result is that they contrive to live, as far as circumstances permit, as do their relations and friends in England, while English manners and customs are followed in all things. For, since the latter days of the century set in, the simple little fact seems to have revealed itself that although English people may journey over many miles of ocean, and take unto themselves habitations in a strange land, they need by no means abjure the habits in which they were born, bred and educated, nor adopt that anamorphosis of home life and home ways to which by reason of the circumstances surrounding them the early settlers in India were originally condemned.

## A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF BUDDHISM

(IN TWO PARTS).—PART II.

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RETD.).

IN my last paper\* I endeavoured to delineate the chief features of the religion promulgated by Gautama Buddha in its primitive form. After his death schisms and dissensions sprung up which necessitated the calling together of large bodies of ascetics. These, assembled in Council, laid down the exact principles and practices of the religion. The first great Council took place immediately after the Master's death; the second, one hundred years later; and the third, a little more than 100 years later than the second.

During this early period the ascetics began to gather together in monasteries or *Vihāras*, many of which were built for them in the most sumptuous style by pious monarchs. Here they occupied themselves in reducing to writing the teachings of Buddha, and ended by composing a large number of enormously voluminous treatises. Before long, Buddhism was adopted by most of the powerful sovereigns of Northern and Central India, and even spread to Kabul and the Afghan lands. Thence, through the influence of the Greek Kings of Bactria, some faint echoes of it penetrated through Persia and Syria as far as Europe.

For fifteen centuries Buddhism ruled supreme in India, and then came a re-action. Hinduism revived and the Brahmins recovered their position. Buddhism was so completely expelled from India, that the only traces of it remaining in the present day are the ruins of its stately topes and spacious monasteries.

I do not profess to give here even the most superficial account of the history of Buddhism. That would be a task which even in the most condensed form would far exceed the limits of an article like this. It must suffice to say that as the result of the schisms and heresies which grew up after the Buddha's death, two main forms of Buddhism arose, differing from each other in many points, both of doctrine and practice. These may be designated Northern and Southern respectively. I think the most interesting method will be briefly to describe some of the leading modifications which Buddhism underwent on the soil of India and while still subject to purely Indian influences; and then picture its position and practical working as shown in the present day among the Southern Buddhists of Ceylon, and the Northern Buddhists of Tibet.

## I.

Buddha left behind him a religion without a god and without a future; and he expected human souls to find such a religion sufficient for their needs. But here he reckoned without human nature and without Indian nature. In the absence of any god to cry to, the laity began to collect

\* Published in the last July number of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review."



real and imaginary relics of the Buddha, his hair, teeth, bones and the like, and to enshrine them in *stūpas* or *topes*, as they are called,—huge mounds of brickwork covered with elaborately carved slabs of stone. To these they brought offerings, and comforted themselves with the belief that they thereby acquired a claim to rewards in a future state of existence.

But even this was not satisfying. To the human soul, oppressed and suffering, something more than a mere automatically working system of rewards and punishments is necessary. It longs to

" Lift from out of dust  
A voice as unto him that hears ;"

and so there arose, in the first century of our era, the *Mahā yāna* or greater vehicle, opposed to the *Hīna yāna* or lesser, inferior, vehicle. The inferior vehicle was the term applied to Buddha's original teaching, and the difference between the two has aptly been described by Prof. Max Müller as salvation by works (the inferior vehicle) and salvation by faith (the superior vehicle). In this new form of Buddhism they took one of the old Bodhisattvas or beings who were destined to become Buddhas in due course, and him they personified under the touchingly significant name of *Avalokita*—that is, "He who looks down (in pity)." Innumerable statues of this god (for so we must call him) are to be found amongst the Buddhist ruins in all parts of India. He grew by degrees to be the principal object of worship and his statues are made to resemble closely the old Hindu gods with numerous heads and arms and all the familiar emblems of Vishnu and Siva. One presentment of him is peculiarly indicative of the void in the Buddhist system which he was invented to supply. In this form he has many hands, and on the palm of each hand is carved an eye. The eyes are placed on the hands which are stretched forth to save and help the wretched so that, as has been well observed, "the eye which is ever on the look out to perceive the distress of men, carries with it a succouring hand."

As time went on, Indian Buddhism more and more assimilated itself to the Brahmanical religion; and as in that religion every god is provided with a goddess, who symbolizes his active power, Avalokita, "the Great Pitier," was provided with a goddess called *Tāra*, of whom also countless images are found all over India. This name means the Deliveress or Saviouress, and a legend was invented to account for her origin. Once Avalokita, looking down on the world, shed tears for the human beings whom he saw immersed in the mire of ignorance. One of these tears "falling on the earth formed a lake, on which instantly, like a lightning flash, appeared floating on a lotus the goddess *Tāra*, whom Avalokita then commissioned to redress all human suffering." The worship of these two beings is conducted with an elaborate liturgy—offerings of food, flowers and incense, hymns and prayer.

It will be seen thus that we have got very far away from the original type of the religion, and it is not surprising that Buddhism having approached so near to Hinduism was, in the ninth and tenth centuries, finally absorbed by it; and that the great wave of Brahmanical revival

swept it entirely away from all parts of India. This was what is called Northern Buddhism, which we shall find again when we come to describe the Buddhism of Tibet. Before we do this, however, it will be advisable to say something of the perhaps purer forms of Southern Buddhism.

## 2.

Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon three hundred years before Christ by missionaries from Behar, the native country of the Buddha, and it has flourished there ever since. It is in Ceylon that the Southern form of Buddhism can best be studied and its developments most accurately traced. In Ceylon all members of the priesthood live together in monasteries or *Vihāras*. They are subject to the restrictions of a very large number of rules. So numerous indeed are these restrictions that it is almost impossible to observe them all, and the natural consequence is that they are very imperfectly kept. There is a very curious and very ancient book in high repute among the Buddhists of Ceylon known as the Questions of King Milinda. This book was written in Northern India, probably in the first century after Christ. Milinda is supposed to be the Sanskrit rendering of the name of King Menander, one of the most powerful monarchs of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom, founded by the successors of Alexander the Great. In this strange book, Milinda puts a series of puzzles or difficult questions to Nagasena, a great Buddhist teacher, and Nagasena's answers are supposed to constitute a complete vindication of the Buddhist faith and an explanation of all points which might present difficulties to an enquirer. The explanations, it is true, do not seem always thoroughly satisfactory to the European mind; but the book is held in high veneration in Ceylon, and is referred to as a final authority on all matters of doubt.

Milinda asks in one place why the Buddha laid down so many precepts? Why did he not prescribe one simple rule or a few broad simple rules, which should cover all possible cases?—general principles, in fact, the application of which might safely be left to the intelligence of the priests. Nagasena replies that Buddha foresaw that it would be necessary ultimately to lay down about 150 different precepts; but he feared lest such an array of rules might deter men from entering his religion, so he preferred to issue one precept at a time as occasion arose. In fact, during the long period of some forty years or more that Buddha lived after attaining Buddhahood, his time was principally spent in solving cases which were put to him, till at his death his utterances, which were carefully recorded, amounted to an immense number. One sacred text goes so far, with the characteristic Buddhist love for vast numbers, as to say that the Master promulgated no less than 108,000,000 rules. This, of course, is absurd; but it is true that the rules are exceedingly numerous. And this arises from the peculiar constitution of the Indian mind. No one who has lived much among the Indians of the present day can have failed to notice that they are very deficient in the power of generalizing. They love to particularize. In other words, instead of grouping facts, or objects, into classes having features or qualities in common, they prefer to specify each object indi-

vidually. It was so with Buddha. Although, as I have before mentioned, he specified some classes of actions as improper, yet on each occasion when a disciple came to him to ask whether a certain proceeding was lawful or not, instead of saying, as a European teacher would, that it came under this or that head of his Code, he contented himself by saying that the particular proceeding in question was right or wrong. Thus there grew up an immense body of rules which no one has ever taken the trouble to classify or group. All ascetics, however, are supposed to obey them all.

The result of a life so hemmed in on all sides by countless petty restrictions is, as might be expected, something nearly approaching idiocy. One acute observer says, "The countenances of the priests in Ceylon are frequently less intelligent than those of the common people; indeed, there is often about them an appearance of great vacancy, amounting almost to imbecility; and they seldom appear either cheerful or happy." The same thing has been noticed by residents in Burmah and Siam. Bishop Smith of Canton says of the Chinese Buddhist monks: "the greater part of these wretched men (the *bhikkhus*) saunter about with an idiotic smile and a vacant look, and appear little removed in intellect above the animal creation." The monks are to be seen all over the towns and villages of Ceylon, as they have to go out daily from house to house to receive food. They may not cook or prepare food for themselves, but have to subsist on what they can obtain by begging from door to door. They are curious-looking objects—their heads are close shaven, they go barefooted, swathed in a robe of yellow calico, walking slowly along, looking neither to right nor left, and taking no notice of anyone. They carry their alms-bowl slung by a string round the neck and covered by a fold of their robe. In one hand they carry a fan, which they hold before their face if any woman approaches them. Silently and moodily they walk up to the door of a house and stand there till someone comes out and pours some rice into their bowl, when they silently move on to the next house; and so on till the bowl is full. Then they slowly pace back to the monastery. They take whatever is given them, neither asking for any special thing, nor refusing anything. When they return to the monastery they sit down in a properly prepared place and eat. The greater part of the day is spent in meditation, or in reading the sacred texts. In most monasteries there is a school, and the priests spend some time in teaching boys to read. But the greater portion of their time appears to be spent in a state of stolid idleness, such as would be intolerable to the active European mind.

Although the possession of wealth, or of any property at all, is strictly forbidden to the priesthood, and although if they had it they could make no use of it, it is, nevertheless, the case that in many instances the monasteries as corporate bodies possess immense estates. This is one of the contradictions of Buddhism: a monk is vowed to life-long poverty, yet to present gifts to a monk is one of those meritorious actions which infallibly secure rewards in a future state. Consequently kings and rich men vied with each other in bestowing gifts on the priesthood. The wealth so acquired was probably in former times devoted to building, decorating and keeping up the splendid monasteries and temples, though in the present



day these are too often neglected and allowed to fall into ruin. Why should the monks care to keep them up? The laity have an interest in doing so, for by spending their money in this way they earn rewards in another birth. But the monk does not want these rewards. He does not lead the life of *karma*, but that of *dhyāna* or abstraction; what he is striving for is not re-birth in a higher state, but *nirvāna* or annihilation. Nevertheless, it is whispered that the monk is not so far superior to all sublunary considerations as to neglect the opportunity of enriching his family, and that in many cases the relations of the priests live in comfort on the temple lands.

Some portion of the rents of these lands is undoubtedly spent on ceremonies, though, from the nature of the religion, there ought to be comparatively little opening for display in this direction. The modern Buddhists of Ceylon, however, are image-worshippers, and the immense images of Buddha which are found all over the island are often of costly materials and adorned with valuable jewels. The buildings also in which they are placed are often very splendid. The vast caves, beautifully carved and painted inside, are well known. The paintings are often executed with extreme skill and very interesting from their being representations of scenes in the life of Buddha, and the more ancient ones are valuable as throwing much light upon the dresses and manners of ancient times.

But the worship performed in these splendid structures is of the very simplest character. The people on entering the *Vihāra* prostrate themselves before the image of Buddha, or bend the body, touching the forehead with their joined hands in the usual Indian mode of salutation. They then repeat the three-fold formulary:—"Buddham-Dhammam-Sangham-saranam gacchāmi," &c. ; or they take upon themselves a certain number of the ten obligations, the words being chanted by a priest and followed by the worshipper. Some flowers and a little rice are put upon the altar, and a few copper coins are thrown into a vessel placed to receive them; while the worshipper is inwardly framing a wish that he may receive the reward due for his offering. The repeating of the three-fold formula is supposed to have the most wonderful properties. Stories are told in that vast repertory of folklore and fable, the *Jātakas* or birth-stories, of men who had lived a life of crime being born again in the heaven of the *devas* (or inferior gods), by virtue of repeating this formula at the point of death, and of others who though they only committed slight crimes were born in hell for want of it. This seems to have puzzled our ingenious friend, King Milinda, and he told the sage Nagasena that he could not believe it. "Why not?" asked the sage, "if you put ever so small a pebble into the water it will sink, but you may put a hundred tons of stone into a boat and it will not sink." The three-fold formulary is the boat.

The sacred Bo-tree is also an object of worship. This is a tree which was brought over to Ceylon in the 3rd century, B.C.,—a cutting from the celebrated "*bodhi*"-tree at Gya under which Prince Sidhartha attained Buddha-hood. Of course, all sorts of miraculous stories are told of it. The branch detached itself from the tree of its own accord and floated through the air to Anuradhapura in Ceylon, where it rooted itself. From

this, the parent *Bo*-tree of Ceylon, many cuttings have been taken, and there is now one in almost every monastery.

The *dagobas* or *topes*, which I have mentioned before, huge domes of brick overlaid with carved slabs of stone, are supposed to contain relics of the Buddha, and are also worshipped. So also is the tooth of Buddha, a piece of discoloured ivory, slightly curved and about two inches in length, which is preserved in a shrine of great richness and splendour at Kandy, the palace of the former kings. Another form of relic-worship is that of the supposed impression of the foot of the Buddha on the top of Adam's Peak, the highest mountain in Ceylon. This is a hollow in the rock some five feet long by two broad; but as Buddha never visited Ceylon it is difficult to account for its presence. The Muhammadans call it the foot of Adam, who, they say, landed there on his expulsion from Paradise. It is annually visited by hundreds of pilgrims.

The only other proceedings of the nature of a religious ceremony are the *pātimokkha* and the *bana*. The former of these is the bi-monthly ceremony of confession prescribed by the Buddha himself. It is thus described by an eyewitness in 1874: "The chapter was held in the consecrated space in the Brazen Palace at the old capital of Anuradhapura, under the shadow of the sacred *Bo*-tree. . . . The building has none of its original magnificence. The colossal stone pillars alone remain as a memorial of the devotion of the kings of old. In place of the nine storeys, which these pillars once supported, a few in the centre are now made to carry a poor thatched roof no bigger than that of a cotter's hut, and hardly sufficient to protect the chapter from the inclemencies of the weather. Still, there was a simple and imposing grandeur in the scene. At the back of some dozen or more of these gigantic pillars were stretched pieces of white calico, to form the sides of the room; the ceiling in like manner was formed by stretching white calico above the pillars to conceal the shabby roof; the bare ground was covered with clean mats; two lamps gave a dim light; the huge columns, grey with age, stood out against the white cloth. At the top of the long room thus formed was hung a curtain of bright colours. Outside were visible, row after row, the remaining columns of the ancient palace, their broad shadows contrasting with the silvery brightness of a tropical moon.

"The ceremony began at seven o'clock in the evening. As soon as the priests were all assembled, they retired to the sides of the room two-and-two together, each pair knelt down face to face, and made confession of their faults to one another in whispers. Their confessions being ended, they took their seats on mats covered with white calico, in two rows facing each other. The senior priest sat at the head of the right hand row, the next in order at the head of the left row, the third next to the first, and so on, right and left down the room. Then the senior priest remaining seated, the rest of them, 29 in number, knelt before him, and each repeated the words:—'Permit me. Reverend one! pardon me for all faults committed by me in word, deed or thought.' The senior replies: 'Brother! I pardon—Pardon me also.' The priests reply: 'Permit me. Reverend one! I pardon you.' Then the next senior sits down, and the remaining 28 go

through the same process with him; then the third sits, and 27 kneel to him; and so on, till the youngest but one has been knelt to by one,—the youngest. After all are seated, they kneel and say three times:—‘Praise be to thee, the blessed one, the holy, the Perfect Supreme Buddha.’ Then they sit, and all chant together a very long hymn in praise of Buddha, the Law and the Congregation, and lastly of *Nirvāna*.

“After this is finished, the senior priest recites entirely by heart—no books being allowed—a very long list of sins:—there are four deadly sins,—thirteen sins involving temporary suspension from the priesthood,—two undetermined offences,—thirty minor faults requiring confession and absolution and forfeiture of the article in reference to which the offence has been committed,—ninety-two faults requiring confession and absolution,—four requiring confession only,—75 rules of conduct,—7 rules for settling doubtful cases.

“The whole of these 227 precepts are recited by the senior priest, and at the end of each class of offences he says to the congregation three times:—‘Venerable sirs! are you pure in this matter?’ No one answering, he says: ‘By your silence, I understand that you are pure.’ He then goes on to the next class. When he has finished them all, he dismisses the assembly.”

The other ceremony is the *Bana* or public recitation of the Scriptures, which takes place during the rainy season, in a large temporary structure erected by the people near some monastery. It is made of wooden poles with walls and roof of cloth, hung with flowers and garlands of leaves, and flags. From the roof hang innumerable lanterns of coloured paper. Men and women dress in their brightest and gayest clothes and the women put on all their jewels. On a high platform in the centre sit the priests, one of whom reads portions of the sacred books in the ancient Pali language, while the others interpret it in the ordinary Singhalese. Very often, however, there is no interpreter and the priests read only the Pali, which neither they nor the audience understand. They read in a kind of chant or recitative between reading and singing. Every now and then there is a pause in the reading, which is filled up by the playing of music—drums, trumpets and fifes. Guns are fired off outside, fireworks are discharged, and there is a general uproar. This goes on all night, the public remain squatting on their mats, chewing betel-nut, falling asleep and waking up again, or buying cakes and fruit to eat, at stalls round the room. In front of the platform is a huge copper vessel, into which everyone is expected to throw a few coins. No one gives much, but the total sum collected is often considerable.

These public readings with their attendant festive gatherings are very popular among the people, and are often got up in a town or village as a relaxation, and to appease the enmity of *Yākas* or *Nāts*, malignant beings or demons, to whose malice pestilences and all other public or private calamities are ascribed. These, with the exception of the feasts held at births, marriages and deaths, are the only religious ceremonies recognized by Southern Buddhism.

In fact, the total absence of all that control or direction of the ordinary



life of the laity which we are so accustomed to associate with the idea of a priesthood is one of the most striking features of the Buddhist religion. Absorbed in the pursuit of *Nirvāna*, striving with all his might to abstract himself from all worldly interest, the Buddhist *bhikkhu* leaves the laity very much to themselves. In Burmah, where, as much as in Ceylon, Buddhism is the prevailing religion, the only ceremonies that mark the leading events of a layman's life are feasts got up among themselves.

When a child is born, a horoscope is drawn up by an astrologer, recording the day, hour and minute of birth, the aspects of the planets, and certain mystic calculations, from which the child's character and fortune can, it is thought, be forecast. On the seventh day, the neighbours are invited to a feast, at which the parents and friends propose various names. These are discussed, and one is eventually adopted. Then there is a big dinner, followed by a concert and theatrical representation, and the thing is done. The man (or woman) when grown up, may change this name if he does not like it.

It is a common practice for laymen to enter the priesthood once in their lives. Accompanied by his friends the youth goes to a monastery, shaves his head, distributing the locks to his female relatives, who make them up into tails with which to augment their own luxuriant hair, puts on the yellow robe and repeats the solemn formula. Then there is as usual a feast. The boy remains in the monastery for a few days, or perhaps for only a few hours, and then returns to secular life again. On the occasion of his initiation he receives a religious name, which he bears only so long as he remains in the monastery.

Marriage is, of course, a proceeding in which monks vowed to celibacy and forbidden even to look at a woman, can take no part. A young man takes a fancy to a young woman. Accompanied by a friend or two, he visits her house at night, after the parents are supposed to be gone to bed; though it is understood that the old people are carefully watching the proceedings through chinks in the bamboo mats which do duty for walls. The young lady receives her guests dressed in her best clothes, with flowers in her hair, and generally one or two of her female friends beside her. A flirtation ensues conducted with the strictest propriety. The young man presents a bouquet, or some verses he has composed or copied, and the young lady rolls some tobacco into cheroots for him. After some weeks of this, the parents are consulted, the amount of the dowry is fixed, and an auspicious day and hour selected. A great feast is prepared at the expense of the bride's parents, and a large number of friends and relations invited. The young couple eat together out of the same dish, everybody makes jokes about them, amid much laughter and noise and confusion. In the midst of this, the young couple slip away and are not seen again for some days. This is the whole ceremony. Divorce is just as simple: if a man wishes to divorce his wife, or if both wish to separate, they divide their goods and each goes his own way. They may marry again, and generally do.

Burials are celebrated with an elaborate procession to the grave and abundant feasting. In fact, a big feast, with plenty of fun and laughter, is the invariable concomitant of all ceremonies.

## 3.

From the soft languid air, and the luxuriant tropical forests, and wide-spread swamps rich with rice of Ceylon and Burma, we now turn to the lofty barren plateau of Tibet, amidst the giant snow-covered mountains and stern granite peaks of the Himalayas. Here we find Northern Buddhism, which differs as widely from Southern, as Tibet does from Ceylon. The curious jumble of mysticism and monkery which prevails in Tibet is scarcely to be dignified by the name of Buddhism, though it is based on the *Mahā yāna* or greater vehicle, that later form of Buddhism established by the great doctor Nāgārjuna in the first century, A.D. As mentioned before, the *Mahā yāna* substitutes faith in prayer to certain deified beings for the self-reliant meditation and absorption of the primitive Buddhists. Here, then, reappears Avalokita, the great Pitier, he who "looks down" on his votaries and helps them through his wife Tara, the rescuer. Here also reappears a more cheerful view of existence. Human nature could not subsist without a God to pray to for help, without a future to look forward to. The *Mahā yāna* supplied both. It taught that any man by faith in Avalokita might attain to *Nirvāna*, and it taught that *Nirvāna* was not annihilation. It was a blissful state in union with mystic Bodhisattwas or transcendental beings who had attained perfection and passed beyond the circle of re-births. These Bodhisattwas were willing and able to save; and they were surrounded by a crowd of minor deities and demons, all of whom became objects of worship. An elaborate mysticism was the result of this system. Images of mythic Buddhas and celestial Bodhisattwas were multiplied, and eventually "the five" Buddhas were recognized as material reflexes from five immortal *Dhyāni* Buddhas or Buddhas of meditation.

A further step was the introduction of the doctrine of *Yoga*, about the end of the fifth century. By this doctrine it was taught that by mental concentration upon one point so as to annihilate thought a sort of ecstatic union with the 'Atman or Universal Spirit was attainable, and that in this state certain magical powers were obtained. This was an old Hindu doctrine, and as imported into Buddhism it underwent some changes. The mystic state could be induced by reciting certain magic spells. The miraculous powers thence resulting include that of making one's body lighter or heavier, smaller or larger, reaching any place at once, assuming any shape and generally subduing all nature to one's will.

Somewhat later arose the *Tāntric* doctrine, also borrowed from Hinduism, by which the worship of the terrible, blood-thirsty goddess Kālī, consort of the Hindu god Shiva, disguised in various forms, infected Northern Buddhism. The forces of nature were deified as emanations of Kālī and allotted as wives to the various Bodhisattwas, with tendencies mild or terrible according to the varying moods of the goddess. All these she-fiends being vigorously active and mostly malignant, became the objects of special worship.

All this farrago of distorted Buddhism and Hinduism was introduced into Tibet by King Tison-de-tsan, in 747 A.D. He brought from India a celebrated wizard-priest Padma Sambhava, called by the Tibetans Rinpoché.

The religion of Tibet at that time was a strange kind of nature-worship, in which every tree and rock, every object in nature was supposed to be inhabited, or at least watched over, by a spirit of malignant disposition, who must be propitiated by offerings or overpowered by spells. The superstitious, credulous Tibetans, beset as they believed on every side by malignant demons, gladly welcomed the saint from India, who vanquished all the chief devils, mercifully sparing many of them on their consenting to become defenders of his religion, in return for which he promised that they should be duly worshipped and fed by offerings. This ancient religion is called the Pon-pa, from the circumstance of its having as its basis a mystic state or thing—one hardly knows how to describe it—known as the Pon-ku. It is defined in Pon books as "clear bright emptiness," which, being nothing in itself, has yet produced the consciousness of all.\* In reality Pon is nothing more than a reflex of the earliest type of Buddhism, mixed with the old indigenous demon-worship. It is not surprising, therefore, that it readily amalgamated with the more highly-developed form of Buddhism introduced by Rinpoché. A considerable section of the Pon priests, however, refused to amalgamate, and they were subjected in consequence to severe persecutions. They were killed, their temples destroyed, and their worship prohibited. In spite of this, however, owing to the mountainous and inaccessible character of many parts of the country, they still continued to exist; and even at the present day, Pon temples and priests are found. Probably as a means of self-preservation, they have adopted the outward forms of Buddhism. They do not, however, practise celibacy; nor do they abstain from meat or wine.

The legendary account of the way in which one of the Indian wizard-priests defeated the chief priest of the Pon religion is curious as giving an idea of the sort of miraculous powers believed to be exercised not only by the Buddhists but also by the Pon priests. The manuscript from which it has been translated is about 800 years old.

The Buddhist priest is named Jetsun. He arrived at a lake called Mapan, at the foot of Mount Tesi, with the intention of founding a monastery and temple there. He was met by all the local gods and demons, who, after doing homage to him, made him a present of the lake and mountain, and promised to protect him and his followers. But the site was in the possession of a Pon priest named Nārō; who objected to being turned out. After a lengthy interchange of sarcastic remarks, the two sages eventually conclude to work miracles against each other, agreeing that the one who performed the greatest miracles should retain possession of the site.

Nārō thereupon stood like a colossal figure across the lake with one foot on each bank, and defied Jetsun to beat that. In reply Jetsun merely sat down on the lake and covered it. "Lo! it was a strange sight," says the poet; "the lake did not contract nor did Jetsun enlarge his body, yet they exactly fitted each other." Then he got up and held the lake on the tip of his thumb.

\* Cf. Greek idea of chaos, out of which came cosmos.



Nārō seems to have been a little staggered at this, but proposed that they should try something else. Jetsun replied that he could not stay doing miracles all day long, and if Nārō was not disposed to adopt Buddhism he had better clear out. Nārō simply said, "Not so. I shall stay here as long as I like, and you can't kill me, for it is against your religion. Come, let's try some more miracles." So he set off to circumambulate the mountain. He went round from right to left, which is the Pon way. Jetsun went round from left to right, which is the correct or Buddhist (really Hindu) method. Of course, they both met halfway round the other side of the mountain; then they began to pull at each other, each trying to draw the other his way. Jetsun was victorious. Then Nārō threw a rock as big as a bullock at Jetsun, but Jetsun threw one twice as big at Nārō. Then they tried all sorts of other things which it would be tedious to narrate. At last, at night-fall, Nārō proposed, as a final test, that they should see which could get to the top of Mount Tesi first. Jetsun agreed, but being a little tired apparently with so much miracle-working, lay down to take a nap, while Nārō practised some religious rites to strengthen himself for the contest. At daybreak Nārō mounted a tambourine which he had been playing, and began to sail upwards to the top of the mountain. Jetsun's disciples came and woke their master in a great fright, and told him what Nārō was doing. Jetsun merely smiled and looked on. Then the sun arose, on which Jetsun mounted the first sun-beam and in the twinkling of an eye reached the top and sat down. As Nārō got to the top in his tambourine he saw Jetsun calmly seated there, at which he was so surprised that he forgot his spells and fell down, tambourine and all, to the bottom, where he broke his neck, and Jetsun remained victorious.\*

The above is a fair specimen of the kind of nonsense one reads in these old Tibetan manuscripts. Historically, however, there is no doubt that Buddhism, aided by the royal favour and by an active propagandism from India, made very rapid progress in Tibet, and that the whole country was soon converted. Monasteries were founded, crowds of Tibetans took the monastic vows, and immense masses of Buddhist literature were translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan. Indeed, it was due to this activity in translating that the rude Tibetan became a literary language. About the year 900 A.D., however, there arose a heretic King Lang-dar-ma, who persecuted Buddhism. He was assassinated by a Buddhist priest named Châlôn—who appears on this occasion to have forgotten the master's command not to take life. This was in 917; and for more than a century after this, Buddhism remained in a very languishing condition. Lang-dar-ma left no successor and the kingdom was broken up into a number of petty states at constant war with each other, and was eventually conquered by the Chinese, to whom it remains at least nominally subordinate to the present day.

In A.D. 1038 the great Buddhist monk Atisha visited Tibet and introduced many reforms; some of the monasteries, however, resisted his attempts at improvement. There are now, consequently, two principal

\* Condensed from the translation by Sarat Chandra Das in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 50, p. 206.

sects in Tibet,—the original unreformed one known as the *Nying-ma* or “old ones,” and the reformed church known as the *Ge-lug-pa* or “followers of the virtuous order.” The reformed monks wear yellow robes—the colour prescribed by Buddha—live in monasteries, carry the begging bowl, and profess to observe the precepts of Buddha mentioned previously. There is, however, a great deal of mysticism, demon-worship, and the other peculiarities of the unreformed Church in their practice. They are distinguished by an elaborate ritual which there seems to be no doubt Atisha borrowed from the Nestorian Christian Missionaries, who in his day were settled at Tsong-Kha, in Western China. The *Nying-ma* or “old ones” wear red robes. There are several other sects in Tibet, but they are of minor importance.

The *Ge-lug-pas* gradually became very popular, owing probably to their superior morality, though in this respect even *they* have no great cause for boasting. Their sect grew in size and importance and became a powerful hierarchy governed by an abbot or Grand Lama, each of whom is supposed to be an incarnation of his predecessor. The word Lama means “the Superior,” and should properly be used only of the Head of the Order, but its use has been extended by courtesy to Buddhist monks of all kinds throughout Tibet.

In 1640 A.D., the *Ge-lug-pa*, in a way which would probably have very much shocked Gautama Buddha himself, became powerful temporal princes. Three centuries previous to this time, the Lamas of the *Sakya-pa* sect had for a time ruled a large portion of Tibet as regents under the emperors of China, but they had been defeated and their power extinguished by the *Ge-lug-pa*, and a long dynasty of secular regents had succeeded them. The head of the *Ge-lug-pa* sect gradually grew in importance and eventually gave himself out to be an incarnation perpetually renewed of the great deity Avalokita. The fifth in succession of these deified Grand Lamas, Ngang-wang Lo-tsang, obtained from the Emperor of China the sovereignty over the whole of Tibet with the title of Dalai (or “Ocean”) Lama. He built a huge palace-temple at Lha-sa, where his successors still reside, and it is to the hostility of the Dalai Lama and the swarms of monks who constitute the principal inhabitants of Lha-sa that is due the rigid exclusion of all foreigners from Tibet, and the consequent backwardness and poverty of that extensive country.

The mode of succession of these priest-kings is very curious. As soon as one of them dies, a successor has to be found in whom the deceased Dalai Lama has been born again. A full account of the proceedings taken on the occasion of a vacancy which occurred in 1840 has been translated from the Chinese archives by an officer of our diplomatic service in that country, from which I extract the following particulars: On this occasion, a committee of Lamas was organized to make search for a successor. In due time they reported to the Chinese Imperial Resident in Tibet that four children had been discovered, all recently born, at whose birth auspicious signs and omens had occurred. On the night before the birth of the first of these children, a brilliant radiance of many colours was observed in the air, the sound of music was heard, and milk dropped on the pillars of the

house. For seven nights, a bright light was seen on a rock behind the house, in the midst of which appeared an image of Avalokita and the sacred characters "Om mani padme hom" (the well-known salutation to Buddha) were found imprinted on the rock. On entering the house, the new-born child was found sitting cross-legged with a dignified deportment, and on a rosary being placed in its hands, it began immediately to tell its beads.

Similar bright lights were seen at the birth of the second child, accompanied with peals of thunder. Flowers bloomed round the house, though it was the depth of winter. The child's countenance was of a dignified and elevated cast, and his eyes were brilliant beyond the brilliance of mortals.

The other two children were similarly distinguished—and all these particulars were solemnly reported to the Emperor, who ordered all four of them to be taken to Lha-sa, to be put to the proof. The Imperial Resident and all the chiefs of the Lamas were assembled, and the articles used by the late Dalai, such as the image of Buddha which he worshipped, his prayer-wheel, bell, drum, and other things were laid before the children, mixed up with imitations. Each child in succession, in presence of the assembly, unerringly selected from the mass of articles the genuine ones used by the late Dalai. All being thus equally intelligent, the Resident ordered lots to be drawn to decide the question. An auspicious day having been fixed, the name of each child was written on a separate slip of paper. The slips were then sealed and dropped into a golden urn placed on the altar before the image of Buddha. A long and solemn service of prayers, hymns, and reading of the sacred books was then performed, at the conclusion of which the Resident put his hand into the urn, and drew forth one paper, which was reverently opened by the senior Lama. It contained the name of the second of the four boys, who was then publicly proclaimed Dalai Lama, and held to be beyond doubt the incarnation of Avalokita. His election was received with acclamation and great public rejoicings; he was duly recognized and worshipped by all present; and the public were then admitted and prostrated themselves before him in adoration.

Some months later, an order came from the Emperor, accompanied by costly gifts, for the enthronement of the child who was then about 4 years old. This ceremony was carried out with great pomp and splendour. The head Lama shaved the boy's head and clothed him in the yellow robe, admitting him to the monastic order, and giving him a religious name, which on this occasion runs in Chinese thus: A-wang-ko-lé-sang-tan-peichun-mei-kai-chu-pu-chia-m'tso. What this may mean, I have no means of deciding. It is probably a Chinese corruption of some simple Tibetan name, meaning the embodiment of Avalokita.

Then the boy was publicly enthroned and worshipped. Tutors were appointed to instruct him. His father, a humble woodcutter, was ennobled, and rich presents given him.

By the side of the Dalai Lama, living in the monastery of Tasi-Chunpa, is always his spiritual father, known as the Lo-pon Rinpoche or the Precious Teacher, who is held to be an incarnation of the Bodhisattwa Amitâbha.



His function is the maintenance of religious purity, as that of the Dalai Lama is the government of the country. In the hands of these two men rests all the power, both spiritual and political, of Tibet, though they are to some extent controlled, under the guise of advice, by the Imperial Chinese Resident or *Amban*.

I mentioned above the prayer-wheel. This is a curious feature of Northern Buddhistic worship. There being here, as in Hinduism, a strict debtor and creditor account kept with Heaven or Fate, every prayer is a sort of ticket entitling the bearer to so much reward hereafter. Consequently the more prayers the better. But the business of life has to go on all the same; and much as the Tibetan layman values rewards in a future state, he is not disposed to forego for them the enjoyments of the present. So some bright genius invented the prayer-wheel or drum. This is a hollow cylinder of brass, silver, or other material, revolving on a handle; it is filled inside with prayers printed on strips of paper. Each time the drum is revolved it reckons as many prayers to credit of the holder as there may be on the printed scroll. It is a common sight to see men and women walking about twirling their prayer-wheels and thus scoring up two or three hundred prayers to their credit at every revolution, while they are perhaps lying or swearing all the while. At the entrance to a village, a gigantic prayer-drum is often set up over a running stream. It is turned by the water, like a water-mill, and is thus perpetually praying at the rate of two or three thousand prayers a minute for the benefit of the villagers. This allows a handsome margin for wickedness, one can get through a lot of crime and villainy without turning the balance, if there is such a powerful quantity of merit constantly accumulating in one's favour.

We have wandered very far away from Gautama Buddha and his doctrines. Indeed, so little of pure Buddhism is there in the doctrine taught and practised by the Lamas that many European scholars refuse to call it by that name and more accurately describe it as Lamaism.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to state that neither in the real Buddhism of the *Hinayāna* nor in its modifications is there any foundation for the nonsensical system known as Esoteric Buddhism, invented by that ludicrous impostor Madame Blavatsky. The ideas of this eccentric person and her followers are professedly taken from Buddhism, as practised in Tibet. But although Tibetan literature is, as we have seen, full of the extravagantly miraculous element, and although in the election of the Dalai Lama marvellous prodigies are solemnly reported to have occurred, there is not, in actual modern life, any serious pretence on the part of the priests, or any serious belief on the part of the laity in the existence of such miraculous powers. The selection of the Dalai Lama is well known to be a piece of jugglery got up by the monks, whose only object is to secure a puppet through whom they may rule the country. If the child whom they select does not, when he grows up, prove sufficiently docile, he dies in a mysterious manner, and a fresh child is selected. They are very seldom indeed allowed to grow to manhood, unless they prove absolutely imbecile and incompetent. The report sent to the Emperor is drawn up in pretty nearly the same form on every occasion, and is not expected or intended

to bear any relation to actual facts; and as to the marvellous selection of the deceased Dalai's prayer-drum and other articles from a mass of similar ones by the child, inasmuch as no one but the Lamas conducting the ceremony know which were the things used by the deceased, it is easy for them to say that any article the child may pick up is the right one.

But when we are told wonderful stories of supernatural beings called Mahátmas, living in the recesses of the Himalayas, who are in the habit of performing perfectly useless miracles by means of cigarette-papers and tea-cups, and when an extraordinary hash of primitive and modified Buddhism with a great deal of *Yoga* and a number of Sanskrit terms misunderstood and misapplied is presented to us as a new religion and the latest gospel for suffering humanity, we can only say that the whole thing is pure and unmitigated nonsense.

The Buddhism of China and Japan need not, I think, be separately noticed. In neither of those countries is it the principal religion, though in Japan its peculiar doctrines are constantly cropping up under one form or another. What has given Buddhism its extraordinary extension and vitality is, it seems to me, not the doctrine of *Nirvāna* nor the precepts laid down for the priesthood so much as the lot to which it destines the laity. Buddha himself regarded the life of *karma* with its endless series of re-births as a terrible grief to be got rid of at all costs. But if we stop to think of it, such an existence may be made, even on Buddha's own terms, extremely bearable, if not enjoyable. You have only to lead a tolerably decent life, and give largely to the *bhikkhus*, and you are certain that the next time you are born, it will be either in a high and prosperous position on earth, or perhaps even as a god in one of those heavens whose bliss the ascetic soul of Buddha despised, but which may well seem quite good enough for ordinary mortals. And so it comes to pass that the average lay Buddhist as one sees him in Ceylon, or still better in Burma or Tibet, is a happy, careless creature, rather lazy, in some cases not conspicuously moral, and in all absolutely devoid of any sense of the burden of existence, quite untouched by the *Weltschmerz* which was so deeply and painfully felt by the founder of his religion.

## A NEGLECTED LITERARY FIELD.

BY AN INDIAN CIVILIAN.

AFTER nearly a century and a half of British rule in India, and considering the high state of development which our system of government there has reached, it seems remarkable that so little attention has been given to the local history of the several British Indian provinces. The histories of Mill, Marshman, Elphinstone, and Wheeler, which deal with India as a whole, are well known and deservedly admired by the general reader; at the same time we venture to say that no one can peruse these histories without coming to the conclusion that the subject cannot be adequately disposed of in a single comprehensive work. Hardly anyone now needs to be told that India is not a single homogeneous country, but a Continent comprising several distinct Territories, inhabited by different races, each of which has its own independent history, dating from a great antiquity, replete with interest, and fraught with lessons of the utmost importance bearing on the present administration. The period for which a continuous historical record exists begins from the time of the first Mahommedan conquest, and from that date up to the commencement of British rule, the chief political power was, with brief intermissions, centred in the throne of Delhi. For this reason, the current histories of the period of Mahommedan rule are, for the most part, histories of Delhi founded on the chronicles of the Delhi Court. The fact however is that, except perhaps during the most prosperous period of the Moghul Empire, there was never so complete a centralization of Government in Delhi as to absorb the separate political organizations of the several subordinate states. During the reign of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, the outlying territories which had fallen under Mahommedan conquest, such as Bengal, Guzerat, etc., were held, not as provinces of their kingdom properly so called, but rather as vassal or tributary states, separately governed under dynasties founded by different adventurers. In the internal government or politics of these principalities the Kings of Delhi interfered scarcely at all, and, as might be expected, the Delhi chronicles of that period contain but meagre references to their affairs; hardly mentioning them except to narrate the occasional attempts of vassal princes to throw off their allegiance, and the struggles which followed, resulting either in the reconquest of the revolting territory or its complete separation from Delhi. Important Mahommedan states like those of Bengal, the Deccan, and Guzerat were for long intervals entirely independent, and, for those periods, their history remains almost a blank in the records of the Delhi chroniclers and of the English historians who have followed them. Again, Assam and Burmah, now important provinces of the British Indian Empire, never fell under the sway of Mahommedan rulers, and their early history has to be derived from independent sources. A result of the peculiar and varying political structure of India is that its history must necessarily be a somewhat intricate and perplexing study to



any one who attempts to follow it as a connected whole. As, at different periods, events of striking importance occur, first in one province and then in another, the historian is compelled to offer fleeting and imperfect glimpses of each, but, on pain of extending his work to an unwieldy length, he is precluded from giving such a complete account of previous and subsequent local history as is necessary to bring out the full meaning and interest of the transactions which he describes.

Thus the affairs of Guzerat and the Deccan, of Rajputana and Bengal, in turn come in for brief notice, and in turn are allowed to drop out of sight. No other treatment, it may be admitted, is possible so long as the history of India is dealt with as a whole, and such histories are no doubt of great utility and importance; what we desire to point out is, the need of complete and exhaustive local or provincial histories, to supplement these general accounts, if the existing institutions of the country are to be traced to their source, the progress of its civilization and social and economic development in each period fully appreciated, and the administrative difficulties of the present day successfully encountered. There is no more conspicuous instance of this, than the way in which the province of lower Bengal has been treated in the principal current histories of India, and the popular ideas to which that treatment has given vogue. That province is now, and has always been, one of the most important, if not the most important in India in respect of area, population, wealth, and political influence. Its first conquest by the Mahommedans was accomplished under the leadership of a Pathan adventurer, Bakhtiyar Khilji, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, after which it remained for upwards of 100 years under Pathan Kings, who ruled it as a feudatory state subject to the suzerainty of the Kings of Delhi. About the year 1340 A.D. the Pathan ruler of Bengal threw off the Delhi yoke and the province became for some 200 years an independent Kingdom. The adventurer Sher Khan Sur who succeeded in seizing upon the throne of Bengal in the year 1538 A.D. made use of the resources of that Kingdom to overthrow the Delhi Sovereign Humayun and obtained for himself and his successors a short lived empire in Upper India. After the downfall of the Sur dynasty, Bengal was not completely conquered and added to the Moghul dominions till the beginning of the 17th century. By the end of that century we find that, with the decay of the Moghul power, the governors of Bengal have again become practically independent sovereigns, and it is their transactions with the East India Company which lead to the commencement of British territorial dominion in India and enable a generation of British statesmen and soldiers again to make use of the resources of Bengal to lay the foundations of an Indian Empire. In the most popular English histories of India the accounts of events in this important province before the eighteenth century are extremely meagre. Elphinstone devotes altogether about three pages to the subject; Wheeler disposes of Bengal history from the conquest of Bakhtiyar to that of Akbar by describing the country as a bone of contention between "black Abyssinian slaves and tawny Afghans." From the time when the company begins to play a part in local politics a full and detailed account of affairs in Bengal is given by

English writers, and the ordinary reader is puzzled to find that the province hitherto left in the background has become suddenly, as it were, the key to the political situation, the lever by which the Mahratta power is eventually to be overthrown. A partial explanation at any rate is contained in the fact that, occupying the position sometimes of a Kingdom independent of the Delhi sovereigns, sometimes of a remote province imperfectly subject to their control, Bengal received scant notice from the Delhi chroniclers, who were little acquainted with its affairs. The neglect of the early history of Bengal has produced, it would seem, a tendency among English people to under-estimate the political importance of the province at the present day, and has allowed several erroneous impressions to gain acceptance. Among these is the notion that the state of popular feeling and opinion in Bengal is a matter of little political moment, because the inhabitants of the province are generally effeminate and unwarlike; that the higher castes of Bengali Hindus, or *babus* as they are called, owe their present influential position entirely to the policy of the British Government, and to their facility for acquiring English education; and that, before the British occupation of the country, the more manly and warlike races of Upper India had always been accustomed to conquer and enslave the people of the Lower Gangetic valley. Every one of these ideas must be considerably modified on examination of the known facts of Bengal history. Speaking roughly and generally, it may be said that, though the apathetic character of the Hindu inhabitants of Bengal made its first conquest by the Mahommedans comparatively easy, the latter did not for long keep up rigidly the character of foreign rulers, but settled down in the country permanently and, to a certain extent, threw in their lot with it. While they maintained the position of a military and dominant class, they found it from the first impossible to exclude the Hindus from all political influence or share in the administration. Indeed, in dealing with the history of India generally, it has to be remembered that the social and political effects of conquest in that country do not exactly correspond with anything with which we are familiar in Europe; being profoundly modified on the one hand by the general absence or weakness of the national sentiment, on the other, by what may be called the caste tendency—that which inclines different tribes and races brought into contact with one another to confine themselves exclusively, each to its own hereditary pursuits or functions. While the first of these two causes facilitates the conquest of an Indian province by warlike neighbours, they both combine to prevent the complete social and political degradation of the vanquished people. The military adventurers by whom such a conquest is effected feel as a rule a profound distaste for the details of civil administration, and are able to entrust them with confidence to the classes or castes of the native population which possess an hereditary aptitude for such work, and which may be trusted to entertain no patriotic yearnings for freedom from a foreign yoke. The conquerors soon take their place in the social hierarchy of the country as a military caste intrusted with its defence against external enemies, supported by tribute which they exact from the produce of the soil, and which is paid either to a central government

established by them, or in the shape of *jaghir* revenues assigned to individual military chiefs. While they enjoy a certain amount of prestige as the repositories of supreme political power, their presence is not felt as a burden and humiliation by the other classes of the population, and they by no means retain a monopoly of official power and patronage, wealth, and social pr  eminence such as, in Europe, we are accustomed to regard as the appanage of a conquering race. In short it may be said that when in India the seat of political power has been shifted by conquest, it is usually found that the social and material condition of the various castes comprising the conquered population has been thereby altered very much less than might be expected. While, therefore, it would be incorrect to say that the Mahommedan conquerors of Bengal ever amalgamated with the rest of the population, as the Norman invaders became eventually absorbed in the English nation, it is equally far from the truth to represent them as holding the Bengalis in the state of villeinage and subjection to which the Saxons were at first reduced by the Norman conquest. Again it has to be remembered that the looseness of structure which has been noticed in the fabric of the Mahommedan Empires of India was, as might be expected, copied on a smaller scale in each of the subordinate Kingdoms or provinces derived from or dependent upon them; so that, even down to the close of the Moghul period, extensive districts of Bengal remained under the administration of practically independent Hindu rajas, subject only to the payment of tribute or revenue to the Mahommedan central authority. As a sufficient proof of the important position occupied under Mahommedan rule by the higher castes of Bengali Hindus, we may quote the statement in the 'Ain-i-Akbari, that most of the Zemindars in Bengal were Kayasths. This cannot have been a result of Akbar's liberal policy towards Hindus, for Lower Bengal was hardly brought into subjection in his reign. Some of these Zemindars, as has been pointed out by Sir W. Hunter in Chap. II. of the introduction to his lately published list of Bengal M.S. Records, were *de facto* rulers in their own estates or territories, subject to a tribute or land tax, others were officials employed by the Mahommedan government to collect the land revenue. We know that about A.D. 1385, or less than half a century after the Kingdom of Bengal became separate from Delhi, the Hindu Rajah *Kans* rose to a position of such influence that he succeeded in seizing upon the throne of Gaur, which he transmitted to his son. Of the 12 territorial magnates known as Barah Bhuiyas who asserted their independence during the period of anarchy which preceded the Moghul conquest of Bengal, it is certain that at least three were Hindus. To come to later times it is well known that the Nawab Murshid Kuli Khan employed as far as possible Hindus only in the collection of revenue. Of his successor Alivardi Khan, the Historian Orme says that he "preferred the service of Gentoos in every office and dignity of the State excepting in the ranks of the army for which they neither wished nor were fit." The earliest British administrators of the province found the Bengalis already in occupation of most of the civil appointments and situations under the Government, including some of the most important and responsible, and deemed it convenient



and politic to retain them in those posts long before the days of University Degrees and competitive examinations. As to the political advantages which the Babus, as a class, and compared with other classes of Indians, have derived from English education, the most perhaps that can be said is that it has enabled them, under British rule, to maintain and improve the influential position which they already enjoyed under Mahommedan governments. Unwarlike and effeminate though they may be, it would be foolish to under-estimate the importance of the place which they fill as leaders of native society and public opinion, in a province of immense extent, population, and resources.

We have dwelt upon the case of Bengal as a conspicuous instance of the necessity for the local and partial treatment of the study of Indian history ; no doubt this could be illustrated with equal force from other parts of India as well. The question then arises, what should be adopted as the unit most convenient for the historian and for the student ?—a question of more difficulty than might at first sight be supposed. In European history the unit taken for treatment is always territorial or political, for in Europe each State or Country which has acquired a separate political organization tends to become more or less perfectly homogeneous in respect of political and social Institutions, race and general religious type. For the purpose of the historian it suffices that the unit chosen be of sufficient size and political importance to attract general interest. In India, on the contrary, widely different races and religions can exist side by side, in the same place, and under the same government, while avoiding inter-mixture and reciprocal influence, if not completely, still to a far greater extent than is observable in Europe. This feature has led some writers on Indian history to take, as the subject for separate treatment, the race, or the religious system rather than any local division ; a method to which we owe masterly histories of the Sikhs, the Mahrattas and the Rajputs, while Wheeler has dealt with the history of India as a whole separately from the Hindu and the Mahommedan points of view. In spite of the attractions which such histories possess for the philosophic student, it seems to us nevertheless that, in respect both of general interest and of utility, the best subject for the historian would be the political and territorial unit represented by the present British Indian province ruled by a separate local government or administration. The districts out of which each province has been formed have of course been grouped together, not at haphazard, but with due regard to similarity of general conditions and history, and within its area the different races and social and religious organisms will generally be found to possess certain common characteristics due to the influences to which they have been exposed in common. Each province has its separate executive machinery, each has its own distinctive laws and system of administration, and the plan here suggested would at any rate enable the officials connected with each to find set forth in one place the account of the growth of the peoples and institutions with which they have to deal, and the historical precedents and lessons bearing directly upon their work.

In a period of less severe financial pressure it would not perhaps be out of place for the government, if not to undertake by direct agency, at least to

afford some practical encouragement to the production of a series of provincial histories complete, exhaustive and impartial, and embodying the results of the most recent researches in the fields of Indian literature and antiquities; as matters stand we can only point out the deficiency of histories of the kind, which is as conspicuous as their necessity. The only English work, so far as we are aware, purporting to be a complete provincial history of Bengal, is that of Major Charles Stewart published in 1813, a book which is now both out of print and out of date. It is little more than a bald translation of the works of Mahomedan chroniclers, which give a somewhat meagre account of the succession of Mahomedan rulers of Bengal and the leading political events of their reigns. Thanks to the researches of Sir W. Hunter, of the late Mr. Blochmann and others, much more ample materials are now available and only remain to be worked up into a comprehensive history of Bengal. Sir A. Phayre's history of Burma does not pretend to be more than a brief summary of the abundant historical records which Burmese civilization has left at our disposal. We have no history of Assam in English, if we except the very brief epitome contained in Robinson's Descriptive Account of the country. Yet Assam from its peculiar conditions and long isolation from the rest of India specially demands separate historical treatment, and we believe that, in the Buranfis or chronicles kept by different religious establishments, or by officers of the Ahom Rajas, some of which are still extant, and in family histories and inscriptions, all the requisite materials for its history could be found.

Enough has been said to indicate the necessity as well as the possibility of separate local histories of the three important provinces comprising the eastern half of the British dominions in India. That the same method could be applied with success to every province of the Indian Empire is more than we would venture to assert. We have in this essay merely attempted to suggest the outlines of a plan for filling a void which we conceive to exist in that store of information with regard to our greatest dependency which should be at the disposal of the student, the administrator, and the general public.

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### OPINIONS ON "INDIAN CIVILIAN'S" PROPOSAL.

WE have much pleasure in circulating for the favour of further opinions from competent quarters on the main question or on side-issues connected therewith, the following important information and suggestions which we have received from Mr. W. Irvine, whose high historical authority on the subject is a guarantee of their great value :—

BY W. IRVINE, B.C.S. (ret.).

"Everyone who takes the slightest interest in the subject will support 'Civilian's' plea for more and better local histories of India. But until 'Civilian' enters into greater detail it is difficult to pass final judgment on his proposal. In any case, I doubt whether a separate history for each

modern province or administrative unit would be wise or feasible. In some cases such a grouping would be nearly impossible; for instance, how can the Mahomedan period for the Panjāb be treated separately from that for the North-Western Provinces? For centuries they formed part of one kingdom. Again, how can the history of the Dakhin from 1680 to 1707 be dealt with apart from the general history of the Mogul Empire? The most cursory reference to Grant Duff's 'History of the Mahrattas' will show that he was forced to refer at some length to occurrences at Dihli which had influenced events in the Dakhin. Then later on, when the Mahratta activity was chiefly displayed in Rajputanah and Hindustan, no history of those provinces could be written without recounting the course of events at Poonah.

"Leaving on one side for the present the question of satisfactory execution, an enumeration of some of the works already in existence will show that the field is not so entirely unoccupied as 'Civilian' suggests. For Bengal, Bahār, and Orissa we have Major C. Stewart's 'History of Bengal,' not to mention Stirling's 'History of Orissa' and Sir W. W. Hunter's book on the same subject. There is also the last-named writer's 'Annals of Rural Bengal.' With respect to the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, all histories of the Mahomedan period may be counted as local histories, such as Dow, Elphinstone, Marshman. For Oudh we have also the history of Faizabad translated by Mr. W. Hoey, and Colonel Sleeman's 'Journey through the Kingdom of Oude'; for Rohilkhand, Hamilton's 'Rohillas' and C. Elliot's 'Life of Hafiz Rehmut Khan'; and for the Benares Rāj, F. Curwen's translation of the *Tuhfah-i-tāsah*. My own contribution in 1878 to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and to the provincial Gazetteer may be allowed to count as a history of the Farrukhābād state. Rajputānah has been dealt with elaborately by Colonel James Tod, Gujarat in the works of Dr. J. Bird and of the late Sir E. C. Bayley, Kathiawār in the 'Rās-mālā' of the late A. K. Forbes and in Tod's 'Travels in Western India.'

"The Panjāb forms the subject of a recent history by Syud Mahomed Latif. He is not a critical writer and takes his goods wherever he can find them without very close examination. Still, he presents a continuous narrative for the Lāhor *sūbah*, of the sort which I suppose is advocated by 'Civilian.' We have also many histories of the Sikh period, such as those by Sir John Malcolm, Captain Murray, Dr. McGregor, and Captain Cunningham; these are in every sense *local* histories, not merely those of a 'race or a religious system.' The Sikhs flourished only within the Panjāb, and their history is that of the province during the years of their supremacy, say from 1774 to 1846. Sir Lepel Griffin's two valuable books on the Panjāb rajahs and chiefs also fall strictly within the definition of local history.

"About the Dakhin we have had many works. Its general history, translated from Farishtah, has been published by Captain Jonathan Scott (1794). For the western part of it there is Captain J. G. Duff's 'History of the Mahrattas,' a work which in accuracy and research can hardly be surpassed or even approached. The southern part of the Dakhin has been



exhaustively dealt with by Colonel Mark Wilks, both for the Hindu as well as the Mahomedan period. Recently the Haidarabād state has found its historian in Mr. J. D. B. Gribble. The first volume of this last work is eminently readable, but does not disclose any profound study of the period therein dealt with. In regard to all the events up to 1707, I do not pretend to be able to criticize in detail, but it appears to me that the new work will hardly supersede that of Elphinstone, which seems to give all that Mr. Gribble does. When we come to the last eighty pages of his first volume, Mr. Gribble travels over ground with which I am familiar. In those chapters there are a number of statements which it would be my duty to challenge, if this were the fit place or time. In all probability, Mr. Gribble's second volume will be free of these blemishes. There he will be dealing with the Asaf Jāhi, the present ruling dynasty of Haidarābād, and his treatment of the subject will, no doubt, increase in depth, fulness, and accuracy as he proceeds.

"As can be learnt by dipping into any one of the treatises on historical method, in which German literature is so rich, there are many ways of writing history. On this point 'Civilian' does not condescend to particulars; he sets forth no theory of what a history of India is to be. Is it to be a *cultur-geschichte*, that is, a history of ideas or so-called civilization; is it to be an economical history or a political history? In all of these lines of investigation I fear that he will find the existing materials are very scanty. How does he intend to obtain fresh material? Histories of India for the earlier ages mostly consist of lists of names taken from inscriptions and coins. What can be made of such material? Much of the Mahomedan period is hardly any better provided for.

"'Civilian,' if he is really in earnest, should devote some years to producing a history of the kind he approves. In many ways Bengal affords him a favourable field for such an attempt. This Lieutenant-Governorship is made up of the three imperial sūbahs of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, which had for the most part a sufficiently separate existence; and thus to treat their history as an organic whole does not present so much difficulty as it would in other provinces. Even if he were only to rewrite Major Stewart's history on its existing lines, but after wider research, with more thoroughness, and with more accuracy, he would be doing good work. Or he might take Tod's 'Rajasthan' and purging it of all its romance, reduce it to sober fact, after careful comparison with existing Mahomedan sources. Either task would occupy him for a considerable number of years. Then, in all probability, when it was done he would have to print and publish at his own expense. No publisher will now look at a work of the kind; even in earlier and more enthusiastic days, it cost Captain Duff two thousand pounds to prepare and produce his book. Governments say that they have no money for such things (though it is always found when they want to spend it); as for individual purchasers, they assert that they have no time to read such works, and therefore will not buy them.

As some justification for the above remarks on 'Civilian's' article, which the editor has asked me for, I may mention that for between five and six years I have been at work on a small portion of Indian history.

If we consider the time and space to be covered in dealing with the whole of Indian history, the vastness of the subject appals us. Moreover, of general histories we have had for the time enough; and before anything of permanent value can be done in that direction, the details must be worked out piece-meal. When that process is completed, we may hope for some definitive general history of the country. 'Civilian' proposes to bring the matter within one man's compass by taking a defined area; I have approached it in another way. I have taken a defined period, the ninety-six years from 1707 to 1803. Elphinstone disposes of these years in some seventy pages, while I have collected enough material to fill two or three thick volumes. Possibly my plan does not accord with 'Civilian's' ideal of local history, but I try to localize every event as completely as possible. In so doing I have been acting unconsciously on a dictum of E. A. Freeman, 'History without Geography is meaningless' (Life and Letters, i., 218). The result is not very far, I think, from what 'Civilian' aims at. He can see a specimen of what I am doing by reading a portion of about sixty pages, which is printed in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the current year.

"If 'Civilian' proceeds further with this project, I shall heartily welcome in him a new worker in this 'neglected field,' wishing him a happy deliverance. He must be content to find in the work itself its own 'exceeding great reward.' No other will he ever obtain. Unless it be that 'some Gibbon of the future may fling him a word of gratitude in a foot-note.' It is a weary business, this of literary hodman, this task of 'casseur de pierres ou scieur de long de la littérature,' as Barbey D'Aureville contemptuously said of a far greater writer than himself. But in spite of everything let us 'bate not a jot of heart or hope, but steer right onward.' For, as Wordsworth has it,—

"We Men, who in our morn of youth defied  
The elements, must vanish;—be it so!  
Enough if something from our hands have power  
To live, and act, and serve the future hour."

We have also received the following suggestive paper from a Nestor of the Civilian Scholarship of India:

By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (ret.).

"CIVILIAN" has undoubtedly raised a question of great interest to all students of Indian history and has called attention to a serious defect in all existing histories of that country. We have in fact as yet no history of India worthy of the name. Even the best of them is little more than an epitome. But the same may be said of all countries which have had a political existence of any length. If one wants to learn the history of England, in the sense in which the word history is now understood, it is necessary to study more than one work. One has to read Kemble, Palgrave, Freeman, Stubbs, Wylie, Froude, Gardner, Brewer, Macaulay, the Rolls Series, Mahon, Walpole, and many others. The history of a country

is now written in monographs, each writer taking one period and studying it exhaustively. The histories of France, Germany, Spain, Italy are in the same way too long and too varied to be adequately told in one work. For Germany alone there are histories enough to fill a good-sized library, not to mention Pertz's colossal "*Monumenta*" in 30 folio volumes—a waggon-load in itself; the vast collections of Muratori, and the "*Archivio Storico*" for Italy; the 51 volumes of the "*España Sagrada*," and other similar collections. India now requires to be treated in the same way, and on the same extensive scale.

Mr. Irvine has so clearly pointed out the difficulties of the task that there is little to be added to what he has so forcibly stated. I agree with him in thinking that the modern British province—Lieutenant-Governorship—Chief Commissionership—or whatever may be its unwieldy official designation, could not properly be taken as the unit for local histories. Our present provinces have been formed as the results of successive waves of conquest or acquisition. Each fresh accession of territory has been lumped together into a new province with regard solely to the administrative convenience of the moment, and often subsequently dismembered and re-arranged without the slightest reference to historic continuity or racial, linguistic, or social affinities. Thus in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal there are no less than six distinct countries each with a separate history, and widely diverging linguistic and racial peculiarities. On the other side of India ancient kingdoms so totally unconnected in the past as Canara, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Sindh are linked together, with the island emporium of foreign traders for a capital. Delhi, the immemorial mother-city of Hindustan, has been torn away from the country over which it has ruled from before the dawn of history, and is now merely the provincial capital of a division of the Punjab.

Nor is it only the present arrangement of the local divisions which gives rise to difficulties. The whole past is a series of kaleidoscopic changes. It is hardly possible to put one's finger on a single spot in the map of India which has not changed its rulers repeatedly during the ages. If we except the wild sparsely-peopled forest-tracts in the Vindhya, every part of the country has been transferred to and fro from one State to another over and over again. At one time perhaps it will be found attached to a mighty kingdom to the north, a century later to an equally mighty kingdom to the south, a century later again itself the central province of a kingdom, with the tracts both to north and south subject to it. The whole history of India is a tale of land-grabbing on a vast scale, and as ephemeral as it was vast.

Consequently in undertaking the much needed task of a more minute and detailed investigation into the history of India we are met at the outset by the difficulty of selecting a local area as the unit of investigation which possesses sufficient historic continuity and sufficient homogeneity for the purposes of a monograph. The same objection applies to Mr. Irvine's plan of taking a period of history as his subject. Within historic times, say from Kutbuddin Aibak to the present day, only one period—the seventeenth century, the flourishing time of the Mughal dynasty—presents a



sufficient portion of India united under one head to serve as the subject for a connected history. Both before and after that century the history of India would have to be told in many detached narratives, and perhaps in no period is the story more confused or intricate than in the eighteenth century which Mr. Irvine has chosen for his subject.

But if neither the local area nor the special period taken alone would serve for a coherent monograph, a combination of the two would I think give admirable results. But many workers would be required for the task. One man might write the history of the kingdom of Bengal from Bakhtyar Khilji to Daud Kararani leaving off when Bengal was merged in the Empire and ceased to have a separate existence of its own. Orissa, Malwa, Gujarat, Sindh, the ephemeral Mussulman kingdoms of the Dakhin, might each be treated in this way by specialists, each of whom would confine himself to that country and period with which he was best acquainted. The result would be a series of valuable works which would place the history of India on the same level as those of the great countries of Europe, and would supply the detailed information which could not be given in one history of all India without making it too bulky and unwieldy to be read.

And this brings me to the important consideration of the difficulty of publication, which Mr. Irvine has so forcibly, and as I know to my cost, so truly urged. Publishers, like other traders, have to produce goods that will sell, and while the demand for such recondite works as we are considering remains so small, no publisher is likely to undertake the risk of publishing them. State aid is not always to be relied on; though the Government of India has been a liberal patron on the whole, its munificence has not, in the opinion of some who are qualified to judge, been always judiciously directed, and it is perhaps less likely to grant assistance to works of profound research, than to more popular, and superficial, productions.

Such a work as is now contemplated can only in my opinion be successfully carried out by a society. If those few who are interested in the subject, and are prepared to work at it, would unite themselves into a body, which might be called "the Indian Historical Research Society" or something of that kind, they might materially assist each other, and accumulate a fund which would enable them to publish their own productions. It is, I feel sure, only in this way that the object we have in view can ever be accomplished. There are many societies of this kind already in existence, as the Hakluyt, the Camden, the Surtees and others, and the splendid work they have done testifies to the excellence of their method.

I purposely avoid discussing the question of the scantiness of materials. This would be a matter for consideration hereafter when a society had been formed. It is a difficulty, but not, I think, so great a one as is generally supposed.

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The labour and services of Mr. H. Beveridge are too well known to need any introduction by us. We can only hope that his suggestions, added to

those of Mr. Irvine and Mr. Beames, will have the desired result in eliciting the liberal co-operation of Government and of scholars—whether in its service or not—towards the cultivation of the "neglected literary field" to which an Indian Civilian has drawn the attention of our readers.

By H. BEVERIDGE, B.C.S. (ret.).

I HAVE read "Civilian's" paper with great interest. The writer has done good service by drawing attention to the want of provincial histories in Anglo-Indian literature. He has especially dwelt upon the want of a good history of the great province of Bengal, and in the following remarks I shall confine myself to Bengal as it is the part of India I know best.

Major Stewart's work is an honest and scholarly book and it is still quite indispensable for it is, in substance, the only history of Bengal that we have. But, as Civilian says, it is out of print and out of date, and little more than a bald translation of the works of Muhammadan chroniclers. It is in fact founded on the *Riyāzu-S-Salāṭīn* which is a compilation made by a Post-Office clerk at Maldah 110 years ago. "To it," says Stewart, "I am indebted for the idea of writing this work, and for the general outline." The text of the *Riyāzu*, I may remark in passing, was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1890. Stewart's work, being almost exclusively drawn from Muhammadan sources begins too late and ends too soon for it commences with the close of the 12th century and ends with the battle of Plassey. Since its appearance a good many valuable materials of history have been collected, chiefly by the labours and example of Mr. Blochmann. Coins and inscriptions have been deciphered, and many mistakes in Stewart's dates and list of kings have been corrected. We have also had, in addition to those mentioned by Mr. Irvine, one or two useful local histories, such as the history of Dacca, by Dr. Taylor (1840), and the Chronicle of Krishnagar published by Dr. Pertsch (1852) and reviewed by Mr. Long in the Calcutta Review for July 1855.

The publication of a revised edition of Stewart's work has been recommended by Sir William Hunter in one of his writings, and would be a most useful thing to do. It is also, I should think, a feasible project, for Stewart's quarto would make only a moderate octavo volume at the present day, and would probably have a good sale. If the editing were properly done, the work would almost certainly become a text book in the schools and colleges of Bengal so that if Government will not help in the matter, a private publisher might undertake the venture with reasonable hope of success. The editor would have to give us a preliminary chapter or two, descriptive of the geology and geography of Bengal, of the first settlers therein, and of the Hindu period, and he would have to bring down the history to the present time. In treating of the Hindu period he would have to examine and comment upon the narratives of the Chinese pilgrims, and to take note of the writings of Romesh Chandra Dutt, Guru Prasad Sen, Hara Prasad Shastri and others. He would have to give us some account of Chaitanya's Reformation, and if he knew Sanscrit as well as Persian, it would be so much the better for his work. Here I may remark that a certain Haji Muhammad of Kandahar appears to have written a

history of Bengal. He is quoted by Firishta and others, but no MS. of his work seems to have been found. I would suggest that advertisements should be issued in India and other attempts made to discover the MS. There is a reference to his work in the Bibliography appended to the VIth vol. of Elliot Histories, p. 572. I need hardly refer to such a well-known work as the *Siyar-Matakhari*, except to express a wish that somebody would reprint the text, and also reprint, with revisions and omissions, the remarkable translation thereof by a Muhammadanised Frenchman.

I have confined myself to practical suggestions, but I need hardly say that even Stewart "up to date" would be a very inadequate history of Bengal. What we want is a history of the Bengalis on the lines of Green's *History of the English People*, not a mere chronicle of dynasties. Stewart's work is a skeleton with some of the bones wanting, and if we restore them, it will still be but a congeries of dry bones. We want to have them clothed with comely flesh, and for this purpose we must have one who is not only a scholar, and a judge of evidence, but is also a genius and has a love for his subject. In short we must have a Freeman and a Froude rolled into one. Such an one will surely rise in due time, just as Hannibal arose from the ashes of Dido, and let us hope that the Avatar will occur in Bengal and in a Bengali family.

As we are going to Press, the last Indian Mail brings us the following suggestive remarks by

C. R. WILSON :

I do not think that I need say much on the question raised by "Civilian," as I find myself in complete agreement with Mr. Irvine. It is undoubtedly desirable that Indian History should be studied in detail, and that particular histories should be written dealing with special aspects or elements of the general subject. But there is no reason to suppose that the unit for historical treatment is the unit found convenient for modern administrative purposes, or that the historian need determine his subject by considerations of area at all. Why should the histories of Lower Bengal and of Orissa be combined in one treatment because they happen to be now under one Government? Some historians will no doubt wish to write the history of a particular locality or area. But others will prefer to deal with a particular period or a particular nationality.

Mr. Irvine has rightly pointed out that special studies of special aspects of Indian history are by no means few. More are of course desirable. So much may be said of all scientific studies.

Perhaps what "Civilian" wishes to propose is that some enterprising publisher should get up a series of Indian historical manuals dealing with special areas or periods. Such a series might be most useful for the purpose of reviewing and systematising what is now known on these topics. But it would not necessarily give rise to any great advance in our historical studies. Historians are not made to order any more than poets.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Westminster Town Hall, on Thursday, December 10, 1896, when a paper was read by Sir H. S. Cunningham, K.C.I.E., on "The Indian Famines," LT.-GENERAL R. STRACHEY, C.S.I., F.R.S., being in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: Lady Cunningham, Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Juland Danvers, K.C.S.I., Sir James Mackay, Dep.-Surgeon General I. C. Penny, M.D., Lt.-Col. Windsor Clive, Dr. J. Ince, Mr. A. G. Lawrence, C.I.E., Colonel A. T. Fraser, Colonel D. Sampson, Mrs. Becher, Messrs. A. F. Buxton, A. H. Campbell, A. K. Connell, W. Coldstream, H. R. Cook, G. G. Day, A. P. Dunston, C. W. Earle, F. W. Fox, C. A. Gallon, Miss Gawthorp, Mr. H. N. Harridas, Mrs. Keyser, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Lawrence, Dr. G. W. Leitner, Miss Lyall, Messrs. C. K. Menon, J. B. Pennington, P. P. Pillai, Lesley C. Probyn, D. W. Reid, R. Strachey, K. C. S. Varana, A. H. Wilson, Geo. Willoch, W. Martin Wood and C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

SIR H. S. CUNNINGHAM then read his paper, which will appear in full in the JOURNAL of the Association, and of which the following is an abstract:

"A fortunate rainfall has narrowed the area and lessened the intensity of the misfortune with which a portion of India was threatened only a few days ago. It was too soon to tell with exactness the extent of the relief, but the alleviation had been material and permitted them to approach the subject with less painful anxiety than would have been possible a fortnight ago. Still, there was a residuum of distress sufficiently substantial, unfortunately, to justify consideration of the predicament in which several millions of our fellow-subjects in India were involved. Having referred to the chairman as the originator of the great and beneficent scheme of railways and canals which had made famine relief on any effectual scale possible, and to the famine administrative work of Sir Charles Elliott, Sir Henry said that rainfall was the main regulating factor in the matter of famines in India. He then gave an account of the famines in India from the beginning of the century, after which he remarked that at the close of the terrible famine of 1877-78 Lord Lytton's Government resolved that its experience should be utilized for the purpose of systematic administration of relief on future occasions. An exact and complete inquiry into the facts was the first necessity, and a Commission, under the presidency of General Strachey, examined into the history of past famines, and ascertained, as far as possible, the condition and resources of the people, the liability of each province to drought and famine, and the methods by which, judging from the past, State relief could best be given. A review of the century had shown that famine was experienced in some parts of India two years in every nine; that 20,000,000 of people were on the average affected, and consequently that the whole population were affected twice in every 108 years. Taking the whole of India, the Government had to



be prepared for a famine of some sort every 11 or 12 years, and for a great famine about twice in a century. The Government accordingly determined to provide in its annual Budgets a margin of Rx. 1,500,000, which, so far as it was not used for famine relief, should be utilized for railway or navigation works calculated to prevent or alleviate famine, or for the discharge or avoidance of debt. Since 1881 a sum of Rx. 17,500,000 had been thus provided, and it was a ground of satisfaction that, owing to fortunate immunity from famine, only some Rx. 300,000 had, up to last year, been spent in famine relief, while Rx. 11,000,000 had been spent in railways in localities liable to famine. The report of the Famine Commission emphasized the view that it was to improved locomotion, to extended irrigation, to freer intercourse with other countries, to the enrichment of the community, and to the creation of a higher standard of comfort that we must look for effectual means of resistance against vicissitudes such as famines. The Commission advised that trade in every channel should be stimulated, not discouraged and paralyzed by occasional interference. It also pointed out that in giving relief economy was imperative, not only as essential to solvency, but because any profusion that sapped the independence of the people and taught them to throw themselves on the State on the approach of every emergency would bring about a condition of things with which no Government, however lavish, could cope. A further recommendation was that the main system of relief should be by public works, on which able-bodied and unskilled labour might be employed, and be able to earn an adequate sustenance; that smaller works nearer the people's homes should be provided for the less robust, while gratuitous relief should be afforded in poor-houses and villages to such sufferers as it was not well to move. The system recommended by the Commission was now on its trial. After a long period marked by no considerable crop failure it became apparent in the beginning of 1896 that distress was impending. In February test works were started, the executive staff was strengthened, sites were chosen for poor-houses, and the programme of relief works was revised. In May some 230,000 persons were in receipt of relief. Since then the prospect had improved, and when the next famine came they would meet it with preparedness, organization, and discipline, and with far greater resources than on the last occasion. They had now another 10,000 miles of railway in India; means of communication and transit had been enlarged, and arrangements had been completed for a further expenditure of Rx. 45,000,000 within the next three years. By one irrigation project alone half a million acres had been rescued from desert and converted into certain food supply. India had still vast undeveloped resources—her mineral treasures, her unirrigated plains, and her great store of water that now rolled uselessly to the sea. The task of protecting her from famine was not yet complete, however, but it was at least some way on the road to completion."

The paper having been read, the Chairman invited remarks from those present, especially from any gentleman who had had definite relations with famine administration in India.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said he had had considerable experience in Indian famines both within British territory and, in exceptional circumstances,

without it, having been Secretary to the Famine Committee during one of the periods referred to, as also during the famine which had reduced the population of Cashmere by one-half or, as some said, by two-thirds. The real burden had fallen upon the Government, of which he then happened to be secretary. He desired to express his full agreement with the remarks which Sir Henry Cunningham had so eloquently, and with so much detail made. The Government of India had had the question before them so long and so anxiously that it would be very difficult to improve upon the code of rules which they had drawn up, which were observed not only in all the British provinces of India, but also in all the native states subordinate to the Government. The disasters of former times were owing to want of system and organization, and the saving of life in future would be due to the rules and regulations which had been drawn up very much under the inspiration of the gentleman who was doing them the honour of taking the chair and of many men who were associated in India with the government of that day. The question of famine relief in India was not so much connected with canal irrigation as with railway construction and extension. They might have too much of canal irrigation. Except under certain conditions and with every regard to drainage, to the lie of the land and to the habits of the people, canal irrigation would do as much harm as good. He had seen village after village almost depopulated by fever, the death-rate doubled, the birth-rate reduced by one-half and the lands almost thrown out of cultivation, by the saline efflorescence which gathered upon the land when it was waterlogged. No one who knew India would unduly depreciate canal irrigation, but he thought that railway construction really saved the country where irrigation sometimes failed, because railways distributed the grain which was brought to the ports from all parts of the world as well as that which was locally supplied. The chairman had done more than any man living, or who had ever lived to bring the blessing of railway extension to India, and he (Sir Lepel Griffin) was delighted to express on behalf of the Association, his appreciation of the great work which the chairman and his most accomplished brother had performed. There was great hope in the future for the Punjaub, because the time for the winter rains had not yet come. The Christmas week was the week in which they were expected.

Mr. KRISHNA MENON had been connected with the Madras Works Department for nearly ten years and engaged in the famine analysis in the three worst districts. That analysis was an attempt to tabulate as far as possible the economic condition of the ryots. What struck him most was the small amount of expenditure on the land compared with the extent of it. In one of the worst famines they found that there was only one pair of live stock and one plough for every thirty acres of land. In seasons of plenty an indifferent system of cultivation would give the ryot sufficient to pay the Government assessment and to keep himself, but in bad seasons, the cultivation being indifferent, the crop failed. During the terrible famine the sandy soils were by deep tilling and good manuring able to maintain a good crop with a very small rainfall. There lay the one great preventive work of the Government. There was what was called an Agricultural

Department, but it had not so far interested itself in the improvement of agriculture, and it would be better if a large portion of the funds were set apart by competent authorities for that purpose. With reference to the wells, the difficulty was that the sums given, were given in such a half-hearted manner, that the money was not properly spent and there was no proper supervision. There was a temporary famine in 1892 and he had had to supervise, and in three years 90,000 wells were sunk. If an examination were now made, there would not be found 500 wells useful for irrigation purposes. Well-sinking should be under a competent staff of engineers. The ryot did not know where he was to get a good supply of spring water. If competent engineers were sent and proper borings made and money advanced to the ryot, the proper result would be obtained, otherwise the waste of money would be as great as before. The first policy of famine relief must be, as far as possible, to maintain the villagers in the village itself, instead of bringing them out of the village and upsetting the whole village organization. If the local work were carried on on a large and organized scale, it would not be necessary to drag the rural population to some great centres where by insufficient food and bad sanitary conditions, all sorts of diseases would be propagated and the condition of labour would be disorganized. He tendered his thanks for the eloquent paper which had been read. India had not been sufficiently brought to the notice of the British public and he hoped that, through the Association, India would be more frequently heard of.

MR. H. N. HARRIDAS thought that the officials of India, if they wanted an advocate, could not have found a better one than the reader of the paper. The Famine Relief Code and the report of the Famine Commission were documents of the greatest importance, but they only pointed out what was to be done when there was actually a famine. Why was it these famines came? Because there was a falling-off of rain. For two or three months there was so much distress in the country, that many millions died of starvation. It spoke very little for the credit of the Government that after all the roseate accounts of the moral and material progress of the country, when a famine did come, there was no reserve. He had been told that before the year 1844 the ryots always had in store sufficient grain to last a year. It was very philosophical to argue on the comparative merits of canal irrigation and railway extension, but it was at the same time important to look at the financial condition of the people and to see how far the present policy of administration conduced to the well-being of the people. What greater condemnation of it could there be than the fact that they had to levy additional taxes and were at their wits' ends to make both ends meet, even when there was no scarcity? If the Government were not able to meet the impending crisis, a greater proof of the failure of the system guiding it could not be given. The Government had better take into their confidence the local, municipal and rural bodies. They had recognised the principle of collection by them and as an alien Government, it could not know so well as those who were on the spot, who would be the best people to distribute relief.

MR. MARTIN WOOD thought that any estimate of the condition of the

people of India founded upon the report of 1888-89 was fallacious. It was no doubt important to arrive at some definite estimate of the actual production of grain in India in the year and also at what was the ordinary consumption of the people, and whether there was any surplus of production. The estimate of the Famine Commission of the necessary sustenance was at the rate of 1'60 lbs. a day, equal to 586 lbs. a year. That would require fifty-eight millions of tons of food grains to be produced. In the year 1894-5 the production was given as 57,000,000 tons. If from that two and a half million tons of food grains exported were deducted, it would leave just over fifty-five million tons of food grains, as against fifty-eight millions, which the Commission regarded as the minimum subsistence for the people of India. That would leave ten millions of the people of India without any sustenance at all. This would be no doubt diffused to some extent and the fact would probably be that instead of ten millions entirely destitute, fifty millions would be on very short commons indeed. The acreage under food crops in 1880-1 was 166½ millions, and in 1894-5 it was 186½ millions, or an increase of twelve per cent. ; but the non-edible crops were in the former year 21½ millions, and in the latter year 39 millions, showing an increase of eighty-one per cent. Sir Henry Cunningham had given them his estimate of the present outlook, but it was desirable that that estimate should be regarded with considerable caution. The question presented itself as to how, when, and where, private voluntary and public subscriptions could supplement the efforts of the State. No doubt, everything that could be done, would be done, but there must be many places in India, which could not be reached by relief operations, and he thought the public in England should not put aside altogether the idea of voluntary relief, for which already in India itself large amounts had been contributed. He did not think much importance was to be attributed to the exportation of food grains, but it must be remembered that the 2½ million tons of grain exported, were taken out of what was already a scant supply, and the cultivators could not therefore store their grain. The mere export of that 2½ million tons of food grains was only one accidental evidence of what was going on, on a very much larger scale, namely, the withdrawal of, at least, twenty million pounds annually, which accounted for the general impoverishment of the people. He was sorry to hear Sir Lepel Griffin speak as he had done with reference to the railways. Railways could not make food grow : they could only carry it about. He ventured to think that water storage and water supply was relatively ten times more important than railway extension in India.

Mr. P. P. PILLAI spoke from his experience as a ryot. The Famine Commission Report was by far the most important State document of the past fifty years, and he regretted that all the recommendations of that Commission had been thrown away to a large extent. Sir Henry Fowler in opposing the resolution of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, said that India had never been more prosperous than during the past thirty years, but he spoke under an hallucination. In the part of the district he (Mr. Pillai) knew the large landholders were becoming poor, and the small ones poorer. How could India possibly grow prosperous? True some people, such as



Vakeels, lawyers, officials and merchants who made their money at the expense of the Ryot population were prosperous, but that did not prove that the normal condition of the people had improved. They were very thankful for the philanthropic feeling of the English nation, in giving so much money for relief, but he thought it would be wiser to introduce measures to prevent famines, or to enable the people of India to sustain themselves when they came. The Famine Commission had strongly recommended emigration, but it was well known that those who had emigrated to Nepaul were not well treated. The landowners of Madras had made a representation asking for legislation, declaring their estates impartible in order to prevent the growth of population, but the Government had replied that they would contemplate with complacency the breaking up of these estates. Sir Henry Cunningham had alluded to the important recommendation of the Famine Commission, of liberality in giving remission of taxes. In one instance that he knew of, the Government had in one district, spent thousands of rupees in famine relief, but they gave remission only of 23 rupees. If the recommendation of the Famine Commission were acted upon, the people would be in a condition to help themselves for a much longer period.

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT observed that it had been urged that there was not enough food in the country to feed the people, and that therefore, the great system of communications by railway, which the Government had been steadily creating, would be of no value to relieve destitution. It was shown in the Famine Commission Report that it was impossible to conceive so great a loss of crops as would result in there being less produce grown in the country than was needed for the reserves of the country. Twenty years ago it was calculated that five million tons surplus produce of food grains was produced in the country every year. That was equal to the food of 30 millions of people for a year. Even a month ago there was no indication that a larger population than that would be seriously affected. Since the time when the Commission reported there had been a very great increase in the area cultivated, and in the area permanently irrigated, especially in the Punjab and an enormous increase in the means of conveying the produce. It was certain, that food could be imported from across the sea into India at a cost which would enable it to be sold as cheaply as local grain. He desired to make a few remarks on an article which appeared in "The Fortnightly," on the Indian famine. It was written by a gentleman who had considerable knowledge of the subject, but, strange to say, it made no reference whatever to the report of the Famine Commission, nor to the measures which had been taken in consequence of it. The writer of that article argued that it was important that the Government should step in and convey grain to the distressed regions which might be 30 miles from a railway. But if the Government were to take any step of the kind, it must take the initiating measures long before the time of distress and, by so doing, it must necessarily interfere with and alarm trade; it must do a great deal to prevent the importation of grain by people whose profession it was to do it, who could do it better and cheaper than the Government, and who certainly would not do it if they could not

see a profit. The writer of the article censured the Bengal Government, for instance, because in the year 1874 they took measures too late and in a great hurry. These measures were set on foot in March, 1874, and it was said they ought to have been taken in November, 1873. Now November was before the great rice crop was reaped, and before it was possible to tell what the production of the crop would be, or what the means of the people were, or what stores they had. It was admitted that there had been a great extension of railways, and that food could be carried now with infinitely greater rapidity than it could twenty years ago. Twenty years ago the Famine Commission Report showed that the railways had imported two million tons of grain from northern to southern India; and very much more could be done now, in the way of importing grain into the Punjab, where the railways were so much more numerous and communication very much more rapid. It seemed to him under those circumstances that to take steps far in advance to meet a disaster of the kind, would be the greatest possible mistake. If a disaster occurred, such as Mr. Martin Wood anticipated, it would be in a sparsely populated hilly district where there were large areas fully 30 miles from a railway, but in this case it had been shown that the fear of famine was extremely small, that although the crops might fail, there were in hilly countries innumerable adventitious sources of food in jungle roots and growths upon which the people were in the habit of falling back when the produce of their fields failed them. Or it would be in largely populated tracts, the area of which was not large, where there were a number of traders, in which the roads were good, and the carts many, and in which all the Government ought to be required to do would be to assist in hiring and importing carts if there was a breakdown. To that extent no doubt there was a responsibility on the Government, but in the forefront of everything they must rely on their railways. Mr. Pillai had said he regretted that so small a proportion of the recommendations of the Famine Commission had been carried out. But those recommendations had been carried out to an extent which was not known in India with regard to any other report. The whole force of the Revenue and Agriculture Department had been brought to bear on the subject. Everything that had been recommended with regard to railways had been done and a great deal more. Sir Edward Buck had spent a great deal of time on what he called district analysis, the result of which he (Sir Charles Elliott) hoped to have an opportunity of describing in an address which he proposed to give in two or three months' time. The recommendations of the Famine Commission Report had done all that could possibly be done to put the country in a state of preparation to meet the imminent disaster in a manner which would be a credit to itself and would, he trusted, be recognised with gratitude by the people of the country.

The CHAIRMAN thought nothing could be more admirable than the way in which Sir Henry Cunningham had dealt with the whole subject. There would of course be differences of opinion as to whether the precise mode of action which the Government had adopted was, or was not the best, and as to whether in particular directions, what he might call the aspirations of the Famine Commission, had been acted up to; whether the system of

agriculture has been improved, or whether greater importance might have been attached to it, or whether as regards some of the elements of land tenure it was not possible that improvements might be carried out. The fact was that in every direction improvement was possible. Although he himself had had a very considerable share in the extension both of railways and of irrigation works, he was very far from considering that they ought to rely exclusively upon railways, or upon irrigation works, or exclusively upon anything. India from the character of its climate, was certainly exposed to the recurrence of these tremendous calamities. The question for the Government was what was the best way of dealing with this condition of things when it actually arose. For his own part he saw only one remedy, and that was the gradual improvement of the condition of the people of India. India was not the only country in the world that had suffered from famines. England had so suffered and so had France and Russia. His conviction was that satisfactory improvement was taking place. As regards the question of the supply of food to India, it was a curious fact that at that moment, the famine price of grain in Upper India was very much what it was in London. The actual food supply of England in relation to its population was infinitely more precarious than the supply of India, yet nobody thought that England was going to starve, by reason of the high cost of food in England. And why? Because there was permanent occupation for the mass of the people. Unfortunately in India the people being mainly devoted to agriculture, when there was a disastrous season their occupation was at an end. Probably one half of the people occupied in agriculture might be occupied in other industries and by reason of these industries, they would be able to provide themselves with the means of subsistence, which was now impossible. That condition of things could only be arrived at by slow degrees, but he was convinced the British Government in India was putting in the seeds which would bring that about. He would ask them to return thanks to Sir Henry Cunningham for his excellent address.

The resolution was carried by acclamation, and Sir Henry Cunningham having acknowledged the compliment, Sir Lepel Griffin proposed, and Sir J. Danvers seconded a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried, and the proceedings then terminated.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS.

## THE DRUSE RISING IN THE HAURAN.

BY ABDULLAH SHÁMI.

## I. HOW THE REPORTS OF THE PRESENT COMBATS ARE OBTAINED.

Nothing can be known from the Arabic papers about the Druse conflicts with the governmental army. Those produced in Syria are not allowed to publish anything about them, and those conducted in Egypt—with the exception of the ignored Al-Fulak and a few others of that sort—are all prohibited. And owing to the continuous inroads of the Arabs and the revolting Druses upon Hauran, a very few only who dare, go and come from that district. The only way through which reports are obtained, are the private letters that are sent by some people in the Hauran to their friends in ——. But even these letters, owing to the danger that threatens both the senders and the carriers, if they are discovered by the government, become very scarce, and the recipients of them, out of fear, keep them concealed and only tell their contents to intimate friends.

To make myself accurately acquainted with the causes and history of the combats that have lately taken place, I cultivated the friendship of a Druse sheikh who corresponds with some elders of the revolting Druses. Now in reliance upon the letters which this friendly sheikh showed me, and which were confirmed by two other letters from a Christian correspondent, that I have seen with two other friends of mine, I venture to send you the following accounts which I am sure are absolutely true.

## II. ABDULLA PASHA AND THE WARNING HE SENT TO THE DRUSES.

As one of the Turkish generals who understand very little or nothing of the geography of the country, Abdulla Pasha had not, before he reached the Hauran, known that the Druse territory was so defensive through the almost inaccessible mountains that it contains, and never thought that a few thousand Druses could be so brave and skilful in warfare. He left Constantinople quite sanguine that he would in less than three months beat down the Druses, never let them again lift their heads and take all self-respect from them. When he arrived at Beirut he explained this intention to some people and uttered caustic remarks both about Mamdooh and Tahir Pasha, who had failed till then to subdue them, considering these Pashas to be either ignorant of warfare or unfaithful to the Sultan. But when he reached Damascus he learned something regarding the rebels' country, their bravery and stratagems, and when he got to Hauran and saw the naturally defensive mountains of their land, he thought to play a trick upon them and arrest all their sheikhs without war. He accordingly sent messages to the Druses demanding the appearance of *all* their sheikhs to consult on the terms of their submission to the government, meanwhile threatening them with destruction if they failed to appear within three days.

On the third day of the deliverance of the message, ten shiekhs came to him, and saluting him after the Turkish etiquette, they asked his Excellency



to condescend and tell them on what conditions he wished them to surrender. Frowning and contorting his face, the Pasha asked them in a harsh voice why the other sheikhs had not appeared. "We came on behalf of all your servants, the Druses, who are most obedient to our lord the Sultan and to your Excellency," replied the sheikhs. "Pray tell us on what conditions you wish us to surrender."

"You dastards, caitiffs, and hounds," cried His Excellency furiously because he supposed that by frowning, twisting his face and shrieking wildly he would inspire them with fear. "I gave orders that *all* your sheikhs should appear before me, and not a despicable and villainous ten like yourselves. You rascals . . . get ye back to your people and tell them if to-morrow the sun has set and their blackguard chiefs have not appeared before me—not less than 400 of them—I shall hunt them like wild beasts and bid the soldiers to plunder their houses and ravish their females. I shall do unto you all the atrocities which I have done to the infidels (Christians) of Crete, if you have ever heard of them."

The sheikhs opened their mouths to speak but His Excellency interrupted them as he said, "Be off, be off, you rascals. A minute more and your heads will all be chopped off."

The ten sheikhs went out from his presence, boiling with anger for the abuse he had showered upon them, and when they got to their people, they told them of all the obscene words which the Pasha had ejected out of his immoral mouth, and said in conclusion: "The wily Pasha wishes all our sheikhs to appear before him so that he may arrest them and send them handcuffed to Damascus. Fool that he is! He imagines us to be such dupes as to be taken in by this trick. He thinks that we are ignorant of the machinations of Turks. But he will soon find out that we are wiser than he imagines us to be. Now, brethren, prepare yourselves for the fight. We shall show that knavish Pasha that we are not cowards and caitiffs as he has called us, but rather brave and undaunted,—men who defy danger, even death, rather than lose their self-respect. We are lions and not dogs as he said, and he cannot execute us with the atrocities he committed on the Christians of Crete, where he was eventually defeated and which he was compelled to leave."

### III. THE FIRST COMBAT.

Seeing that his plot had not succeeded, Abdulla Pasha, on the third day, gave orders to the officers to march towards the rebels in separate bodies of three regiments each, and surround them on every side. The Druse scouts watched the soldiers as they marched and saw the spots where they encamped for the night. They went to their sheikhs and told them that there were, to the western side of the mountain, six regiments encamping in two parties, with a space, between the one and the other, of five miles. The latter consulted among themselves and ultimately they sent one hundred men with Martini Henry rifles and bade the scouts to lead them to a spot in the middle, which, when they reached, they stood in two rows, one towards the south and the other towards the north. Then, discharging their rifles they fled back to the mountain. The southern body of these regiments imagining that the enemy had attacked them from the north

turned in that direction and discharged their guns and cannons, whilst the northern body of three regiments turned to the south and sent out a most terrific fire. The night being dark, the two bodies continued fighting one against the other till daybreak, when they perceived the trick, and found over three thousand men of their own lying lifeless in the fields.

#### IV..THE SECOND COMBAT.

It was in the first week of October when two regiments being encamped to the north of the mountain, were suddenly attacked by fifty horsemen of the rebels who on discharging their guns galloped back to a certain village called Mukra. The regiments followed them triumphantly, and when they got to the village which was deserted by the inhabitants, they found some dozens of cooking-pans placed on the hearths being full of meat and rice. Pressed with hunger—as the Turkish army always is—the soldiers seated and helped themselves to the warm and delicious food, but before they were satisfied eight hundred fell motionless, for the food was poisoned. The following are the contents of the letters I saw about this conflict :

“A——, Oct. 12th, '96.

“Last week sheikh K—— A—— formed a fine plot by which an entire regiment was destroyed. Two regiments were encamping near a certain village named Mukra, situated at the slope of the mountain. Evacuating the village of inhabitants, and cattle, the sheikh ordered some men to kill some sheep and prepare a dinner for the starving soldiers and put poison therein. Then turning to some horsemen—about fifty—he said, ‘Ride you southwards and attack those two regiments, and when you have discharged your guns, gallop back through Mukra. The soldiers are sure to follow you there and to help themselves to the poisoned dinner.’ The men carried out the order, and when the excited and hungry soldiers reached the village and saw the cooking-pans full of meat and rice, they began to feast like wolves. An entire regiment was killed, and the other regiment was attacked by five hundred Druses who soon put them to flight and killed more than half, whilst they only sustained a loss of 20 men. In this conflict we won 1600 rifles and a good quantity of cartridges. These are the reports of the second combat we have had with the Turkish soldiers under the commandment of Abdulla Pasha.”

“We hear now that he has stirred up the Circassians and Arabs against us, but Z—— A——, on account of the bad reward he received from Tahir Pashi on helping him against us, is still rancorous against the Turks. He sent word to the present General that he will no more render help to such a treacherous government as Turkey. His son who from the beginning had censured his actions, and was exceedingly angry with the government on account of their perfidious treatment of his father, came to us, and apologising for his father's folly, swore to abide a true friend to us till death, and when he returned to his tribe he sent us, in addition to what he had brought with him on his coming, some camels loaded with corn and dates, and some oxen and sheep. Nevertheless we learned that the Circassians and some insignificant tribes of Arabs are preparing to march against us.”

# V. THE THIRD CONFLICT.

When Abdulla Pasha heard of this trick, and perceived that the mountain in which the Druses had fortified themselves was difficult to ascend, he was confounded and the former hopes which he had so long cherished all vanished. He gathered the retiring soldiers in one spot and began to revolve one scheme after another, and eventually he resolved to ask the help of the neighbouring Circassians and Arabs. Accordingly he sent messages to them in which he gave them permission to plunder and kidnap the Druses. The messages were accepted by the former and by some insignificant tribes and they came like swarms and joined the soldiers. On the 22nd October, the troops, preceded by the Circassians and Arabs, marched up to the rebels, and a horrible contest took place. The Circassians having been in the front sustained a heavy loss and drew back, but when the Arabs and soldiers—25 regiments—approached, the Druses who were less than four thousand and fought desperately for life, had soon to retire. Four hundred of them were killed, and two hundred were captured owing to the wounds they had received, and five villages of theirs were despoiled and set on fire, whilst the loss of the Circassians was over one thousand men and of the Arabs and soldiers over three thousand.

# VI. WHERE THE REVOLTING DRUSES ARE NOW.

The Druses who escaped that horrible combat retired to their defensive mountain Al-Saja (the refuge), to which they had taken their wives and children some time ago. Thence they make raids upon the neighbouring Peasants, Fallaheen and Arabs and annex all that they can find. Thus the poor Fallaheen of the Hauran have become a spoil or prey to the rebels, to the Circassians, to the Arabs and to the hungry soldiers as well. All the Hauran district is now in a state of anarchy and the weak is pillaged by the strong. In this defensive mountain, the Druses can hold out against the government, perhaps even for a good many years, because as they are now holding the defiles the army cannot come up to them. And though the mountain approaches are rocky, the summit thereof is level and very fertile, whilst its slopes contain some fountains of which the water is exceedingly wholesome, as also a good many large caves for them to live in during the winter. The Arab As-Safu, their ally, live in the southern part of this defensive mountain, and are ready to fight on the side of the Druses to their last breath against the soldiers, if the latter ever dare to march towards them. The Druses have no other place to resort to, and will never submit to the government unless they are given the reforms they demand.

# THE ALLEGED CASSINI RUSSO-CHINESE CONVENTION.

*Se non è vero, è ben trovato.*

The object of this alleged clever fabrication has been achieved in preparing the British public for concessions, which, in the natural order of things, will be, one by one and so gradually accepted by Russia, that a sense of relief will, each time, possess the Jingoës at no more, and all not at once, being taken by her. Such a *ballon d'essai* is often sent out by that power and, if done in this instance, has, so far, proved a complete

success, for the public mind is now prepared for the worst and that worst, even as a conjecture, does not move its equanimity. I will now take the alleged Treaty *au grand sérieux* with a view of giving such local information as may become of importance, should any of its supposed stipulations develop into an accomplished fact.

It may, in the first instance, not be generally known that splendid Russian maps of Asia can be procured in St. Petersburg for a shilling each: the whole twenty of them are called *Karta Iuzhnoi Pogranychnoi Polosi Aziatskoi Rossii*, and every single speck of ground or water in Primorsk and Tsitsihar, and along the proposed railway lines, is there clearly marked out. The concession alleged to be granted by China to Russia in the north is very much like that granted on a smaller scale to France in the south, except that, Russia having from the first maintained friendly relations with the Manchu empire, and having behaved very honourably in the Ili business, China appears to have more confidence in Russian honour than in that of France. There is nothing whatever objectionable in that part of the new treaty which refers to railways. Hunchun is the point on the Tumen-ula where Russian, Chinese, and Korean territories almost meet. The railway from Vladivostock will probably branch off at Razdolnaya, at the north end of the Vladivostock bay, for Hunchun. Williams' map of China is useless, if not misleading for this region. Ninguta is almost exactly as far south as Vladivostock, and the Russian railway will probably avoid the valley of the small branch of the Tumen running down from Omoso, and will trend a little north and take in the important town of Ninguta on the way to Kirin. "Some city in Siberia" evidently means Blagovestchensk; and Aigun is what Williams calls Sagalien (Igoon), a few miles further down the Amur: the line will then follow the existing high road, due south, to Merguen, strike the River Nun, and follow the Nun valley to Tsitsihar, continuing along the Nun and the Sungari to Bodune (Petuna), and thence, up the Si-hwa branch of the Sungari, to Kirin. It is evident that all the world will be the better for the opening up of the Tsitsihar and Kirin provinces, and all the world ought to congratulate and facilitate this Russian enterprise.

The second article provides for the purchase of the railway by China at the end of thirty years. If China cannot, it is her own look out. From the precedent of Ili there is every reason to believe that Russia will behave honourably. Russia, like all other countries, has from time to time taken advantage of diplomatic blunders to move forward a pawn, but where is the instance of downright dishonesty?

As to the conditional proviso in the third article about the continuing, under Russian engineers, of the existing Chinese line to Shan-hai Kwan from that point to Mukden and Kirin, it remains for China to decide whether she will do it herself or allow Russia to do it. No one can complain.

The fourth article provides that the Chinese railway to be built by the Chinese, from Shan-hai Kwan round the Gulf of Liao-Tung to Port Arhur shall follow Russian railway regulations. In view of the wretched Chinese system of franking official personages, jobbing with free tickets,



stopping trains to oblige friends, and general incompetence, there is nothing but wisdom in this stipulation, at least so far as it concerns the interests of the railway. Of course it will give the Russians a commanding influence; but, as the only other alternative in those northern parts, after excluding native corruption, is Japanese influence, it is just as well that Russia should have it in preference to Japan, which, so far, has not succeeded in doing much for Formosa and has mismanaged Corea.

The fifth clause, providing for Russian guards at the railway stations, may look uncanny; but, as the treaty says, the country is barren and sparsely inhabited. We all know it to swarm with "horse-bandits." We have heard of Frenchmen picked off by dozens or seized for ransom on the Langson railway; we all know that Chinese troops are of no use whatever unless led by Europeans; and it is not to be expected that the Russians will sacrifice their engineers or their Cossacks to Chinese "*laissez-aller*."

The proviso in the 6th clause that exports and imports by rail shall follow the Russian Treaty of 4th March (20 February, O.S.), 1862, introduces no new preferential treatment for Russia. It will be necessary, however, to keep a sharp look out, in case any attempt should be made to discriminate against British goods in China.

As to the 7th clause, the gold mines now paying so well on the River Mo (near the Amur) were clandestinely worked by Russians until ten years ago. The viceroys of all three Manchu provinces have within the past few months reported to the Emperor that there is vast mineral wealth scattered over both Chinese and Mongol territory, and steps have already been taken in these, and in every other Chinese province, to raise money and begin work. The Chinese have by no means been sleeping. It does not appear whether the concession to Russians, to work these mines under Chinese permits, may or may not be extended to other Europeans. But there seems no reason why we may not expect the same concessions in Yün Nan, or wherever elsewhere our territory may touch upon Chinese territory. It is evident that Russians are preferable where no Europeans except Russians are to be found.

Some may look with suspicion upon the 8th clause (which, being conditional, seems unnecessary) providing that China *may*, if she *likes* to reform, engage Russians to drill the Manchurian armies exactly as the Germans now do the Nanking armies. This seems to mean, "if you decide to reform, you must do it as we wish, and up here we do not want any Germans, Britishers, or Yankees." Tsitsihar at present has 7,000 "trained" men, armed with Mauser rifles, besides 11,000 "ordinary" soldiers (i.e. riff-raff), distributed over the various Tsitsihar towns such as Albazin, Hingan, Merguen, Aigun, etc. It is evident that the Tsitsihar authorities require *some* reform, for they have just memorialised the Emperor to the effect that "gingalls are in some respects better than foreign rifles, for powder and shot can be put in according to the distance of the enemy, whereas, the range of rifles being fixed and known, the enemy can easily dodge out of the way!" Accordingly a corps of 400 gingalls and 2,000 gingall men is now being organized, one man to steady

the gingall, one to fire, and one "to guard the other two sword in hand!" Space forbids further enquiry here into the condition of the Fêngtien and Kirin armies; but one word will dispose of the question: the Fêngtien viceroy Ikotanga is at this instant struggling with civil and military corruption of every kind, and the new acting viceroy for Kirin, Yenmao, has hardly yet got his brooms ready for the Augean stable before him.

As to the need for an ice-free seaport, which forms the subject of Clause 9, public opinion in England has entirely veered round within the past year. Granted that Russia must be in a position to protect China at all times against Japanese encroachments, it is certainly reasonable that she should lease Kiao Chou for fifteen years. Kiao Chou Bay is an almost landlocked harbour in Lat. 36, Long. 120, presenting two points for fortification at the entrance, and two points or tongues for like purposes jutting out southwards and eastwards inside the enclosure. But Russia is not to enter into immediate possession (unless she be in danger of war), lest the suspicions of other powers be aroused. Here distinctly there is a moral change at least in the existing balance of naval power in the East. From Kiao Chou Russia could get at Shanghai much quicker than we could from Hong Kong, especially during the winter monsoon, when all fighting would most probably take place. It is only too obvious that we should seek "compensation" here, and it is also obvious what that compensation should be; but it is not for me to obtrude suggestions.

Port Arthur is of no use, if a hostile fleet is anchored in Ta-lien Wan, the neck of land forming a position not unlike that of Gibraltar and the Spanish lines, except that Port Arthur, unlike Gibraltar, is more especially vulnerable from the rear. The 10th clause provides that China shall fortify these places with all haste, and it looks as though Russia was intentionally leaving this plum for French engineers. China is not to cede either place to any foreign power, and Russia is to have liberty to concentrate there in case she should be at war. This is a big question. To keep Japan effectively off, Russia must do as stipulated, and Japan having once for all lost her chance of reforming China and Corea, it is perhaps in Russia's opinion just as well that she should be excluded from participation in the confidential counsels of Christian nations. We have had a good deal of trouble in Europe with the non-Christian rule of Turkey during the past 500 years, and, though the fullest religious liberty should of course be given—as indeed it already is so given to Mussulmans and to all others by Russia, France, and England,—Christian powers alone are, it may be assumed from Russia's point of view, morally competent to hold the balance. The 11th clause takes from Russia the power to interfere with Ta-lien Wan and Port Arthur in the event, for instance, of war between France and England. Russia, in short, has solely consulted her own interests, and this in a most business-like way.

It is evident that no permanent secrecy is intended, for Clause 12th stipulates that the provincial authorities shall be instructed regarding the Kiao Chou and Port Arthur arrangements so soon as the two Emperors shall have signed the document. The French text is to prevail over the Russian or the Chinese,—a sensible arrangement, for Chinese can be

tortured to mean anything unless very skilfully worded, whilst Russian is such a "mouthful" of a language that Russians themselves always telegraph (when they can) in English.

So far the British press seems to have abstained from shrieking in horror at the supposed dark deed perpetrated by the able Count Cassini in conjunction with the Tsung-li Yamên (who know fairly well on which side their bread is buttered). From our humble point of view, the whole arrangement is, (subject to little readjustments in naval matters) excellent for all the world.

EX-OFFICIAL.

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### LORD WOLSELEY'S STATEMENTS ABOUT THE INDIAN ARMY

Touching Lord Wolseley's remarks about the Indian army, I hardly think that any critic has struck the right nail. Lord W. is *not* in a position to offer *any* opinion regarding the value of our troops in India, simply because he has lost sight of them for nearly forty years, and cannot possibly realize what has been achieved since the Mutiny, after which he left the country. The reforms and reorganization of the past 15 years have been little short of extraordinary. Of these he is ignorant. What he, however, must know, is that in his Egyptian campaign the superior organization (medical, commissariat, and transport) and mobility of Macpherson's Contingent, threw his British Force completely in the shade. This occurred in 1882. A tremendous advance has been made since. We were learning our lesson from the teaching of the Afghan War at that time. Lord Roberts perfected what Sir Donald Stewart commenced, and developed improvements in every direction, while General Chesney worked indefatigably in the way of Departmental detail and interior economy. The consequence is that our Indian Army to-day is a magnificent fighting machine capable of anything that may be required of it—as far as its strength will permit. The only school for the British soldier—man or officer—is India in so far as work on any scale is concerned. Aldershot is a mere drill-centre in comparison. Lord Wolseley and Co. may chafe at the superiority of the Indian system of Military administration, and the success of Lord Roberts and the Officials who were associated with him. This feeling seems to have influenced Lord Wolseley in his utterly erroneous and most injudicious evidence. We who *know*, can read through him, but not so the outsider who does *not* know. His answer should have been: "I am wholly ignorant of the existing Army in India personally, so cannot say anything regarding its capabilities. The little I know *by report* is most assuring and satisfactory."

ONE WHO KNOWS THE INDIAN ARMY AND OUR ONLY GENERAL.

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### DR CUST ON "THE ORIGIN OF ALPHABETS" AND ON "AIDS TO HISTORY."

Dr. Cust has favoured us with two communications on subjects that are not unfamiliar to the vast majority of our readers, some of whom, indeed, are authorities on them. At the same time, it is always well, in the

prosecution of any research, to know where one exactly stands, before going any further and we, therefore, hail with satisfaction, Dr. Cust's memoranda on the present state of our knowledge regarding the origin of the alphabet and the aid to history derived from sculptures, coins and, we would add, the unbiased records of linguistic survivals, of folklore, customs and even gestures, at the risk of being charged with publishing what is not new. Indeed, Dr. Cust deserves our gratitude for telling what is known and ought to be known to all, in the simple and graceful language of which he is such a master, even if, in doing so, he reminds us of elementary facts or truths that are apt to be forgotten in the midst of the more advanced or original inquiries, for the promotion of which the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* is mainly intended :

#### THE PHENICIAN AND INDIAN ALPHABETS.

These have three methods of conveying ideas and sounds to the more lasting custody of stone, metal, leaves of trees, or prepared material.

I. The Hieroglyphic or Ideogram System.

II. The Cuneiform or Syllabic System.

III. The Alphabet or Letter System.

The first is still represented by the Chinese form of Script. The second has entirely perished from the use of mankind. The third has attained a world-wide expansion in many and varying forms, but all derived from the same source.

It appears to be admitted, that the source of the origin of alphabets was the Hieratic Ideogram System of Egypt. Some may still doubt, or assert a claim for the Cuneiform System : nothing is absolutely certain : the admission is provisionally postulated.

The question is by what route did the invention find its way from North Africa into Asia and Europe ?

Here a difference of opinion has arisen. The hitherto universally-accepted opinion was, that Phenician Merchants elaborated it from inspection of Manuscripts in Egypt, and the alphabet was called the Phenician, being handed on thence to Europe on the West, and Asia on the East. The discovery of certain inscriptions in Arabia by Dr. Glaser of a higher alleged antiquity than any Phenician Inscription as yet discovered has brought a new element into the subject, but we have yet to wait for a decision if not *final*, at least *provisional*.

The next question is the date of the origin of the alphabet : here unfortunately a theological bias has been introduced into a scientific subject : the Moabite Stone of the ninth century B.C. is the oldest extant Phenician Inscription, and it cannot be asserted with any sufficient proof, that any document written by the Hebrews is of an older date than that of Hosea and Micah 800 B.C. : this has caused much searching of heart in certain circles, to soothe which a date of three centuries older has been asserted for the above-mentioned Arabian Inscription to satisfy men's minds that Moses committed his Laws to alphabetic writing, and did not entrust them orally to the Priests, or write them in Egyptian Hieroglyphics. In a few years we shall have more certain information on this subject.



In India the subject is still more complicated. There is a general concurrence of opinion, that the great alphabet of India, the mother of infinite Indian varieties owes its existence to the great alphabet of Western Asia above described. It used to be asserted by a group of Scholars, that it was indigenous: that view is no longer entertained, and may be placed aside.

By what route did it find its way from West Asia to India? Here there is a considerable conflict of opinion. Did it come by sea from Arabia? There was commercial intercourse at an early date with Ceylon and South India both by way of the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf. Did it find its way by land through Persia, and Afghanistan into North India? There was overland communication betwixt the valley of the Indus as far back as the time of the Persian Monarchy, if not earlier. The earliest Inscriptions in India are those of King Asoka of the fourth century B.C., and it so happens, that there are two alphabets used in different parts of India for these Inscriptions, indicating a possibility of a twofold importation from the West. This question is still undecided.

The next question is the date of the importation from the West by whatever route into India. Here the noise of the clash of swords, and the shrill cries of the combatants, are distinctly heard. The difference of date is not great, but the difference of opinion is acute. No scholar pretends that India had an alphabet before the ninth century B.C., or the period of the Moabite Stone, and no scholar denied, that in the time of Alexander the Great, and King Asoka, they had an alphabet in the fourth century B.C.: so five hundred years represent the battle-field, and the arena is clear from all fond prejudices, or theological partialities: so the truth and nothing else is sought for by all parties. A German Scholar is the chief advocate for the earlier, and a French Scholar for the later. The English Scholars look on.

The subject is one of great interest: for to this great invention of alphabetical symbols modern Europe is indebted for all its knowledge, and the magnificent Literature of the Indians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans.

R. N. CUST.

#### AIDS TO HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

However valuable the power of "conveying words to writing" may be, and whatever may be the thanks, that we owe to the Father of written History, Herodotus, and his successors, it is not everything: there are other sources of real History, which are now plentifully developed, and by which written History, when it exists, can be corrected, or, when it does not exist as in India, and Etruria, and all over the Barbarian World, it can be created. The primary meaning of the word *Λόγος* of Plato, Philo, and John the Apostle, is "Reason," as any Greek Dictionary will tell us; the secondary is the vehicle of communicating Reason—a "Word." It is to be feared that far the greater number of words uttered are mere sounds of an instrument for emitting sounds, without any idea conveyed, and a considerable number are issued to conceal the thought entertained, like the feints of a fencing master. Professor Petrie in the British Associa-

tion of 1896 descants on the interesting subject of "*Man before Writing.*" It is clear that in the eight or ten thousand years, during which man has existed, the power of writing, except in Mesopotamia and Egypt, did not exist at all till about 800 B.C., and was very sparsely used until the great outburst of Education in this century: we may therefore be grateful for the survival of other means of historical knowledge, which have been spared to us: what are they?

I. Geographical and Astronomical Knowledge, which contrasts dates and localities.

II. Monumental Inscriptions, or Sculptured Tablets.

III. Works of Art, such as Pottery, Sculpture, Carving, Architecture, etc.

IV. Numismatics.

V. That strong common sense, the result of Experience and Education, which prevents the assertion of anything supernatural in ordinary life.

I. Now a knowledge of the Geography of the *whole world*, enables us to contrast the statements of early narratives, based on lying legend, or the oral accounts of a mendacious traveller: we find the latest trace of this in the Arabian Nights. Astronomy enables us to correct dates: an eclipse took place during a battle, a planetary conjunction is reported at a certain time, such as the death of Rameses II., and a date is fixed, which no chronicler can impugn. I remember once visiting the Oasis of Okba, South of Biscra in Algeria, N. Africa, and my Arab guide pointing with his arm to the South, and indicating the supposed position of Timbaktu, the nearest cultivated country across the Sahara, and I thought of Herodotus in Egypt, inquiring whence the Nile came, and the uplifted arm of the Egyptian Priest pointing to the South in the direction from which the waters of the great Rivers flowed, the source of which was not discovered for more than 2,000 years afterwards.

II. The Monumental Inscriptions and Sculptured Tablets speak to us from the rocks, and the walls of Temples, or isolated stones, like Voices of the Past: there can be no fraud of intermediate Historians here: the very persons, who wrote these proud Inscriptions, and placed *in situ* these pretentious Monuments, must have seen them, and they have been dead thousands of years ago: yet patient study unfolds the mystery, and translates the legend: the eyes of Herodotus may perhaps have fallen on the monument, but the meaning was not revealed to him, as it is to us: they are documents of unquestionable genuineness and authenticity, like the Records of European Muniment Rooms. And we must not be surprised or pained, if cherished misconceptions are swept away, and over-esteemed reputations lowered to their proper level.

III. The Works of Art, which haughty Time has spared though in a mutilated state tell the same story. Pottery, which fills such an unimportant part in the present epoch, is an important factor in ancient excavations; when one city has been built over another as the Tel or Mound of Lachish in Palestine, fragments of broken Pottery help the excavator to assign dates. The Science of Painted Vases is a special Science of itself: the Art of the painter, the skill of the fabricator, the Inscriptions, and the subject of the painting are all helps to History and

Chronology. We pass on to Sculpture. Greece is now giving up forgotten treasures at Athens, Mykenæ, Olympia, Delphi, and numerous other places : the legends of the Past are undergoing correction. Excavations reveal architecture. Two thousand years have passed since in Africa, Asia, and Europe all these things were buried out of sight. The bronze statues were melted, the marble statues mutilated : beautiful temples and tombs destroyed : how all this happened History is silent : we read in modern times of a statue of Queen Victoria suffering from a ceaseless dripping of water from a hole in the roof of the Royal Exchange : all these causes of destruction were multiplied : and earthquakes, strokes of lightning, storms, and the brutality of barbarous invaders completed the catastrophe : however, the rediscovery corrects or confirms History.

IV. Numismatics have played their part in every country, where the Art of coining had come into existence ; the features of Alexander the Great, and his dates and the coins with Greek Inscriptions which have been found in India confirm the truth, which the Roman doubted :

“ et quicquid Grecia mendax

Audet in Historia.”

V. The last feature is obvious. We live no longer in a credulous age : the public will not swallow in the 19th century A.D. wonderful stories, which they were able in their dense ignorance to digest in the 19th century B.C. In this manner by the aid of the Public Press, the unsparing task of our Periodical literature, and the advanced intelligence of the general Public, TRUTH IN HISTORY is being obtained both of the Present and the Past.

The last *Indian Magazine*, like several of its predecessors, is a thesaurus of information regarding India imparted in a very graceful manner. Though it may not always be our good fortune to endorse the anglicizing tendencies of this charming publication, as being in some respects premature for an Oriental country and people, we are ready to bear our tribute to the sincerity of its convictions, whilst we acknowledge the services which it renders in the promotion of a more accurate knowledge of things Indian and to the preservation of Indian Art-Industries. Without, however, wishing to draw invidious comparisons where so much is entitled to praise, we must say that an abler paper has rarely appeared than that of Sir R. H. Wilson in refutation of the optimism of Mr. Arnold's “ Preaching of Islam,” also reviewed elsewhere in this Review. Sir W. Markby shows that Indian candidates for the Civil Service can be successfully prepared for it in India. He says : “ The results of this year's competition are very satisfactory for Indian students. It is clear that they have completely mastered the difficulty of acquiring knowledge and expressing themselves in a foreign language, and that the foundations of a good education can be laid in India. This being the case, I see no reason why they should not, a few years hence, fully equip themselves for the Civil Service competition *without the necessity of passing a single day in Europe*, except what is just necessary in order to appear at the examination.”

Never was an honour more deservedly bestowed than that of a Mus. Doc. on Raja Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore of Calcutta by the University of

Oxford. It is not too much to say that to his genius, profound knowledge of the subject, and his enthusiasm and liberality in promoting its study, Indian, and above all, Sanscrit music, owes its preservation and the recognition that its exquisite beauties now receive in the most competent quarters. The Raja is already overwhelmed with honours from Governments and learned bodies all over the world, but he will value none more than the one that has been so spontaneously as well as so judiciously bestowed on him by the Oxford University.

We deeply regret the death of our valued contributor, the *facile princeps* of Bengali Barristers, Mr. Manomohan Ghose, whose advocacy of the separation of the Judicial from Executive functions in India elicited a reply from Sir Charles Elliott in our last issue, which Mr. Ghose intended to answer categorically when death snatched him away at an age when he was still able to render many more services to the cause of justice and to his country. Dr. C. D. Field, of the Calcutta High Court, has most ably taken up the question on his side in this issue, though we confess that our own sympathies are rather with executive officers discharging certain judicial functions in Oriental countries and among the people with which they are intimately acquainted, than that justice should become a game of skill between contending lawyers. For instance, what can be more disastrous to the prestige of "fairplay" of our laws than the acquittal of the soldier by the Calcutta High Court on some technical ground whom the Magistrate on the spot had found guilty of a most aggravated assault on a Rajput woman? Be that as it may, our substitution of pleaders for the patriarchal Government so congenial to the Oriental mind and our destruction of the indigenous professions of Maulvis and Pundits, learned in their own laws, have not been an unmixed blessing. Lord Stanley's suggestive paper in this issue on "The Privy Council as Judges of Hindu and Mussulman Law" also shows that they ought to know Sanscrit and Arabic in order to do real justice. Dr. Field wisely confines himself to Lower Bengal, a province saturated with English "notions," in advocating the separation of the Executive from Judicial powers, but he may be the first to agree that the application of this principle, say, to the Panjab Frontier, might be attended with real injustice to its peoples. The whole question requires a far more thorough treatment, from various local or provincial standpoints, than it has yet received. We believe that by far the bulk of responsible officers are in favour of Sir C. Elliott's views, but they seem to be afraid to speak out lest they should be thought adverse to what is often misnamed "progress." The admissions also made by two Secretaries of State in Parliament have tended seriously to compromise the independent utterances of experienced officials on a subject where there is surely much to be said on both sides of the discussion, whilst there can be no doubt that a good deal of the popularity of the Calcutta High Court among Bengalis is due to its *historical* opposition to Government—an admirable safeguard no doubt, but one that may have serious drawbacks in "up-country" India.



BOMBAY AND MADRAS LAND SETTLEMENTS COMPARED.

(*Concluded from our last issue.*)

The real explanation of the considerable sales of land for arrears in the Madras Presidency during the last 15 years is, first, the famine, and then the stricter system of realizing the revenue, for which Sir H. Stokes is entitled to much credit. The result of this greater insistence on punctuality is shown in the fact noticed by the Board that at the time of writing (1894), 11 Districts show a clean balance sheet, so that in them, at any rate, there could be no sale for arrears. Speaking generally the great bulk of the land actually sold is land which, for some reason or other, it does not yet pay to bring permanently under cultivation. Mr. Rogers indeed speaks of Madras as "densely populated with 249 to the square mile," as if every square mile were provided with its 249 inhabitants, whereas some square miles (not towns) contain 1,200 each, and one whole District (Tanjore) nearly 600. Any coercive process in revenue administration is regrettable, but as long as we have perfect free trade in land, and every pauper is allowed to take it up in minute portions it can never be entirely avoided. The Board of Revenue doubt if there is even now any more rigour in Madras than in Bombay; though, for some reason, perhaps connected with the character of the people, or perhaps some superiority in the statistics, it would seem that holdings in Bombay are much larger on the average than in Madras.

Another instance of Mr. Roger's misleading statements is on p. 278 of the Journal of the East India Association; he says that "whereas in Madras out of a revenue of Rs. 37,532,200 a remission of Rs. 1,560,182, or 4·15 per cent. had to be given, in Bombay, out of Rs. 24,864,658, only Rs. 41,382, or 0·16, were allowed." Anyone reading such a statement would naturally assume that the known circumstances of the two cases were precisely similar; whereas it appears that in Madras we have 4,700,000 acres under irrigation (*excluding* the area under private canals and wells); whilst in Bombay there are only 310,000 acres similarly irrigable, and, of course, it is almost entirely on irrigated land that remission is ever granted. The comparison should therefore be between 4,700,000 acres with a remission of Rs. 1,560,182, and 310,000 acres with a remission of Rs. 41,382—32 per cent. in the one case (in what, as Mr. Adam pointed out, was practically a famine year), against nearly 13 per cent. in the other; and, of course, if the assessment is so extremely low as it often appears to be in Bombay, there will be the less need of any remission.

Talking of irrigation it may be worth while to notice how it pays in the two Presidencies. In Madras the percentage of return to outlay was 6·94 in the case of major works and 2·85, (the highest in India,) on all works. In Bombay the corresponding percentages are 1·19 and 0·5. It may be added here that in Madras we had (in '91-92) 2,792,589 acres under State Canals, in Bombay only 96,025—about one-thirtieth. Now there may be many good reasons for these differences, but the figures, at any rate, do not show that Madras is the *less* prosperous of the two. Of

course, it must be admitted that Madras is geographically much more suited to great irrigation works than Bombay, but surely a system that produces such splendid results cannot be so bad as Mr. Rogers supposes. As, however, he recommends the immediate substitution of the Bombay system for ours, it is not to be wondered at that the Madras Board of Revenue should collect the opinions of other authorities both in Bombay and elsewhere. Mr. Keyser, a late collector of Poona, says: "Our whole survey system is built on elaborate calculations, whose real basis is pure assumption or guess work"; Mr. Ozanne that "the assessment is not fixed with reference either to the gross produce or the economic rent," and that "it had been found necessary to institute 'a system of crop experiments' as some check on it." The Commission of '91-92 added that "there is in the Deccan no properly maintained record of proprietary rights." Lastly it is utterly condemned both by officials (native) and cultivators in Mysore, where it has been tried for a good many years, though, to be quite candid, it must be admitted that Mysore has recovered from the famine much more rapidly and completely than Madras, whether in consequence or in spite of the new settlement I have no means of judging.

The more stringent provisions of the Law for the realization of the Revenue in Bombay may also partly account for the smaller proportion of arrears, and consequently fewer sales of land. Whether the provisions of the Bombay Law are more reasonable than those of Madras may be a question: they certainly do not err on the side of mercy. But indeed with an average assessment of 12s. 5p. on the unirrigated against 11. 1s. 10p. in Madras, and only 11. 9s. 4p. on the irrigated land against 51. 0s. 1p., it would be strange if there was much need of coercive process. It is no wonder irrigation does not pay! If such rates were adopted in Madras the loss would not be recouped if even all the cultivable waste in the Presidency were at once taken up. Just as Bombay has practically come to the end of its resources, so would it be in Madras. It would almost seem as if Bombay were very much under-assessed on the whole, and no more paying its fair share than does Bengal.

Mr. Rogers makes another surprising statement at the end of his article in *The Asiatic Quarterly*, where he says that there were  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million acres of assessed land lying unoccupied in '93-94, and that if his recommendations had been adopted 3 years ago "the revenue might have been benefited to the extent of 10 to 12 millions of rupees at the low rate of R. 1 an acre." Now his recommendation was that the revenue on lands already in occupation should be largely reduced and brought down to the Bombay level to begin with, in which case there would have been a reduction which would certainly not have been recouped by any possible cultivation of new land, and it is quite certain that these  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million acres are of the very poorest description of dry land probably assessed for the most part even in Madras at 4 as. an acre and dear at that. Surely it is somewhat inconsistent to recommend wholesale reductions where they are not at all wanted, and then propose to assess the very worst land in the Presidency at 11. an acre when the average assessment on all the "dry" land in Bombay is only 12 as. even after the considerable enhancements made on revision.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

## CONSTANTINOPLE.

We are safer here than you in London. I attend to my business and my wife to social duties and the household, as if nothing had happened. I actually stood in front of the Ottoman Bank on the first day of the massacre and no one interfered with me in the least. It is to "English" Armenians on whose conscience the murder of thousands of innocent persons should be laid. They have ruined the commerce of the place for many years to come. My Armenian porter may some day, when things are settled, thank me for the protection which I have afforded him, but I have no sympathy with that race which has singled itself out for the fate that has fallen on it. Nobody touches a non-Armenian, and Europeans can visit Constantinople and its sights in perfect safety. A GERMAN.

## COLONEL H. B. HANNA'S "BACKWARDS AND FORWARDS."

We have much pleasure in drawing the special attention of our readers to the third volume, just published, of "Indian Problems," which is noticed elsewhere in this issue. We sincerely hope that Colonel Hanna's views will command the success that they so emphatically deserve. No man has a more thorough acquaintance of Frontier transport organization than the author, who also favours us with an article in this number on "The truth about the Indian Army," in which he has served with so much distinction. His counsels to rescind our "forward policy," and to fall back on the line of defence of the Indus, even at the present eleventh hour, are those of an expert intimately acquainted with the question, and we predict their eventual acceptance by all those in this country and India who will take the trouble to study it dispassionately. The time must come when those who have tried to break down the bulwarks of our Empire and who have scattered its forces in widely apart and untenable positions will be called to account for their self-seeking and unpatriotic conduct by a public opinion at last enlightened by a writer like Colonel Hanna, who brings to bear on "Indian problems" that wealth of knowledge which alone can tend to their satisfactory solution.

NOTE ON OPIUM.—In Kaempfer's *Amœnitates Exoticæ*, p. 642, we read the Indians and Persians sow the poppy in their gardens and fields that they may extract the milky juice from the bruised heads, this juice is called in Europe opium and Afuyung and Ofiyung in Asia and Egypt. In Persia it is called Theriaki, *i.e.* Theriaca, a medicine spoken of by Galen as conferring serenity, cheerfulness, and tranquillity. When ground it is called Theriaak Malideh or Theriaak Afium to distinguish it from the Theriaak Faruk (happy elixir) of Andromachus.

In the Old Tang History one of the Chinese imperial dynastic histories the following passage occurs in the year A.D. 667. The Greek monarch sent an envoy to the Chinese monarch with a present of Tiyeke. A little later on A.D. 719 the Greek monarch sent to China a Christian priest.

The first of these passages is the first mention of opium in any Chinese book. The second passage refers to the arrival of Nestorian missionaries in China. The Greek *θηριακός* means an antidote to the poison of any venomous reptile or other animal.

J. EDKINS.

## THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

We sincerely sympathize with Sir W. Wedderburn's natural disappointment at the want of substantial support by the noisy but needy Indian agitators of the Babu persuasion. *The gentleman of his party, the disinterestedness, genuine love for India, readiness to sacrifice himself to his ideas, Sir W. Wedderburn deserved to be met by the natives of his school, in the same generous spirit in which he has placed his time, position, and means, at the disposal of those whom he considers to have righteous grievances. These grievances, however, are mainly of alien "English" growth. What gratitude or self-devotion can naturally be expected from natives who have abandoned their own language, religion, caste, and other ancient moorings? Unless corrected by a study of Arabic and Sanscrit for Muhammedans and Hindus respectively, the anglicized native is, as a rule, incapable of sustained thought, for his "modern" notions are second-hand, and are not vivified by the historical, and the surrounding, associations of his race and country. Indeed, there is reason to fear that even his physical vitality is doomed, for the mortality among the so-called "educated" natives is a matter of very serious concern to all friends of India, the true progress of which should be based on development from "within," if it is to strike root and to last.*

The following is the complaint of Sir William as reported in the "*Times*" of December 7 :

"The rights of the people of India, which the British Committee and its outcome, the Indian Parliamentary Committee, and last, but not least, the journal *India*, have so zealously championed, will still remain indisputable in the abstract, but the conduct of the Indians will have proved that they are unfit to realize these in the concrete, and the whole question will virtually be suspended until a new generation arises more given to act and less to talk, more impressed with the necessity of holding promises sacred, more ready to make personal sacrifices for the good of all, less absorbed in schemes of personal advancement, less torn by internecine dissensions and jealousies—in a word, a generation more high-minded and earnest, more true and trusty than the present will have proved itself to be in the light of the Committee's experiences."

## THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY.

A few words may be said touching the progress of the Trans-Siberian railway. Since the 4th of August last, Tomsk has been directly connected with St. Petersburg, and work is now being steadily pushed towards Transbaikalia and Irkutsk. Steamers and ice-crushers for Lake Baikal have been ordered in England and the trains will be taken bodily over the water, as is done at Detroit in the United States, and also at New Orleans. The original plan was to conduct the line from Nertchinsk, north of the Amur, to Khabaroffka, and the line from this last place to Vladivostock is now just opening. It has during the past two winters been demonstrated conclusively that, by means of ice-breakers, Vladivostock can be kept open throughout the winter. The word means "Rule over the East," and, as the Russian Government has just resolved upon establishing a great seminary for Asiatic languages there, it seems soon likely to justify its name. This is the meaning of the statement in the China papers that "a large number of Confucianists have been engaged to convert the Russians." The latest news is that 150 Manchu or Chinese youths are



also to be instructed in the Russian language and literature, the new railway having created many new mutual interests.

Our extremely well-informed contributor, 'Ex-Official,' seems to have hinted at the true motive of the Sun Yat Sun arrest. The *Overland China Mail* of the 22nd October contains the following account of the rising at Swatow from which it might appear that the leader who fell sick or disappeared at the critical moment was either Sun Yat Sun, or, if Hwang is a different person, then the mysterious Hwang himself, and that part of the rebels' policy was to embroil the Viceroy with foreign powers.

"The Viceroy of the Kwangtung Province has just given an excellent illustration of what the Chinese officials can do to suppress uprisings if they only care to take the trouble. Several weeks ago, a rising of Hakkas took place to the north-west of Swatow. The Taotai telegraphed to Canton for soldiers, at the same time despatching his own few hundred soldiers to the scene of the rebellion. Canton responded by sending up several hundreds of soldiers to Swatow, and the effect upon the rebels was immediate and beneficial. They are reported to be members of the Triad Society, and, having come down from their mountain fastnesses, assembled under two sub-leaders to wait the arrival of their 'head centre.' He was sick, or pretended he was, and to cap the difficulties of the rebels, who had carried out a few unimportant marauding expeditions in the meantime, the autumnal rains began to fall heavily, compelling them to seek for shelter. Hearing that the officials had acted with unusual promptitude, and that soldiers were on the way to oppose their descent upon the populous districts of the Prefecture, the courage of these Falstaffian heroes speedily evaporated, and they quietly retired to their highland homes. It was current rumour that the rebels intended to seek revenge for the punishments inflicted last year, and that they were to begin their work of depredation by attacking the stations of the Basel Mission."

The *North China Herald* of the 30th October also corroborates "Ex-Official's" conjecture:

"We believe that it is in connection with the abortive rising at Canton exactly a year ago that Sun Wen was decoyed to the Chinese Legation in London and there detained as stated in Reuter's telegram we publish in another column. His description tallies with that of the reputed leader of that *fiasco*, who went under the name of Huang—a convenient *nom de guerre* as the family is about the largest in China. He was said to have spent some years in the United States, Germany, and England, and to have the sympathy of his enlightened countrymen. It will be recollected that the 'insurrection' was brought to the notice of the officials by some hundreds of coolies being despatched to Canton, provided with a dollar each, armed with revolvers and furnished with a red scarf 'which they were to wear so as to distinguish their comrades.' There is little wonder that the attempt came to nothing. Huang, or Sun Wen, should join forces with Tynan and his colleagues, for he seems to be equally obliging in letting the authorities know all about his schemes."

Finally, in a leading article, the *Shanghai Shên Pao* of the 2nd November last, makes the following observations:

"Sun Wên or Sun Yih-sien (Cantonese Yat-syn) is a native of Hiang-shan near Macao. He used to be a physician at Macao, but had to seek refuge in Hongkong on account of some charge against him. After some years he returned to Haingshan, his native place. Later on (as at the time stated in the *Shên Pao*), he unsuccessfully endeavoured to induce the Canton authorities to allow him to grow opium in the neighbourhood. Sun Wên then made a similar proposition to the Viceroy at Tientsin, but the thing fell through on account of the Japanese war then commencing. After this Sun Wên returned to Canton, and engaged in rebellious intrigues there. But his designs leaked out, and he effected his escape elsewhere. Though thousands of taels' reward were offered for his apprehension, the authorities never caught him."

The rest of the article goes on to justify the Chinese Minister for attempting the arrest on the ground that Sun would have got wind of any formal application that might have been made.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

## INDIAN FORESTRY.

MESSRS. BRADBURY, AGNEW AND CO., LONDON.

1. *A Manual of Forestry*, by W. SCHLICH, C.I.E., Ph.D., late Inspector-General of Forests to the Government of India. When, some years ago, the Government determined to provide for the education of the superior officers (controlling staff) of its great Indian Forest Department in England instead of at the French Forest School, it had to face many difficulties. It was out of the question to open a Forest School in India for the higher classes, though an excellent and well equipped school was established at Dehra Dûn in the N.W. Provinces which educates the executive and subordinate staff,—chiefly natives of India. There was no Forest School in England, nor any Forest literature of the kind required. In England large *natural* forests—and especially such areas as can be worked chiefly from the economic and not the picturesque or “pleasure-ground” point of view, hardly existed. Woods of limited size, worked by rule of thumb (though by experience it had come to be very efficient in its way), purely artificial plantations, and woods in which individual trees were the objects of care, constituted our chief forms of Forestry. The literature of the subject naturally corresponded to these conditions: the late James Brown’s *Forester* (for instance) contained little or nothing about “Forestry” in the wider sense; it was an admirable treatise on individual trees of various kinds, and the mode of growing and rearing them. In training officers for the management of the great natural forest areas of India, and looking forward to the probable demand for trained Forest Officers to work in similar forests in Africa, Canada, Australia and elsewhere, a forest-literature and text books of a different type, were required.

Circumstances compelled the attachment of the Forest School to the existing Engineering College at Cooper’s Hill, although the site is not well adapted to the purpose. The site too is rendered worse by the niggardly policy of the *Woods and Forests* Department in England, which ought at once to have placed large areas—Windsor Forest and other Crown Forests in the neighbourhood—under the superintendence and general scientific management of the Director of the Forest School, instead of merely making over (and with some restrictions) the existing area of a few hundred acres near “Caesar’s Camp.” But passing this by: the classes were formed under Dr. W. Schlich, C.I.E., whose ability had been well tried, and the value of whose complete scientific knowledge of Forestry had been practically demonstrated by the success—it is hardly too much to call it extraordinary—which he attained in several important charges in India,—as Conservator of Forests in Sindh, in Bengal, in the Panjâb, and finally as Inspector-General of Forests to the Government of India. Wherever Dr. Schlich went, the forest revenue soon increased, and order and method were introduced. In Bengal he raised the Forest work from virtual chaos and inefficiency to the most successful type of Forest working that was

possible under the conditions of Indian life at the time. When Dr. Schlich took charge of the Forest Classes at Cooper's Hill, he was at first compelled to rely on lectures laboriously prepared for the occasion; the students had no text-books suited for private study. He secured the assistance of Mr. W. R. Fisher (who had considerable practical experience in India, had been Director of the Indian Forest School and had received his education at Nancy); he also, for a time, acquired the help of Mr. Baden-Powell in teaching Forest Law; and thus it became possible to evolve a series of text books out of the lectures delivered. The scheme comprised a complete Manual (Vols. I.-III.) dealing with the Principles of Forestry and the growth, tending and economic management of Forests on the large scale; (IV.) the protection of forests, against accidents of climate, disease, fire, depredations of animals and insect pests, and against the offences of men; (V.) the utilization of Forests, both as to their timber and minor products, and the modes of transport and conversion of timber, etc. Lastly, as supplementary to (IV.), a volume on Forest Law was added; not technically in the series but connected with it. The IV. and V. volumes were provided by Mr. Fisher, the Forest Law by Mr. Baden-Powell. So great was the success of the Forest Management series by Dr. Schlich himself, that a second and revised edition of Vol. I., dealing with the general fundamental principles of Forestry was called for and has recently appeared.

The task of preparing this work was a difficult one. There were of course the great German and French text books, but much digestion and adaptation was wanted and that by a skilful and experienced hand before the contents of such books could be made available. It was necessary to provide for the special needs of the Indian Officer, and at the same time to suit those intending to work in the Colonies, or perhaps to take charge of the larger forest estates in the British Isles. Fortunately the fundamental principles of Forest Science are everywhere the same; they only need to be skilfully illustrated, and their adaptation to various local and climatic conditions shown; and this task Dr. Schlich has accomplished with great ability. Vols. IV. and V. are more extensively based on translations of the well known German works of Gayer (*Forstbenutzung*) and R. Hess (*Forstschutz*). The volume on Forest Law is chiefly based on the Indian Forest Codes, but with as much reference to general principles as possible.

The 1st vol. of Dr. Schlich's "Manual" deserves a fuller examination than we can give it at the moment; and we hope to return to the subject with a more specific reference to the subjects it treats of.

GEORGE ALLEN; LONDON, 1896.

2. *As Others See Us: I. The England of To-day, from the Portuguese of Oliveira Martins*, translated by C. J. WILLDEY; and *II. Across the Channel, from the French*, by GABRIEL MOUREY. The old maxim of the philosophers, "Know thyself," is nowhere more applicable than in the case of a nation which like our own by virtue of its position and characteristics differs widely from its neighbours. Nothing can, therefore, be more helpful than a study of the judgments passed by others on our national life

and character. For this purpose every work written by intelligent foreigners about England is of value, though they may not, like M. Taine, have united great insight to long experience of our idiosyncrasies. Even a hasty, shallow or exaggerated impression may sometimes deserve our attention, when it indicates a foreign prejudice that it may be well to overcome. They may give us a truer key to our actual position in the eyes of the outside world and a fuller comprehension of our international relations, than the judicious criticisms of the profoundest observer.

It is to supply the deficiency in this branch of our political education that Mr. Jacobs is bringing out the "As others see us" series of which two volumes are at present before us. "The England of To-day," by Oliviera Martins, is a book of interest and suggestiveness for the English reader, though it may be doubted whether it could really serve to give the author's fellow-countrymen in Portugal a true idea of our national characteristics. The key-note of Mr. Martin's view is a certain grotesque exaggeration. Thus "England the paradise of flesh," "Carthaginian, or Oriental London," "Money, women, horses, the ideals of the English," are phrases rather calculated to make the reader smile, as he may also do when he finds the success of the Englishman abroad attributed not so much to his energy and force of character as to his lack of ideas which renders him easily adaptable to varying circumstances. In spite of this defect our author displays a good deal of shrewd insight. He has evidently devoted considerable attention to the question of trades-unionism. His judgment on our political life is also sound. He observes how the ordinary Englishman looks upon politics as the highest form of sport, a point so well treated by both Bagehot and Seeley. He notices too the connection between religion and politics exhibited by St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey, a feature common to us with the nations of the ancient world. Above all, he is struck with the "force" of our "imperialism" character; and has no doubt that the English like the Romans are destined to rule. He scorns men who like Gladstone would wish the British Empire to confine itself to its present limits or even lighten the load of its obligations, declaring that nations under pain of death cannot abdicate, and that if he were a Briton he should applaud with both hands and feet the policy of Beaconsfield.

Gabriel Mourey in his *Across the Channel* shows a more sympathetic insight into our social life. He forms a juster conception of our ideal of home life and of our moral straight-lacedness. He appreciates the artistic beauty of London, and the peculiar softening effects of London fog. The greater part of Mr. Mourey's work is however devoted to an enthusiastic study of the Pre-Raphaelite school, with interesting and thoughtful sketches of its leading members,—those of Rossetti, William Morris and Burne-Jones are perhaps the best parts of the book. The book ends with a finely-written appreciation of Mr. Swinburne's poetry. L. S. A.

MESSRS. ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK; LONDON.

3. *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, by R. H. CHARLES, M.A.; 1896. Bible students generally and Syriac scholars in particular should be grateful to Mr. Charles for this latest addition to his literary productions. This



handy and well-printed little volume, containing the Apocalypse of Baruch translated from the Syriac, scarcely reveals at first sight to an ordinary and casual reader the amount of diligent research and patient labour which its preparation must necessarily have entailed. The subject matter itself being fascinating in the extreme, Mr. Charles has devoted to it an amount of critical study, extending over years, which has brought out some interesting conclusions. That the Syriac text is a translation from the Greek is to be concluded on several grounds. Perhaps the most important is the fact, that it is so stated in the sixth-century Peshitto MS. which was found by Ceriani in the library at Milan. This MS. is, in fact, the only one MS. which has made the translation contained in the larger portion of the volume before us (Chapter I.-LXXVII.) at all possible. Mr. Charles bases his theory of a Hebrew original—in opposition to the unanimity which has hitherto prevailed as to a Greek original—upon the following points: (1) the quotations from the Old Testament agree in all cases but one with the Masoretic text against the LXX; (2) Hebrew idioms survive in the Syriac text; (3) unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew; (4) there are many paranomasie which discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew; (5) one or two passages of the book have been preserved in Rabbinic writings. The editor has made use of all the Syriac MSS. of Chapters LXXVIII.-LXXXVI. attainable: they are 10 in number. The Introduction consisting of some 70 pages is full of interesting matter, bearing upon the literature which revolves round the name of Baruch.

MESSRS. W. BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

4. *From Batum to Baghdad*, by W. B. HARRIS, F.R.G.S. We receive with genuine satisfaction this new book from the pen of that facile writer and prince of travellers, Mr. W. B. Harris, the well-known author of "*A Journey through the Yemen*," which hazardous and adventurous exploit will still be in the memory of our readers. We can imagine few things more delightful than to sit with Mr. Harris's book in hand and a large map and to follow the gifted traveller's delightful journeyings from Tangier—for there this voyage really began—*viâ* Malaga, Marseille and Oran, to Constantinople, Trebizond, Batoum and Tiflis. From Tiflis across Transcaucasia, and so on till Baghdad is reached. Mr. Harris is invariably interesting, and of every place visited he gives us either an account of some adventure, some vivid sketch of its inhabitants, or a terse description of well-observed distinguishing features, so that a clear mental picture impresses itself upon the reader, who may almost fancy that he has been the privileged companion of Mr. Harris throughout the journey. The account of the visit to the Monastery and Cathedral of Echmiazin, dating from 302 A.D., near Erivan, and the excellent schools and colleges connected therewith, is particularly full of interesting information. Echmiazin is the stronghold of the Armenian faith and the centre of Armenian education; it fulfils these functions in no narrow spirit, and may well be pointed to as an example of the high civilization of that most unfortunate subject race and the not undistinguished rank it would hold amongst

cultured nations, if a just, mild and far-seeing Government were to assume its rule. It would be too lengthy a task to follow Mr. Harris stage by stage, and to attempt a record of the innumerable matters of interest touched upon by him; we prefer instead to refer the reader to the book itself, assuring him that he will not be disappointed, but reap profit and instruction from the entertaining perusal of the latest journey undertaken by Mr. Harris and his faithful Riff follower Muhammad.

MESSRS. CASSELL AND CO.; LONDON.

5. *The Story of my Life*, by SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART. The whole career of Sir Richard may be said to be autobiographical, but here we are given an insight into the causes of his success. They were briefly talents rather than genius, great energy and good health coupled with cheerful obedience to official superiors and readiness to use, or invite, every opportunity for promotion. Added, moreover, to an implicit belief in, and admiration for, himself and his Chiefs, Sir Richard has the artistic painter's eye to the pathos of situations, as in his visit to the mutinous Emperor of Delhi after his defeat, as also for scenery and surroundings, which throws much brightness on what would otherwise be a mere narration of official successes, often merely obtained because Sir Richard happened to be on the spot. His *naïveté* too in speaking of his social, domestic, and literary feelings is refreshing, and there is no doubt that, in men like Sir Richard, the world has better and more sympathetic rulers than in a host of *blasés* of the modern school. Whether in the Panjab a rising Secretary to Sir John Lawrence, or distributing his medal in the Central Provinces, or asking the Viceroy, then a Member of Council, whether he was more fit for a legislative or an administrative appointment—whether, as Governor of Bombay, the cynosure of all observers, or putting down famine or as Finance Minister averting a storm from the to be taxed, he is ever cheerful, self-confident, somewhat *routinier* and invariably successful. Bengalis talk of him as the best Lieutenant-Governor they ever had. His energy on the London School Board and in Parliament are a high testimony to his *morale and physique*, and we may add to the Indian climate, that has left his health practically unimpaired. Whether friends or enemies (if he could have any), admirers or detractors, Sir Richard Temple's book will be read by hosts of those with whom he has been thrown in contact, and by all those who wish to learn the secret of official success in India.

#### AN OLD BUDDHIST RECORD.

THE CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD.

6. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (A.D. 671-695), by I-TSING, translated by J. TAKAKUSU, B.A., PH.D. This interesting work is one more of the valuable discoveries which have resulted from Professor Max Müller's fruitful suggestion that "the most important help for settling the chronology of mediæval Sanskrit literature," and, it may be added, for throwing light on the development and growth of Buddhism as well as many obscure points of Indian history and geography, was to be found in Chinese literature. The correctness of

this original idea has been most strikingly vindicated by the labours of the learned Professor's Japanese pupils, of whom the translator of the present work is one.

I-tsing, the author of this treatise, was one of the Chinese pilgrims to India in the middle ages. Fâ-hien, the first of them, spent sixteen years in India (A.D. 399-414), then came two less notable travellers, Sun-yun and Hwui-seng (A.D. 518), and a century later the most celebrated of all, Hiuen-thsang (A.D. 629-645), whose elaborately detailed account of his travels is so well known from Stanislas Julien's translation. I-tsing (A.D. 673-695) seems to have been inspired by the example of Hiuen-thsang, at whose funeral he was present, to visit India, the birthplace and home of Buddhism, for the purpose of studying the Buddhist religion at its centre. His object therefore was somewhat different from that of his predecessor, his travels were far less extensive, and his record of them comparatively insignificant. This is of less moment to us because his journeys followed so soon after Hiuen-thsang's that he was not likely to have added much to our knowledge in this respect. Entering India at Tamralipti (Tamlûk) he travelled to Nâlanda, in South Bihar, where he spent most of his time studying in the celebrated monastery. He appears to have visited some Buddhist places of pilgrimage in India, but tells us very little about them, and does not, in fact, seem to have gone much beyond Benares. Incidentally he mentions one or two other places, but his geographical details are far more copious in regard to Sumatra, Java, and other islands which he passed on his way from China to India. A map of his travels is prefixed to this translation, but as far at least as India is concerned it is not very accurate. Allahabad for instance is, it need hardly be stated, at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna, not fifty miles or so up the latter, and it certainly is *not* the same place as Varânasi or Benares as shown in the map. Delphi for Delhi is evidently a printer's mistake. The province of Lâta is erroneously placed in the middle of the Rajputana desert, and this the translator admits to be an error, though he seems rather doubtful as to its correct site. It is generally identified with Ptolemy's Larike, which was nearly co-extensive with Gujarat, but must have extended farther to the west, as the modern name of Lower Sindh is Lâr. The ancient name Lâta probably indicated the whole of the coast region from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Nerbudda and Tapti.

But it was not the pilgrim's object to study the geography of India, and it is not as an aid to this science that his work is valuable. It is rather as a picture of what Buddhism was in his day that I-tsing's work is interesting. It is the monastic life and discipline of the seventh century that is portrayed down to the most trivial details in his pages. It was a time of heresies and divergent sects, eighteen different schools existing in various parts of India, only one of which was orthodox. I-tsing himself was an adherent of the Sarvâsti (Pali-Sabbatthi) or "everything exists" sect, which held, in opposition to the orthodox view, that all material objects have a real existence, and are not merely due to Mâyâ or illusion. It must be classed among the Hīnayāna schools, though not altogether free from Mahāyāna taint. It is, by the way, curious to see how by the seventh

century Mahâyâna doctrines had begun to infect even the most conservative Hinayâna schools in Northern India. Doubtless this tendency paved the way for the final downfall of Indian Buddhism. The Sarvâsti school should apparently be classed among those of Southern India, as it is said in the *Dipavamso* v. 47 to have been a subdivision of the Mahimsâsakas, whose locality was the Andhra or Telugu country, as opposed to that of the Vajjiputtakas, who were the Lichhavis of Oudh. But however this may be I-tsing locates them principally in Northern India, and says that they are hardly at all represented in the South.\* Surprising also is it to find that, according to him, Northern India is said to adhere generally to the Hinayâna doctrine, while in other parts of the country both Yânas are found side by side. This is hardly what we should have expected. It is, however, quite in accordance with this state of things that I-tsing displays a tendency to minimize differences and to take a highly liberal and broad-minded view of sectarian tendencies. Thus he writes—"There are small points of difference, such as where the skirt of the lower garment is cut straight in one and irregular in another, and the folds of the upper robe are narrow in one, wide in another. When Bhikshus lodge together, there is a question whether they are to be in separate rooms or to be separated by partitions made by ropes, though *both are permitted* by the Law. There are other cases: when receiving food one will take it in his hand, while another will mark the ground where the giver should place food, and *both are right*" (p. 6).

At the same time the work is devoted to an exposition of the doctrines and practices of the writer's own school, the Sarvâsti, or, as he pompously styles it, the 'Arya-mûla-sarvâsti-vâda-nikâya, "The Noble Fundamental School which affirms the Existence of All Things." In forty chapters he expounds the teaching of this school on a variety of matters, everywhere exhibiting a curious mixture of minutely detailed observances on the necessity of which he solemnly insists, with extremely common-sense remarks on the amount of latitude permissible in deviating from them. For instance, in the matter of clothing, concerning which he is precise even to triviality, he nevertheless remarks that different countries have different climates, and that a costume suitable to the sultry plains of India would be dangerous to life in the cold plateaux of Northern China. He therefore enjoins that the costume prescribed by the Buddha should be worn whenever possible, but that when it is necessary for the preservation of health a departure from it is allowable. For, as he remarks, "To keep our bodies in health and our work in progress is the Buddha's sincere instruction to us; and self-mortification and toil are the teaching of heretics" (p. 69). The line between necessities and luxuries is very clearly and decidedly drawn, and one of the most interesting features in the work is that I-tsing does not merely lay down dry and hard rules, he argues about them, explains the reasons for them, and enlivens his arguments by pertinent and

\* Magadha, it may be observed, can hardly be considered as Central India, as the translator seems to think (Introduction, p. xxiv). In the same passage the juxtaposition of Sindhu and Lâta confirms the opinion above expressed as to the site of the latter country.



striking illustrations. Though he is as much in earnest about the number of yards in a garment, or which end of it is to be taken hold of first, as about high moral precepts, he explains that he is so because these things though perhaps of little moment in themselves are valuable as training for the higher life, and because, being things prescribed by the great Teacher, obedience to them is a part of morality. "One who wishes to realize the truth of permanence"—that is, the state in which neither birth nor death is found—Nirvāna—"should observe the moral precepts in purity. One should guard against a small defect which results, just as a small escape of air from a life-belt may result, in loss of life" (p. 52). It is George Herbert's principle over again,

"Who sweeps a room as for Thy sake  
Makes that and the action fine."

It is in this spirit that he elaborates the distinctions between pure and impure food, filtering water for fear of swallowing insects, rules as to garments, ceremonies, ablutions and even *uccārakamma*. Nothing is too petty or unimportant for this earnest student. His object being to introduce a correct observance of Buddhist doctrines into his native country he carefully notes down every little matter that he observes in the Indian practice. He has a high opinion of Indian medical science and gives a correct abstract of its eight sections, perfectly agreeing, as the translator shows, with the eight divisions of the Ayur Veda. He however warns his readers that many drugs which are used in Indian medicine are not procurable in China, while on the other hand China possesses many very valuable drugs which are not found in India. China is he observes highly honoured all over India and its herbs and stones are precious and of rare quality. Yet the tending and protection of the body and inspection of the causes of disease are very much neglected in China. Therefore he holds it useful to describe for the benefit of his countrymen the methods of treatment followed in India. There is a chapter "on the advantage of proper exercise to health" in which a walk twice a day, once in the forenoon and once late in the afternoon, are prescribed. Generally speaking, diseases are caused by over-eating, and the most effective cure is consequently fasting. I-tsing however is doubtful whether fasting would answer in China, though he has seen instances in India where it has been efficacious. He once saw a man who abstained from food for thirty days and recovered. On the whole he seems to think that it may be as well not to rely entirely on this treatment, but to have recourse also to medicines.

The forty chapters into which the work is divided contain an immense variety of subjects, relating not merely to practical details of clothing, exercise, sleeping, medicine and the like, but also to the various elements of Buddhist worship and study. To those who are interested in tracing the gradual development of Buddhism throughout the ages it will be valuable as delineating with accuracy and spirit the actual practice in India at a particular epoch; and to them Dr. Takakusu's lucid, exhaustive, and scholarly introduction will prove valuable. The translation is also excellent, being in faultless English and singularly free from all obscurities of

expression. The value of the work is further enhanced by a long and learned introductory letter from the eminent originator of this line of study, Professor Max Müller.

JOHN BEAMES.

7. *A Student's Pastime, being a select series of articles reprinted from "Notes and Queries,"* by the REV. WALTER W. SKEAT, LITT. D., D.C.S., LL.D., etc. All students of the English language, and of the history of that language as embodied in its literature cannot but peruse with the greatest interest the introduction prefixed by Dr. Skeat to his volume of reprints from "Notes and Queries." The author treats us briefly to the history of his own life, or rather of his progress as a devoted student of our mother tongue in all its forms. Intimately bound up with that progress has been the great spread both of knowledge and of interest in English philology and the history of English literature. The most interesting parts of the introduction are those which describe the lamentable ignorance of these studies that prevailed scarcely forty years ago, and the efforts made by the Early English Text Society, the English Dialect Society, the Chaucer Society and others to provide sound and easily accessible material for research.

The general tone of the introduction would most certainly lead the average reader to suppose that in this volume he has before him the matured fruit of his author's life's work. If he has formed this opinion he is destined to be grievously disappointed. The main body of the work consists of an olla podrida of etymological and other tit-bits, contributed at various seasons to "Notes and Queries" and now collected and bundled together in a single volume. We take it on trust that they are selected, though it is hard to find sufficient justification on the grounds either of etymological or general importance for "selected" letters venting Dr. Skeat's annoyance with people who write illegible addresses, enunciating the discovery that the trisection of an angle is geometrically impossible, teaching us how to construct the familiar sunlight soap advertisement which shows a different text from different points of view, informing us that Mr. Gladstone has a slight North country accent, etc., etc. There is a letter on second sight; we have not noticed, or perhaps passed over, one on the question whether marriage is a failure. Whether selected or not the scraps have apparently undergone no alteration from their original form nor has any attempt been made to arrange them on any intelligible principle. It is true there is an index, but on all the occasions we have tried to refer to a particular letter we have found it useless. No one of course can deny that most of the etymological tit-bits are interesting, and many of considerable value. If there is any criticism one might pass on them from the philologist's standpoint it is that the author rather tends to neglect the opportunities for illustration afforded by the German language in its various periods. Thus we find him quoting the rare Anglo-Saxon form *ors* for horse without even hinting that the same form occurs in the Middle Higher German of the *Nibelungenlied*, or again giving the Italian "janizzier" in support of the correct derivation of the Turkish words which appear in English as "janissary," when his contention is much more clearly supported, through the German form "janitschar," from the Turkish

"Yani tshahri" or "new troops" being enrolled from Christian captives taken in the Turkish wars and converted to Islām.

### THE PREACHING OF ISLĀM.

MESSRS. A. CONSTABLE AND CO. ; LONDON, 1896.

8. *The Preaching of Islām*, by T. W. ARNOLD, Professor at the Aligurh Anglo-Oriental College. This is a very useful work by a thoughtful and learned author on a timely subject, for the propagation of the Muslim faith, whose history Mr. Arnold gives, is now, though as a caricature, carried on, even in England, for mainly political purposes. The work is dedicated to his wife, who appears to have arranged her husband's materials, though we fail to see why the dedication should be in Arabic without an English translation. Mr. Arnold does well to give full references to the sources which he has consulted, and in transliterating Arabic words follows the scheme laid down at the recent Geneva Congress, though, as a man of common sense, he has been obliged to adhere to certain prescriptive renderings from which indeed that somewhat too theoretical scheme has much to learn. The author considers that Islām was spread by missionary methods and not by the sword, so that his work is a history of missions and not of persecutions. He rightly points out that the Koran forbids violence in the conversion of unbelievers, but he forgets to mention that passages to the contrary may also be found in that sacred volume, as they are found in the Old, and may be inferred even in the New, Testament, nor is the history of the spread of Muhammadanism different from that of Christianity, or independent of circumstances or of the nature, fiery or mild, of their respective leaders or even apostles. Both pious Muhammadans and pious Christians have been the children of their age and have been influenced by their surroundings, and Muhammadanism, like Christianity, has been promoted, sometimes by the sword and more often by persuasion, and passages can be found in their respective scriptures to explain, if not to justify, both attitudes. Indeed, Mr. Arnold seems to have been largely influenced by his contact with the reforming and scarcely orthodox Muhammadans of the modern school, who find in their religion encouragement for views which are the growth of modern civilization. At the same time, we entirely agree with him, as has indeed been shown at great length in the pages of this very Review, that the most ancient conception of the so-called "holy war" or *Jihād* is a strenuous effort to overcome sinful tendencies, to worship God, to practise what is good and only to resist the persecuting infidel by force, if he does not allow Muhammadans to practise their religion and drives them from their homes *because* they are Muhammadans. Premising, therefore, that Mr. Arnold is an exponent of the gentler methods of Islām, there is a very large mass of accurate, if one-sided, information showing how Islām was spread in Western Asia, Africa, Spain, in other parts of Europe under the Turks, in Persia and Central Asia, among the Mongols and Tartars, in India and elsewhere, which the opponents of Muhammadanism might do well to study. In the Appendices we have Al Hashimi's letter to the Christian Al Kindi inviting him to embrace Islām, as also references to other controversial literature

between Muslims and the followers of other faiths, but we have not, for instance, Al Kindi's reply which Sir William Muir has published under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. As the production, therefore, of an honest advocate of Islām, though scarcely of an impartial judge, we have much pleasure in recommending Mr. Arnold's "Preaching of Islām" as a most valuable contribution to conscientious students of the question.

#### TRAVELS IN THE EAST BY THE PRESENT CZAR.

9. *Travels in the East of Nicholas II. Emperor of Russia, when Czarewitch 1890-91, written by order of H.I. Majesty by Prince E. Ookhtomsky and translated from the Russian by R. Goodlet (St. Petersburg), in two volumes: with about 500 illustrations.* Edited by Sir GEORGE BIRDWOOD, K.C.I.E. Volume I. (of two—the second not being ready yet).

Sir George Birdwood as Editor, and Messrs. Constable as Publishers, of this work deserve the thanks of the British public for bringing to their knowledge the opinion, at any rate at one time, of the Czar of Russia, regarding the English and their administration of India. It is a singular comment on the British Press to find that, with the exception of the *Standard*, no paper should have hitherto noticed the anti-British animus that pervades the volume. On the day, the 24th September last, of the Czar's arrival at Leith all, or nearly all, the papers in the country published a review of his "travels in the East." So far the journalistic "opportunism," mechanism and "flair" were perfect, though reviews apparently written "to order" for a certain day are apt to be deficient in thoroughness and freedom of treatment. This was the case, for even the *Times* said that the book does "*not* record the inner impressions made on the Czarewitch" by, say, "the evidences of British brain and discipline in India." "These, of course, are among" his "secrets." We hope they are, for we would gladly believe in the possibility of British fraternization with Russia. This is, however, difficult when we read the following remarks (page 217) by the official diarist of the tour, Prince Ookhtomsky, who was deputed on the task on special duty from the Russian Ministry of the Interior (Department of Foreign Creeds, an institution we might with advantage add to our India Office): "It is to be regretted that we shall not see the present Nizam, Hyderabad 'the City of the Lion' . . . As the Nizam is essentially the master of the heart of Central India, many a complicated question . . . even of foreign policy depends indirectly on this Prince. . . . The indefiniteness of the events on which the near future of the Anglo-Indian Empire depends,—might well have imparted an exceptional interest to a visit paid to Hyderabad . . . and to the personal acquaintance of H.I.H. with the young ruler of the Deccan." How so, except by the Russian guests of the Indian Government availing themselves of the opportunity to make a propaganda in favour of Russia? This was, however, unnecessary, for, as Prince Ookhtomsky humorously observes: "Owing to the loquacity of the vernacular Press, which is mainly the echo of the vehement articles in which the Russophobe section of the British Press discourses on Russia, *we are exceedingly popular all over the country.*"



Russians, indeed, as the Prince shows, understand, from their own traditions, Indian customs at which the English can only stare. There is a fellow-feeling between a Russian and an Indian, to which no Western European can lay claim. "Conquerors from the North assimilate, from the West perish," and, on page 299, "English education will not give the best of the natives, the right of citizenship, which they enjoy in Russia." Above all, is Lahore identical with a City in Russian Central Asia and their inhabitants with the Sarts! This is a remarkable discovery by ephemeral travellers, who did not even notice the educational and other striking monuments at Lahore. For all that "there is *nothing worthy of note* in Oriental sociology, religion or architecture, from which his Imperial Highness did not carry away a clear and deeply instructive impression" during a journey which lasted 9½ months and covered Egypt, India, China, Japan and other countries, each of which require a life-time's study for any one of the above subjects, "truly a crowded and eventful experience" as the *Times* justly observes, though not as *we* mean. They did not even see the Valkeshvar Temple near Bombay, nor did they visit the Karli cave, the most typical, perhaps, of all of the kind as it is "the largest and best" according to Bradshaw, but they at once noticed "the beautiful Parsee women" when these ladies are rather picturesque than good-looking according to any European standard. Of the Aga Khan of Bombay, whom he calls Aga Shah, he vaguely says that he is "looked upon by the rich Bombay Muhammadans of the Shiah sect as the incarnation of the Chief of the Assassins," and still more vaguely, that "there are 10,000 families in India descended from him," whereas the Khojas to whom the Prince probably refers "as the rich Shiah Muhammadans" are almost entirely converted Hindus. Nor do the Shiahs, as a whole, revere the Aga, but only the heterodox Ismailian section, nor did Sunnis and Shiahs alike ever contribute to a Jain temple and many other similar mistakes, excusable, no doubt, in the ordinary globe-trotter, but not equally so in visitors who seem to claim omniscience and infallibility, whereas they saw a good deal only considering their short tour through some parts of India, but very little, as a whole, of that vast Continent. They did not even visit Kashmir or any part of the Frontier or of the Himalayas. When first they see a "Nautch," they find it monotonous, but on page 313, its dreaminess already seizes on them. In many parts of the volume, there are thoughtful and suggestive remarks, such as "why are no monuments raised to sepoys and others who died for their British masters during the mutiny?" Prince Oukhtomsky also wittily refers to "the unattainable social height of every Englishman in India as compared with the highest native," but he quite appreciates the tolerance of the English in contrast to the intolerance of the Portuguese. Regarding the Parsees, it is rather curious to read that "without one another neither the English nor the Parsees would have been so great on the Malabar coast," if not generally, but "Russia would treat them just as well" and already "Parsees owe much to Russia" by the maintenance of the sacred fire at Baku and the discoveries of Zoroastrian monuments in Central Asia. We greatly admire the Prince's enthusiasm: "India, like China, is the cradle of every lasting civilization, of every

clearly defined mode of life." This really gives them two cradles. Indeed, there is much historical padding and high-sounding sentiment in the Russian original, which seems to be omitted in the English translation, much to the advantage of the book, thus apparently reduced by one third. A further reduction of padding, such as the comparison of ancient India with mediæval Russia would also not injure the prestige of this splendid work, so far as its 500 illustrations, excellent type and paper, its gorgeous get-up and its price, five pounds a volume, are concerned.

It was a great mistake to supply the party with Meerut Muhammadan servants, simply because they spoke English, for these are undoubtedly among the most irreconcilable enemies of British rule. They also meet one or two anglicised agitators. It appears that British rule has impoverished both townsfolk and villages, native arts and trades are declining, as are the native courts and *hoc genus omne*, on which the authorized diarist observes "these are interesting data!" "What a sorry wind-up to the century which saw the triumph of European interference in the destinies of India!" Prince Ookhtomsky adds, "Outwardly every native educated on European lines is devoted to Government and to liberal England, but who can say what may be hidden in the hearts of these Orientals?" We think that the Prince Ookhtomsky knows, or can, at any rate, guess.

We consider that his account of *Satti* is most admirable, as showing its influence in maintaining a high ideal among Indian women. The description of Ambher and Roaza are very fine, as are, indeed, many other *comptes-rendus*. About Delhi we find "the new masters of the land have naturally no special sympathy for the natives, who have repeatedly shown their inimical feelings," yet, "the British, for the sake of appearances, support the prestige of the ancient capital of the Moghuls and proclaimed the Kaisar-i-Hind title at Delhi," "but all native manufactures are dying, the palaces and other gigantic buildings are crumbling to ruins and every native foresees the approaching decline of his country." There the visitors see the tomb of Nizam-ud-deen Aulya, described to be "the representative of the far-off Society of Assassins and (apparently) the founder of Indian Thuggism" (which, elsewhere, "invokes Durga" and not Bhowani). Really Prince Ookhtomsky ought to have called in the aid of several specialists before he wrote his work or he would not have so naïvely stated "to the present day. Orientalists are unable to settle who Krishna was."

Sir George Birdwood is himself quoted as showing that the goods imported from Europe ruin native art and trade, for in the Bazars they sing "the strangers grow rich while we grow poor." "Have a care, while it is not yet too late, else ruin awaits our artizans."

The party, after a visit to Gwalior and Lucknow, arrive at Benares and there the volume stops, a very awkward division, but we hope to be able to read in the second volume "the clear and instructive impression" which the sacred city made on the present Czar.

10. *Indian Problems, No. III. "Backwards or Forwards,"* by COLONEL H. B. HANNA. Colonel Hanna has just published the last of his *Indian Problems*. In the first of the three "Can Russia Invade India?" he demonstrated beyond all contradiction that the difficulties of supply and

transport, in the long and rugged passes which separate Afghanistan from British India, and in the desert tract lying between the foot of the mountains and the Indus, combined with the formidable character of that broad and swift river, would render an invasion of India impossible to an army equipped with all the appliances of modern warfare, even if Russia had succeeded in establishing herself in Afghanistan. In that volume he showed also that the invading Russian Army must necessarily be broken up into small columns and would debouch from the hills in dribbles, to fall an easy prey to the Anglo-Indian Army which would be awaiting its arrival; and that the time within which any such invasion could be attempted is strictly limited by the seasons and climate.

In his second Problem—"India's Scientific Frontier—Where is it? What is it?"—he described the dangerous dispositions which have been made to keep the Russians out of India—dispositions condemned in advance by many eminent statesmen and soldiers before the second Afghan War, and more recently by Sir Edward Hamley.

Now, in this third and last Problem—"Backwards or Forwards?" Colonel Hanna returns to the charge, and sweeps away all the misconceptions and fallacies, in virtue of which the forward policy acquired, and still retains its hold over men's minds. He describes Russia's position in Central Asia; the barren nature and the climatic drawbacks of her possessions; the weakness of her armies in Turkestan and Transcaspia and the impracticability of reinforcing them; the impossibility of establishing a base of operations for the invasion of India within striking distance of that country; and he strengthens his views as to the invulnerability of India's North-West Frontier by showing that they are shared by Russia's ablest Generals. He shows, moreover, the futility of the fortifications which are supposed to be necessary to guard India from a sudden surprise, when such a surprise is entirely out of the question, and the equal futility of the military railways which have been, and are still being, constructed on the frontier. Finally he sums up the whole of his previous arguments and boldly drawing from them their logical conclusion, he urges with great force the imperative necessity of retiring, ere it be too late, from positions which ought never to have been taken up; and he appeals to the good sense and good feeling of his countrymen to help him in putting an end to the cruel waste of India's material resources which is inherent in the aims and methods of the Forward Policy.

MESSRS. CH. EGGIMAN ET CIE.; GENÈVE.

II. *Premiers Éléments de la Langue Arabe*, by Professor EDWARD MONTET. In Professor Montet's *Premiers Éléments de la Langue Arabe* we have a student's manual intended to serve as "une grammaire de cette langue, à la fois réduite au minimum indispensable, et, dans cette réduction même, aussi complète et strictement exacte que possible." The author lays down, in his Preface, the very sensible proposition that "il importe essentiellement que cette première connaissance de l'Arabe soit acquise en se plaçant au point de vue des langues sémitiques, si différentes des nôtres; c'est, en effet, le seul moyen d'avoir sur ces langues des idées

justes et d'en saisir, dès le début, le caractère et le génie." With every word of this proposition we cordially agree—*O si sic omnia!*

This little primer is well printed; and we have noticed only one misprint, لِلرَّجُلِ (p. 8) for الرَّجُلِ. Opinions may differ as to what ought to form part of the "indispensable minimum"; and in 61 pages much detail can hardly be expected. Still, at the risk of being considered hypercritical, we may hazard the suggestion that in "§ 10—Pronoun," some mention of the latent or covert pronoun seems to be wanted. And we must protest against the statement in the same section that "*Les Arabes . . . classent dans la catégorie du nom (الاسم) l'article.*" The article ال is universally regarded by the Arabs as a particle; though the conjunct الّ, which is prefixed to the active and passive participles, as المَارِب and المَقْرُوب, is treated by them as a noun; and is even held by some, like Az Zamaksharī, to be an abridged form of الَّذِي, an opinion refuted by Ar Raḡī al Astarabādi in his Commentary on the *Kāfiya*. Nor can we admit that مَعَ, مَعَيْن, and many other words mentioned in § 25 (3), are "prepositions," a branch of the "particules," since "*au point de vue des langues sémitiques,*" i.e., of the Arab grammarians, they are adverbs, a branch of the nouns. Conversely بِ, لَ, and many other words mentioned in § 25 (4), are not "adverbes séparables," but particles. These, however, are errors in detail, which, in the hope of amendment in a future edition, may be leniently regarded when the essential principle of the "*point de vue des langues sémitiques*" is so handsomely conceded by Professor Montet.

MESSRS. OLIPHANT, ANDERSON AND FERRIER; LONDON AND EDINBURGH.

12. *A Cycle of Cathay*, by W. A. P. MARTIN, D.D., LL.D. This is certainly a most interesting book in itself and probably the most valuable on Chinese affairs during the last sixty years—the length of a Chinese cycle. As Dr. Martin was domiciled in China during three-fourths of that period, his personal reminiscences throw a vast deal of light on the events in which he played so prominent and so distinguished a part. The record of Dr. Martin's public life, as set forth in the pages before us, must fill the reader with admiration for the many and varied accomplishments of the author, whose profound scholarship and knowledge of the customs and languages of China, added to a keen power of observation, render him a most competent historian of China's vicissitudes—for there is little else to record—during the last sixty years, the 76th cycle, as Dr. Martin informs us, of the Chinese cyclic era. There is a very pretty drawing of this cyclic notation at the commencement of the book, in which the cycles are grouped round the central dual forces of Yin and Yeng, darkness and light. The whole book is interspersed with delightfully queer Chinese illustrations, one of the most curious being "the wheel of fate" or "the six rivers of life," where Chinese manikins are at the top, and crustaceans, insects and amphibious beings, at the bottom of the wheel. Dr. Martin, fair, objective and an accurate reasoner in most matters, fails in being just and considerate



in his remarks on the forms of mental myopia at variance with his own religious creed. He does not take the least trouble to go deeper into the various forms of religion, which he meets, but draws conclusions from the merest outward ritualistic observances and misunderstood and degraded doctrines. He is very mirthful over dirty ascetics walled up here and there, which to him represent Buddhism. We have a faint recollection that the earliest Christian monks, nearest to the fountain-head of their creed, also thought soap and water and refinement and all knowledge very sinful things indeed, but instead of being caged in, they generally enjoyed a very aggressive liberty. And does Dr. Martin forget the saintly Simon of pillar fame? Dr. Martin considers it also particularly brilliant to point to the eyeless sockets of statues of so-called deities, in derision of the alleged powers of those divinities, that cannot even protect their statues and their jewelled eyes. Does Dr. Martin seriously think that the statues of the Buddhist trinity, for instance, are held by Buddhists to be personal deities, actually and solely residing in and essentially represented by stone images? This trinity is Buddha, the law and the priesthood; Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, or in China, as Dr. Martin informs us, Fo, Fa and Seng. Dr. Martin deplores the widespread belief in the spirits of the dead, in geomancy, fortune telling, etc. Ascribing all this to Buddhism and other religions prevailing in China; Christianity, it is stated, would put an end to all that. Why? Hosts of Dr. Martin's countrymen and countrywomen in the United States profess a belief in these matters and even derive considerable pecuniary profit from ready dupes; besides, the Bible and Christian history furnish ample justification for belief in miraculous and supernatural performances. There is a very pretty saying about people dwelling in glass houses, which people in Europe and America would do well to take to heart in discussing the religions of other nations. We are glad to see that Dr. Martin in referring to the abominable coolie trade does not forget to chronicle the action of the Japanese Government in giving the deathblow to that nefarious commerce carried on by the Portuguese. Speaking of the Portuguese, it is worth mentioning that Camoens is said to have composed part of his *Lusiad* in a cave in Macao, the Portuguese stronghold in Chinese waters. Dr. Martin touches necessarily on every conceivable subject in and connected with his Chinese cycle and we get glimpses of the doings of almost every distinguished European during that time, including General Gordon. The account of the Taiping rebellions is particularly interesting reading. Dr. Martin follows the injunction of Wm. von Humboldt to write only what one remembers and not what one imagines. He is therefore the safest of historians. It is rarely realized how near the Taiping movement, under its leader, Hung Sin Chuen, whom Dr. Martin aptly styles a modern Muhammad, came to supplying China with a new dynasty. Had it not been for shortsighted foreign interference, this would surely have happened, and a warlike vigorous dynasty, professing Christianity of some form, would have swayed the destinies of that Empire. China's awakening would thus have been hastened and a multitude of political complications and difficulties with regard to that State and the Powers would have been swept away. Dr.

Martin thinks it would have made China Christian ; we think Christianity of a Chinese kind would have merely acquired thereby some sort of sanction, and would have been absorbed into the nation like the other religious beliefs which in China are all more or less matters of taste and opinion, if there is no attempt made to use any form of religion as a lever to upset the existing social conditions and principles. It certainly would *not* have made China European or American, which probably Dr. Martin unconsciously considers synonymous with Christian. There is so much of interest in Dr. Martin's book that it is difficult to choose any special chapters for discussion ; we may, however, in conclusion touch upon a somewhat curious find of the learned doctor, which is ethnologically interesting. Dr. Martin has found in China the ubiquitous Jew. Not the lost tribes, but the Jewish congregation lost sight of since they were first mentioned by the early Jesuits in the 17th century. There only remain about three or four hundred of them in Kai-fung-fu who have lost all knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. Only one solitary inscribed stone remains to remind them of the synagogue in which once dwelt the God of Israel. The sacred edifice was demolished by their own hands, and the stones and timbers disposed of to obtain relief for their bodily wants. The absence of a synagogue makes it impossible for the congregation ever to assemble as a whole and in consequence religious rites, customs and ceremonies are forgotten and generations grow up without the Sign of the Covenant. Space will not allow to touch on all the interesting portions of Dr. Martin's excellent book, which, now that Chinese affairs have an immediate bearing on present-day problems, should be in the hands of everyone.

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LIBRAIRE HACHETTE ET CIE. ; PARIS.

13. *Le Désert de Syrie, l'Euphrate et la Mésopotamie*, by COMTE DE PERTHUIS. This is an instructive account of a seven months' journey undertaken in 1866. Starting from Damascus, the author falls in with the Sbaa tribe near Salamieh, and purposes crossing the Shamieh desert to Dheir, but is dissuaded by them on account of the scarcity of well-water. He describes camp-life with its various incidents, including an attack (ghazou) on another tribe when he was left in charge of the non-combatants. Comte de Perthuis then proceeded to Hamah, travelling via Zefreh, Aleppo, Meskineh to Baghdad, and returned via Kerkouk, Mosul and Orfah. This little French volume is full of useful information about the Syrian nomads encountered by the author en route.

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#### GENIUS AND DEGENERATION.

MR. WILLIAM HEINEMANN ; LONDON.

14. *Genius and Degeneration*, by DR. WILLIAM HIRSCH. The author would make the cure of the insane entirely a medical, and not at all a religious, treatment as was suggested by a German Evangelical Union, but we do not agree with him that the curates who advocated spiritual remedies did so merely to increase the power of the clergy. Macbeth told the physician to throw physic to the dogs, when his medical attendant

confessed that he could not minister to a mind diseased or pluck from memory a rooted sorrow, for, therein, the patient must minister to himself. Indeed, this is so and we do not see why physician and clergyman should not work together for the recovery of the patient, who can also often aid their counsels. In his interesting opening Chapter on the Limits of Insanity, Dr. Hirsch shows that it is not the insane *image* believed in that constitutes insanity, but the *process* by which it is believed. In the "Psychology of Genius" that follows, he denies it to be a form of insanity, and after going through its various definitions of originality, creative power, etc., and comparing Schiller with Goethe, Mozart with Beethoven, great statesmen and generals, artists and scientific men, he comes to the conclusion that "where art begins, science ends" and that "genius in the different departments is referable to the most diverse psychological conditions"; therefore "genius is not a *universal* term" nor is always "*purposive* thought," to quote some of the translator's English. Insanity is equally indefinable and it is impossible to draw a sharp line between mental sanity and mental derangement. Mental, like physical giants, are not necessarily insane, if their respective development is proportional. Even between health and disease there is no hard and fast line. Even hallucinations are not a sign of insanity, for Goethe, the sanest and most perfect of men, was sometimes subject to delusions of his sense. One cannot conceive of an insane Shakespeare, though we know little of his private life. Moreau and Lambroso are, therefore, wrong in considering "genius" as a form of mental disease and psychiatry generally is, as yet, merely on the threshold of its enquiries. A genius is, generally, only in touch with his century by his defects and as the flock cannot understand him he is put down by them as a fool and by superficial scientists as insane. All this is a preparation for an analysis of the doctrines of the prophets of "Degeneration," among whom we do not yet find the name of Dr. Nordau, though the work was manifestly called into existence by Dr. Nordau's "Entartung" or "departure from the type," wrongly translated as "Degeneration." We must leave Dr. Hirsch's examination of the influence of heredity in genius and of the influence of education on it and come to "*secular* hysteria," where we, at last, find Nordau attacked, which is still further the case in "Art and insanity." Nordau believes that mental insanity has seized on the majority of civilized men, fatigued by the multitude of discoveries and innovations burst abruptly upon them, whereas formerly degeneration and hysteria were spasmodic. This Dr. Hirsch attempts to disprove by an enumeration of mental, religious and hysterical epidemics in former ages. No doubt, Dr. Nordau has rendered a service by exposing the existing absurdities in Society, art, etc., but when he clothes them with "*isms*" he cannot, for instance, point out the symptoms of disease in their alleged authors, such as of Ibsenism and Tolstoism, much less in the masses that hardly know them. Here the row and with it the interest of the book begin, but we must leave the reader to purchase it, if he wants to find out where "Doctors disagree" and if he takes pleasure in philosophical disquisitions of mental and moral aberrations. Dr. Hirsch's stories regarding the insane jealousy of Strindberg are almost amusing in

this serious work, but he defends Schopenhauer against the accusation of being insane. Shakespeare was the first to recognize insanity as a physical disease in a variety of forms. The author prefixes his concluding Chapter by what is almost a monograph on Wagner's life and music which he defends against Nordau's strictures. Some verses in that monograph are indifferently translated and edited with insufficient care, but, on the whole, the translation is good and the work a valuable contribution to the "Degeneration" controversy, showing that, in most respects, the civilized world is far from being "degenerate."

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO.

15. *An Egyptian Reading Book for Beginners, being a series of historical, funereal, moral, religious, and mythological texts, printed in hieroglyphic characters, together with a transliteration, and a complete vocabulary*, by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, Litt. D. (Cantab), Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. No better proof of the increase of popular interest in Egyptian antiquities can be offered than the fact that Dr. Wallis Budge's "Egyptian Reading Book" of 1888 should have developed into the fair and portly volume now before us. The first edition consisted of twenty well-selected texts, representative of different ages and classes of literature, but without transliterations, notes, or explanations. Transliterations of all, and translations of some, have now been added, together with a vocabulary, which is capable of being of general utility, and which occupies two-fifths of the volume. We do not know whether it is on account of these additions that Dr. Budge now calls his compilation a book for "beginners," or whether he has observed that many, fired by enthusiasm begotten during a hasty Oriental tour, begin hieroglyphic studies who never carry them very far, and desires to obtain as wide a circulation as possible among such supporters. If the latter be the case he is wise in his generation, but we fancy the mere "beginner" will find the book rather a hard nut to crack; the translations and transliterations, not being interlined, will exercise his ingenuity considerably, but that may be good for him. The vocabulary is not in the order of the English alphabet, but has been arranged on principles which are not explained, and perhaps in the next edition a couple of pages may be usefully devoted to a sort of key to it; meanwhile the "beginner" will find it useful, both as an exercise while doing it, and as a possession when he has done it, to construct such a key for himself. As the book is prepared for "beginners" we have endeavoured to regard it solely from a "beginner's" point of view; what masters of the language—such for example as Sir P. Lepage Renouf—might have to say about it is another matter, but to the student, at some stage or other of his development, it is undoubtedly capable of being very useful.

MESSRS. LAWRENCE AND BULLEN; LONDON.

16. *Turkish Fairy Tales*, translated from the Hungarian by R. NISBET BAIN (followed by some Roumanian folklore). This title is enough to show the value of an original in Turkish, which has to be got at in English through Hungarian. Mr. Bain is a good Hungarian scholar and so we



may assume that his translation from that language is accurate, although a little too English in tone and allusion, but how about the sense of the Hungarian who collected these Turkish tales? To us he seems to have gone to ignorant persons who gave him what seems to be very much the same stories unrelieved by wit or romantic situations. Did he correctly understand them? The type and get-up of the book are excellent and so may recommend its contents, but in spite of their enthusiastic praise by the sympathetic author and by Professor Vambéry, we do not consider them to be, even remotely, equal to Grimm's fairy tales or to the folk-lore of Gilgit and adjoining districts. Be that as it may, we join the author and Professor Vambéry in their fear that the railway will destroy the folk-lore of Anatolia just as we have shown that advancing jingoism has destroyed the Legends of Dardistan, but we have no sympathy with that pseudo-Oriental *mise en scène* which characterizes this work. For instance, why say "there once lived a Padishah" when "King" would be sufficient? Is it in order to be able to have a footnote explaining that Padishah is "Emperor," or to ask "art thou a peri" in order to explain at the bottom of the page that "peri" is "fairy" and nothing more? "Come out with it" may be idiomatic English for "tell your story," but we are not aware that it is idiomatic Turkish. *Ab uno disce omnes*. There is a wearisome iteration of grotesque or absurd stories, rendered palatable, and we have no doubt popular, by the Publisher's and Printer's art and the praise bestowed on "the Turkish Fairy Tales," by Mr. Bain and Professor Vambéry.

#### THE KAFIRS OF THE HINDUKUSH.

17. *The Kafirs of the Hindukush*, by Sir G. S. ROBERTSON, K.C.S.I. The work, the author and the subject deserve a more exhaustive treatment than we can give them in this issue. "The Kafirs of the Hindukush" is an enlargement of the official report which Dr. (now Sir) G. Robertson submitted to the Indian Government some years ago and which, we presume, is not very accessible to the general public. It is further adorned with a map and numerous illustrations that impart greater vividness to the narrative, though they are scarcely large and distinct enough to convey a full idea of the persons and scenes described. The author's visit to that part of Kafirstan, which had already been demoralized by the influence of adjoining Chitrál—the now famous Bashgal Valley reserved to the British side of influence under the Durand Treaty and then abandoned to the Amir Abdurrahman during the Chitrál expedition—was followed by the Afghan campaign, just as his visits to Chilás, Hunza-Nagyr and Chitrál ended in our practical annexation of these countries. The Kafirs are, therefore, described from an official standpoint and as if it was intended to lessen our sympathies for them. Yet, in spite of Dr. Robertson's fugitive impressions, they seem to us to deserve a more generous, and above all a more thorough, treatment than they have received at his hands. Unfortunately, Dr. Robertson's account, with those of Baber, Timur, a few native historians, Elphinstone, Masson, Leitner, Biddulph, Barnes, McGregor, McNair and others of a more or less fragmentary description, will remain the only record of a race whose religious,

historical and social paganism has now been merged into the monotony of Afghan Muhammadanism. Indeed, Dr. Robertson unconsciously shows what bad effect it was already exercising in the parts nearest to that influence. We are told of a *Kafir* Paradise, called "*Bisht*," and a *Kafir* hell "*Zosukh*," when these terms are merely corruptions of the ordinary Persian words "*Bhisht*" and "*Dozakh*" introduced by the Chitráli Muhammadans, if not by Dr. Robertson's own followers. When we compare the exquisite Bacchic Hymn given by Colonel Holdich in the *Kafir text* with the disjointed, confused and, sometimes, misleading *Kafir* Pantheon, as given by Dr. Robertson, we can only say with the Arab proverb that "the traveller even where he sees is blind" when he has not a thorough knowledge of the language of the people which he is describing and when he is not in thorough sympathy with it. Indeed, the author rather deprecates going out of one's way to gain the affection of the natives, whereas we consider this course to be *the only one* likely to lead to complete success and to correct information. When an Afghan servant is applauded (and photographed) for knocking a *Kafir* down because he presumed to look into his master's tent, we are confronted rather with an ordinary Anglo-Indian "*Kóy hai*" than with an explorer of the highest type. At the same time, we must do Dr. Robertson the justice to admit that he recognizes the importance of treating the natives well in the interests of the travellers who are likely to follow his footsteps. Of these we fear there will not be many, if any, for *Kafiristan*—not yet completely subjugated—is more closed against English travellers under Afghan rule than when the hospitable *Kafirs* sent a high priest to the Peshawar Missionaries in 1863 to come and teach them who Jesus was, for *Gësh*, their national God, is "the word of God made man." Still there is an immense deal in the book that is suggestive and had Dr. Robertson read up all that had been written before him on the subject he might have more largely added to our present knowledge of *Kafir* traditions, customs and demonology. For instance, the evil spirits or *Yach*—probably the *Yuechi* or White Huns—are treated at very considerable length in Dr. Leitner's "*Dardistan*," of which *Kafiristan* is a part, where also the *Kafir* dances, which are such an important feature in their ceremonies, such as the *Prasulki nat*, are described at length. Nor has Biddulph's "*Tribes of the Hindukush*" been studied by Dr. Robertson and we have no hesitation in saying that there is more real information in one page of Biddulph than in ten of Robertson. Alas! that the landmarks of a race, partly descended from the ancient settlement of *Nyssa* and the Macedonian colonists left by Alexander the Great and then added to by Buddhist, Hindu and Zoroastrian refugees from Muhammadan fanaticism, all preserving traces of their various origins, should have been allowed to be wiped out, because of our mistaken policy as regards the Amir, whose undoubted natural right to suzerainty over his Muhammadan kinsmen, the *Mohmands*, we dispute, whereas we allow him to absorb the heterogeneous *Kafirs*, "the brethren of the Europeans" so unwisely abandoned by us to his mercies, in spite of the protests in Parliament and by the learned and philanthropic Societies. Our gain in Chitrál has now turned

to a precarious possession owing to the Afghan occupation of Kafiristan, but, from a scientific standpoint, we hail Dr. Robertson's book as an important contribution, if carefully analyzed and corrected, to the work that has yet to be compiled from all existing material on what probably *was* Kafiristan before it was handed over to destruction without that scientific enquiry into its ethnic and philological problems, an opportunity which Dr. Robertson might well have taken and which is now lost for ever. As for anthropological measurements of Kafirs we have only those of Drs. Beddoe and Leitner.

Even the Map does not contain either the most recent topographical information, including that gathered by Dr. Robertson himself, or what had previously been ascertained. Whilst it has "Jaor" for "Bajaur" and unduly extends Dir, it omits Jandôl of Umra Khan fame and other names with which even the general reader of newspapers has been rendered familiar through the Chitral Expedition. Nor are we told how the illustrations were arrived at, unless Mr. McCormick accompanied the author, which he may have done in the imagination of the reviewer in a contemporary who ranked Rudyard Kipling among the first explorers of Kafiristan. To General Lockhart's party and to Mr. McNair no credit is given in the book, but we are glad to see that it omits some of the abuse showered on the Kafirs in the official Report, which was so constantly referred to when it was an object with the Indian Government to minimize British sympathy for the hunted-down Kafirs. *Væ Victis!* We will not go to the Sultan for a character of the Armenians nor to an official anxious for promotion and a name for that of the Kafirs, of whose many unmoralized tribes he saw little or nothing. There is much yet to be said to the credit of that unfortunate race which is undreamt of in Dr. Robertson's philosophy of "getting on."

#### THE INDIAN VILLAGE COMMUNITY.

MESSRS. LONGMAN, GREEN AND CO. ; LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY.

18. *The Indian Village Community*, by B. H. BADEN POWELL, M.A., C.I.E. The author's object has been to present (for the first time to English students) a detailed account of the various forms of the Indian Village Community. In so doing he insists on the necessity of giving due weight to the circumstances, both geographical, climatic, and ethnical, under which these aggregations of families and groups of landholdings have grown up in different places, at different periods of history, and under the dominion of different races, and with all the different conditions of tribal (*i.e.*, patriarchal) life, of monarchical institutions, and of local customs that these differences involve. Hitherto the available information regarding Indian villages has consisted of brief and general sketches in Histories of India, or in ideal and abstract statements of the (supposed) principle of their constitution. Seeing that all villages in India—whatever their origin—must have *some* features in common, inasmuch as they are local aggregates of families and landholdings, and all must contain the local staff of hereditary artisans and servants necessary to supply the simple wants of life to isolated communities, it was easily assumed that there must be but one kind of village, and that local

varieties were merely incidental: This idea of unity—regardless of the different times and different races that produced the whole mass—was further encouraged by the fact that the first considerable group of villages to attract practical attention (in connection with a special form of land-revenue settlement) were the villages of the N. W. Provinces, which presented such a contrast to the landlord tenures of Bengal, and which demanded a new departure in revenue management. Madras was still in a stage of revenue administration purely experimental; Bombay not yet settled at all (on any regular system) so that the villages of these great territories were not yet reported on, and were indeed almost unknown.\* Now the most prominent type of north-western village is one in which an entire area—waste and arable together—and included in a ring-fence, is owned in fractional shares (major and minor) by a number of branch-families all deriving descent from a common ancestor, who was the grantee, the conqueror, and often the old revenue-farmer, of the area constituting the village. Such co-sharers too may not have divided their shares on the ground; and they appear as a “joint body”—as holding “in common.” And soon the theory based on an analogy, real or supposed, with the ancient Teutonic villages and other Western forms, gained ground that a collective or “communal” form of ownership was a mark of all “primitive” communities. This theory was worked out, in relation to Indian villages, in a very ingenious and plausible manner. Here was a further reason for supposing that *all* villages were really variations of the one type of joint-community, so that—without need of studying the forms in detail—all varieties could be set down as natural developments—processes of “evolution” on the way from primitive communal enjoyment to modern individual ownership.

The author's object has been not so much to controvert this theory by abstract argument, as to present the actual facts of village constitution in different parts of India. It is shown that there were pre-Aryan villages, of a type of which some vestiges are still locally in evidence: that the great type of *raiyaṭwari* village, with its distinctive features, is the lineal descendant of this; and that there is no trace of the earliest villages being owned in shares, or “in common,” or anything of the kind. Villages, as such, are the product of the *tribal stage* of life, under which any institution of this degree of antiquity must necessarily have taken its origin; they are also the product of the circumstances under which the jungle was first cleared—circumstances necessitating aggregation for society, defence, and mutual help. But that tribal stage lasted through many different historic periods; and different tribes developed different customs, and in particular different forms of the family constitution. Hence early Dravidian and other tribes must have produced very different forms of aggregation from what the Aryans with their monarchical institutions, and also the (later) agricultural Jat (Indo-Scythian) tribes did—both of whom possessed (or in time developed), the *joint-family*, which is what gives rise to so many of the jointly-owned village estates in Northern India. Speaking generally,

\* It is remarkable, for instance, that the late Sir H. S. Maine, writing as late as 1874, does not take the least specific notice of the *raiyaṭwari* type of village, which is actually the form that prevails over by far the largest part of India.



the joint-village is prevalent in Upper India, because Upper India was the special sphere of the domination of Aryans, Jats, and Moslems—*i.e.*, as an immigrant people, or in any number. Aryan influence only crossed the Vindhyan hill-barrier at a later time and in a special mode: it affected the religious teaching of the people and probably the local rulerships and kingdoms, but not the village forms.

Even among the joint-villages of Upper India, the varieties are several and fundamental in character. The forms are mainly based, it is shown, on three principles: (1) the peculiar tribal custom of certain later tribes (among them the Panjab Frontier tribes); (2) the joint inheritance of a number of co-heirs descending from a single founder, conqueror, usurper, or (later) revenue-farmer, of a village area; (3) the voluntary association of colonists who adopted a joint-stock method of cultivation. As all these resulted in villages compact in area, and with a certain internal union which led them easily to accept a joint responsibility for a sum of revenue laid on the village as a unit, they became invested with an additional and fictitious appearance of uniformity, because the revenue administration applied to them all the same forms of record and the same revenue nomenclature.

The distinction between the joint-village forms of Upper India, and the communities of single-holders in the rest of India is further illustrated (Chap. IX.) by the coexistence of both types in certain localities, both anciently (traces, but only traces, still remaining) and at the present day. It is shown that these ancient types of occasionally jointly-owned villages in the south, were due to the growth of overlord families of grantees, or to associations of specially privileged colonists. Some surviving cases are clearly due to the multiplication of the families of originally-appointed revenue farmers or managers.

The work concludes with a general summary (Chap. X.) regarding the growth of ideas of soil-ownership as exhibited by the Indian villages, and regarding the value of the "village" as a social and administrative unit.

The vernacular (local) terms are given in italic type, transliterated on the system adopted by the R. Asiatic Society. The labour involved in ascertaining the true form of the words (which usually do not occur in dictionaries) was enormous, since in most of the older reports and authorities a so-called "phonetic" method of writing was adopted, and so disguised the words, that it is often difficult to trace the truer spelling. *Phonetic* spelling, besides being (in practice) accompanied by the utmost carelessness in putting in or leaving out *aspirates*, *bh*, *th*, *dh*, etc., is particularly unfortunate in English, where no one vowel has any fixed or standard value.

We take this opportunity of calling attention to the APPENDIX to Chap. VIII., on page 353. We cannot urge too strongly that something should be done by the Government of India to obtain better "statistics" of the existing villages, which should have some meaning or value as a real record of *forms*. The author does not criticise the value of the present Agricultural Tenure Returns for the purely official or administrative purposes for which they are designed, though even then the vernacular terms used require more explanation and less diversity of meaning. What he points out is that these returns are distinctly misleading for any purposes connected with the

history of institutions and as regards the interesting question of the survival of the different tribal and family origins of the villages.

Mr. Baden Powell here suggests the cultivation of a "neglected field" of vast importance to science, literature, and the government, and no time should be lost in attending to the suggestions for its cultivation, which are so fully and so clearly given in the above-mentioned Appendix. We can only conclude by saying that this valuable *magnum opus* fittingly crowns a long career of eminent literary and administrative services which Mr. Baden-Powell has rendered to India.

MESSRS. MACMILLAN AND CO. ; LONDON.

19. *Henry Callaway, first Bishop of Kaffraria*. A memoir by MARIAN S. BENHAM. Much confusion is created in most current criticisms of missionaries and the mission system by the neglect to mark with sufficient clearness the distinction between the two main divisions of missionary enterprise. The attempt to convert to Christianity nations already in possession of a considerable degree of civilization, and imbued with definite religious and moral conceptions, is attended with many difficulties and open to many objections. All moral systems under which a race has reached a high level of culture must in the main be good. To such peoples the missionary comes not as a moral teacher, but as a doctrinal opponent. That which in religion is least important, he is compelled to insist upon most, for a merely moral preaching, whatever its good effects, would win but few converts.

It is often urged as an argument against scepticism that to undermine a man's religion is to undermine his morality. The intimate connection of religion and morality on which this argument is based is too often neglected by the advocates of missions. The converted Chinaman or Hindu is like a plant rooted out of its native soil—he has lost touch with that moral environment which, whatever its absolute value from the Christian standpoint, was the one in his case best adapted to the formation of a healthy moral character. Certainly the experience of those who have come in contact with missions in China, India, or the Mahomedan East has usually been that the convert is, with rare exceptions, morally inferior to his unconverted countrymen.

To the other class of missions, those to completely uncivilized and savage races, the above objections do not apply. To them the missionary comes to dispel gross superstitions, to teach morality, to mitigate their love of bloodshed and plunder, to assist also in spreading our higher material civilization, often, too, to undo the evil effects of their first contact with that civilization. For such missionary work Africa has offered the widest field. Of the large, the preponderant share taken in it by English missionaries we have every reason as a nation to be justly proud. In the roll of their most distinguished names, that of Henry Callaway deserves a leading place. His unremitting zeal, his profound wisdom in endeavouring to enter into a fuller sympathy with the workings of the Kafir mind by a thorough and scientific study of the Kafir language and Kafir traditions, and not least his great knowledge of medicine,

peculiarly fitted him for the task to which he devoted his life. Miss Benham's work will be read with interest not only by those especially concerned with missionary enterprise, but by all who study the problem of the future relations of the various races which inhabit our globe.

The memoir is largely composed of extracts from Callaway's own journal and letters, a plan which allows the reader to gain a clearer insight into his character than might have been the case with a continuous narrative, and as the letters are well arranged, does not interfere with the readability of the work. The authoress has shown good judgment in not giving more than necessary of the once famous Colenso dispute. A.

20. *The Buddhist Praying Wheel, a collection of material bearing upon the symbol of the wheel and circular movements in custom and religious ritual*, by WILLIAM SIMPSON, R.I. ; M.R.A.S., etc. In this handsome and beautifully illustrated volume the well-known artist, Mr. W. Simpson, has collected a large amount of material in support of a theory. The object commonly but inaccurately called a "prayer-wheel," is well-known to all who have visited any of the Hill-stations in India. At Simla, and still more at Darjeeling, these small rudely made brass cylinders revolving on a wooden handle, are hawked about for sale by Tibetan pedlars. They are hollow, and contain strips of paper on which is roughly stamped the Buddhist formula of adoration "Om, mani padme hum." Much religious merit is acquired from constantly turning this cylinder, but it must be turned from left to right, following the course of the sun. In temples and small wayside shrines larger drums of the same kind are set up to be turned by the hands of passers by or by water power. Connecting this cylinder with the idea of a wheel the author has been led into a very far-reaching inquiry regarding the symbolism of the wheel in Buddhism, Hinduism, and other religions. His researches bring him into contact with the Swastika, the solar system, and many strange customs in Egypt, Japan, Greece and Rome, also in the Jewish, Christian and Muhammadan religious rites. He also brings in references to Celtic and Teutonic customs. Whether all this mass of miscellaneous information points to any real ancient and universal adoption of the wheel as a religious symbol, and if so what that symbol portends is a deep and difficult question, and one which the author very wisely does not pretend to have solved. He has however produced an interesting work full of curious and recondite knowledge, well worthy of the attention of those who are interested in folk-lore and the 'Science' of comparative mythology. J. B.

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MOWBRAY AND CO. ; OXFORD.

21. *Six Months in Jerusalem*, by the REV. CHARLES BIGGS, M.A. The aim of the author is to show the work which England is supposed to have undertaken in trying to make Jerusalem "the centre of the world." After referring to the Crusades, he contrasts the East and the West, much to the disparagement of the former, denouncing Muhammadanism as "a Puritan revolt, having gone back from its former purity of creed and practice." The greater portion of the book is taken up by graphic descriptions of Jerusalem and its suburbs, now so familiar to even the general reader, and by interesting accounts of the customs and rites of the pilgrims. The author says on p. 218-19: "For one pilgrim who comes with a

scientific interest, there are nine whose purpose is simply to store their imagination with memories which shall help them better to understand the Bible." The work is worth perusal. It is illustrated by some good photographs and is naturally accompanied by numerous appropriate quotations from, and references to, the Holy Scriptures.

### LIFE OF BRIAN HODGSON.

JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.

22. *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson, British Resident at the Court of Nepal*, by SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D. The first half of the present century was still occupied with the great efforts in building up and consolidating the internal affairs of the great dependency of the British Crown, the Empire of Hindustan. Many are the brilliant military and diplomatic achievements that contributed towards that end and fortunate indeed was the Government, to have found servants of great abilities capable to do the work that stood before them.

Without doubt, the most critical period in Indian History occurred during the reign of Lord Auckland, after the disaster in Afghanistan, and among the names that stand out as having done conspicuous service at that time, perhaps none is greater than that of the famous Minister-Resident of Nepal, who through his commanding influence, zeal, and ability, and particularly knowledge of the native character, kept back the war party at Kathmandu from engaging in hostilities against the sorely tried British power. It seems strange that a man, who has done so much for his country, should have been entirely forgotten by the Government. Hodgson's contemporaries, who knew his merits, are all dead, and it is fortunate therefore that the writing of the life history of such a man should have been undertaken by Sir William W. Hunter. He has produced in this book a most instructive narrative, doing justice to the memory of his subject. In describing the work and character of the man in his family and domestic relations, his merits as a highminded public servant, and lastly as a manysided scholar of world-wide repute, the author has painted an attractive portrait of Brian Hodgson, and has shown to those who choose India for their life career, how much can be accomplished by talent and industry, and what personal influence will do in the case of one endowed with lofty aims, a firm character, and courtly manners in dealing with native races and potentates.

Brian Hodgson was born in Cheshire in 1800. His grandfather was a man of considerable property. His father, a country gentleman, lost all he had through a bank, and became a ruined man with a family of seven children around him; the mother, a woman of great accomplishments of character and personal attractions, remained a faithful helpmate to her husband in their misfortune. Young Brian was sent to school at Macclesfield, and through friendly influence obtained a nomination to Haileybury, where, during part of his studies, he lived with Dr. Malthus as his guest. In December, 1817, he passed out of Haileybury as a gold medallist and the head of his term; he sailed for India round the Cape, and left "his loving parental home, which remained as ever the dominant chord of his life."



India at that time was a place of exile to a degree which we of the present day can scarcely understand, but young Hodgson was fortunate in finding friends in Calcutta, and through them being introduced into the best society. During his stay at the Presidency, Hodgson had to continue his studies at the College of Fort William, but was "ever ready to take part in any ball and entertainments, as well as for a flight after a boar or jackal," but he soon became prostrated with fever to that extent, that his doctors advised him to throw up the service and go home, unless he could obtain an appointment to the hills. Fortunately for Hodgson, there was a suitable vacancy at Kumaun, the newly acquired province, under Mr. Traill "the King of Kumaun," as he was called. The graphic chapter describing the settlement-work of the Territory, in which Traill and Hodgson were engaged, how they visited every hamlet on their long circuits, give an idea what a British officer in India is often expected single-handed to accomplish. In 1825 he was promoted as Assistant to the Resident of Nepal.

At Kathmandu Hodgson found in his chief, Mr. Gardner, "a man with all the simplicity and more than courtesy of Traill," but he at the same time became aware that his active mind and habits were too much hampered by the jealousy of the Nepal Government and therefore he was glad to be transferred to Calcutta into the secretariat, a sure stepping-stone to the highest appointments in the service, to which Hodgson might well aspire. But here his health gave way again, and he was obliged to accept a subordinate position in Kathmandu to recruit his health. In 1825, on a vacancy occurring, he was replaced in the position he occupied before, namely the Assistant Residentsip. In 1833 he became full Resident. The author gives a touching description of the condition of the "solitary heart," when compelled, by reason of feeble health, to spend his official life "in a pent up valley in the Himalayas, which he could traverse in a forenoon and beyond which no European might penetrate. . . . How he converted his misfortune into an opportunity, forms the story of this book. His life was to be one of solitary labour, with small chance of recognition, and indeed with little thought of the outer world. The best memorial of him is his work, and I shall try to show what he was, by a plain statement of what he did. I thus fulfil his own wish, expressed in many gentle ways, during the last twenty-five years of his life, when I had the happiness to call him friend," and a charming picture of a beautiful character we have in this book before us.

As to Hodgson's public services, he received repeated thanks from the Government for his brilliant diplomatic successes. On taking leave from India Lord Auckland wrote to him from the Sandheads, concluding his letter as follows "Once more I thank you for all you have done."

The most anxious period of Hodgson's stay at Kathmandu were those years, when under the rule of a feeble sovereign, the Court intrigues of the Senior Queen brought on the downfall of the powerful Minister, Bhim Sen Thappa, a predecessor and relative of the afterwards famous Jung Bahadur. Bhim Sen's dismissal was followed by horrible and cruel scenes of bloodshed raging between two powerful parties of nobles, the Thappas

and the Pandis so vividly portrayed in the viijth Chapter, and the danger that Hodgson was exposed to.—Lord Auckland's successor was Lord Ellenborough; "of him" as the author remarks "it is even now difficult to speak." He seems to have been bent upon upsetting everywhere the policy of his predecessor. Without the knowledge of his Council, and to the amazement of all, Lord Ellenborough deprived Hodgson of his appointment, which he held for so many years with conspicuous success and ability. Hodgson, wounded by the unmerited treatment, resigned the service and left for England in February 1844. Next year he returned to the vicinity of the field of his scientific and antiquarian research. He settled at Darjiling and there at first alone, but afterwards assisted by his wife, whom he married in 1853, he pursued his studies till 1858. The voluminous fourfold Appendix printed at the end of the book shows what an amount of original work Hodgson has accomplished. His rich collections of Buddhist works and Sanscrit MSS. and Natural History Specimens, on which he spent a fortune, enabled him to make princely presents, for instance to the British Museum 10,449 zoological specimens and similar munificent donations to scientific societies at home and abroad; of books and MSS. to the Royal Asiatic Society, to Oxford and Paris and others.

To European scholars like Burnouf, Rémusat, Klaproth or Bunsen, the author of the *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists* stood out pre-eminent. Sir William Hunter pays a touching tribute to the poor pilgrim scholar, when he says of Csoma de Kőrös at p. 278 that "the generous Hungarian scholar, stands out as the sole rival of Hodgson" in the field of Himalayan research. The two scholars worked contemporaneously, unknown to each other during the same years. The merit of making the first communication *to the world* on the subject, belongs to Hodgson.

Admirable as the diplomatic and scientific work done by Hodgson has been, his lovable character as a son, brother and husband shines out above all his other accomplishments. The author tells us how Brian has been the support of his parents and brothers during many years; although his salary as Resident was £4,000 a year, he was not able to save. A year or two previous to his resigning the service, he expressed anxiety regarding his pension, as the amount, which according to the rules he was obliged to contribute, was not yet paid up.

On returning to England in 1843, he had the joy of finding both his parents alive and also his beloved sister "Fan" the wife of Baron Nahuys. Hodgson was married twice; in 1853 to Miss Scott and two years after her death, in 1870, to Miss Townshend. "Twenty-five years of unclouded happiness he enjoyed with a wife, capable of sharing his interests; much younger than himself, yet devoted to him, with perfect affection which noble natures inspire and feel." It is to Mrs. Hodgson that the author has dedicated his book, a worthy monument of the good and remarkable man, whom all, who knew him, honoured and loved, worthy of the great literary reputation of the author, and of the affectionate devotion of her, who with much self-sacrifice and all the means at her disposal, so effectually contributed to perpetuate the memory of her late husband.

Brian Houghton Hodgson passed away painlessly in May 1894 in his ninety-fifth year, and lies buried in the quiet churchyard at Alderley.

THEODORE DUKA.

#### CHESTER MACNAGHTEN.

23. *Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects*, by the late CHESTER MACNAGHTEN. This volume contains addresses delivered on Sundays (only because Sunday was the day of leisure) by the late Mr. Chester Macnaghten, Principal of the Rajkumar College in Kathiawar, to the elder Kumars under his charge. Mr. Whitelaw says in his introduction that they illustrate the spirit in which Mr. Macnaghten undertook and carried on for twenty-five years the important and novel work of educating the princes and nobles of Kathiawar. While scrupulously abstaining from speaking to the boys of Christian doctrine and availing himself largely of native philosophies and literature, he taught them Christian principles and motives as only those can who live the things they teach. And so, Mr. Whitelaw thinks, the simplicity and seriousness and directness of speech and purpose of these addresses will make them helpful to others who may need them for guidance and counsel as they were to many of those who heard them spoken.

The motive on which Mr. Macnaghten acted is well illustrated by the following extract from a speech delivered on speech-day, December 1886:

"We desire that our students may be something more than mere scholars. We wish that each of those leaving this College may have something of the ideal Rájput knight, without fear, because without reproach, combining old chivalry with modern refinement, and above all reverencing his conscience as his king. We do indeed wish that the strength of each one of them may be as the strength of ten, not because he has a surface veneering of English, but because his heart is pure."

And the lives of some of his pupils, among whom may be mentioned His Highness the late Maharaja of Bhaunagar, their Highnesses the Thakor Sahibs of Gondal and Morvi, the Maharaja of Kolhápúr, and his brother chief of Kágál, the Maharaja of Idar, and the chiefs of Lunáwádá and Janjirá, have shown that his teaching was not in vain.

Mr. Macnaghten constantly held before his pupils their future great responsibilities, for the proper discharge of which their college life was to train them, and took pains to point his lesson by examples from Indian history. This is well illustrated in the address on Personal Influence. After telling the story of the "true Kshatri" Ráná Sanga, of the miserable reign of Vikramájít his son, of Oodeysing his successor who is contrasted with his contemporary Akbar, Mr. Macnaghten gives the history of Pratáp the virtue of whose great name lives as the Khánikhánán says "for ever."

"As long as those hills which he loved shall stand, so long will his name abide as a symbol of all that is kingly and steadfast and true.

"Now Pratáp's greatness, and that of all men, is for our example. That is the use of history. Experience of other men, read in our histories, gives guidance for our own conduct in life. What has been may be, and shall be, and what man has done that man may do. Let us have a high historical ideal, some noble exemplar such as Pratáp, whom we may imitate as well as admire. Most times and most places have had their heroes; but the merit of history is that it shows us the heroes of *all* times and of *all* places. So that choosing out of the whole world's experience—not that tiny part of it in which we

live—we may select for our own imitation the highest and noblest exemplar which hundreds of years have produced. So think of this when you read your histories; try to imitate the greatness of which you read. What great men have done, that you too may do; for you too are a man. Especially their *moral* greatness is imitable; and you, by the same behaviour, may influence others, as they did.

"You, who will exercise power hereafter, who, considering your age, have much influence now, try to be great and to use your influence in the greatest and noblest way. You, who should by your birth be leaders, seek also to be great. Seek to use your influence so that you may lead others wisely and well.

"There is a bad kind of leadership, which is not greatness at all, as we see, from the history of Mewár alone, in the miserable stories of Vikramájít, Bunbír, and Oodeysing. History abounds in such pitiable—I will not call them examples but—warnings. They warn us how a great opportunity may be debased into meanness and shame. And such warnings have not been uncommon both in ancient and modern history. But let us look on the brighter side, on the side of the heroes like Pratáp and Akbar, and be thankful that we have them likewise. Though there may not be many of them, yet, if few, they shine all the brighter as stars in the firmament of history. They show us what human influence may do, if it be rightly used. And especially they show us this, that a great and good man, who has to lead others, must often act alone by himself, against the opinions of others, and in accordance with his own sole conviction. This requires great force of will. It requires that a man should steadfastly adhere to the path of duty and not of pleasure. See how Pratáp stood out alone, for what he considered to be the right course, against the example of other Rájputs, and in spite of great loss and trouble to himself! Yet now the voice of all Rájwádá proclaims that he alone was right, and all Hindus revere his name as that of a saint as well as a hero.

"Remember the five great duties of a Kshatrí and you will be as great as Pratáp was."

Similarly too the address on kindness to animals, which we commend to the notice of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, is prefaced by the story of Sabuktágín, King of Ghazní, and the doe which he released. This is how the tale is concluded:

"That is an old story, but I should be very sorry to think that it is wholly a fiction. It shows us, at any rate, in a truthful manner, the tender side of the Mahomedan creed, which lives, and must live, not by fire and force, but rather by deeds of compassion and love."

Could any method be devised more likely to be successful with those whom he was addressing than arguments thus based on Eastern stories, and Eastern views of conduct, with which they were already familiar?

When we remember that Ranjitsinhji (who forms one of the college group in an interesting photograph at the beginning of the book though it is somewhat difficult to recognise the brilliant batsman of 1896 in the demure turbanned lad of 1887) first learned cricket at the Rajkumar College, it is interesting to read the address on Play, where Mr. Macnaghten describes cricket as "perhaps the king of all games," and where he reads to the assembled boys, little thinking what an important place in cricket history one of them was destined to take in the future, the capital description of a match from "Tom Brown's Schooldays." But here too he gives due credit to Indian sports and exercises:

"You remember, for instance, how the Pándús and Kurus were all trained together in the feats of the gymnasium, and how the former excelled the latter in these as well as in mental accomplishments. And these gymnastic exercises, also, are excellent of their kind; and perhaps they are the very best kind, if mere hardening of our muscles be the object in view. On the whole, I must say that, if modern India had maintained the practice of ancient India, and especially the practice of the ancient Rájputs, in the matter



of out-door sports of prowess, she would not have had much to learn in these days from the nations of the West. But the Aryan prowess is not what it was, and some of the old Aryan sports have gone with it.

"I have only said this to show that in our English encouragement of out-door sports there is nothing which conflicts with the national ideas or usage of India at her best. The spirit which animates English games is the spirit which animated the Aryans of old."

We have room but for one more extract from these addresses. It teaches a lesson, based on the Shāstras, which many of the rising generation might well learn :

"Modesty is a quality which every one commends. The wonder is that it is so rare. I am not sure that it is rarer in India than in other countries ; but a common charge against Indian youths, and especially against those who have had some education, is that, instead of being modest, they think too much of themselves. I should be very sorry to conclude that this is the fruit of education—which surely should teach us how little we know, and therefore make us humble—but the buoyant vigour and freshness of youth frequently tend to impart over-confidence, and perhaps this tendency is intensified under the conditions now dominating India. If it be so, we should be the more careful. Especially Hindus should be careful. For there are few virtues more plainly insisted on in the old Hindu *śāstras* than 'modesty.' It is *Ho* of the 'good characteristics' (*sātvik guṇa*) given in chap. xvi. of the *Gītā* ; and I think it a remarkable fact that, of 'the six demoniacal characteristics' (*daśai guṇa*) of that chapter, one-half are the antonyms, I may say, of this 'modesty'—viz. : 'vain-glory,' 'arrogance,' and 'conceit.'"

We should have liked to have dwelt on several other addresses : on those on Truth in which the argument is supported by a quotation from Hāfiz ; on the address on Gentle in which the great Pratāp of Mewār who "lost wealth and land, but bowed not the head" is held up as an example of the true gentleman ; on the charming botany lesson described as the Flowers of the Field in which the students were reminded of points in their own religion by reference to the vegetable world ; and on the addresses on Physical and Moral Courage many examples of which are given from Indian story. They are all based on the same high principles. Eastern and Western may alike profit from their study.

MESSRS. T. NELSON AND SONS ; LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK.

24. *Cook's Voyages Round the World*. No excuses are needed for the appearance of this book in an age which hears of the preparation of an 'édition de luxe' of such a work as the "Swiss Family Robinson." The publishers deserve our praise for the issue of a cheap, handy and but slightly abridged reprint of the famous voyager's journals. No better book can be put in the hands of boys, free as it is at once from those descriptions of subjective states of mind which do not appeal to the boyish reader, and from that contemptuous want of appreciation of uncivilized races which disfigures so many modern books of travel. The book is clearly printed, and with the numerous illustrations and the not too prolix life of the Captain forms a welcome and complete publication.

MR. DAVID NUTT ; LONDON.

25. *Stories of Everyday Life in Modern China*, told by Chinese, and done into English by T. WALTERS, late H.M.'s Consul at Foochow. The author of this charming little book has evidently profited by his many opportunities acquired during a stay of over thirty years in China—some spent in little-

known parts in the interior—by collecting this series of characteristic and interesting narratives which give an insight into the actual Chinese life of the present time. The volume contains nine stories, all based on real occurrences; "The Constant Husband," "The True Maiden," show that there is plenty of romantic attachment among the Chinese. The author hopes that "from these stories as they stand the unprejudiced reader may perhaps learn that there are better and more amiable traits in the character of some Chinese men and women than are regarded as possible for any of them by many foreigners."

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MESSRS. SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON AND CO.

26. *Travels in Moab, Ammon and Gilead*, by ALGERNON HEBER-PERCY. The Rev.—can it be otherwise?—Heber-Percy and family accompanied by two dragomans, a cook and an adequate supply of attendants, mules, tents, etc., left Jerusalem and after faring leisurely through Moab, Ammon and Gilead arrived at the railway station of El Mezarib (or El Miserable as the poor stationmaster called it). Thence the rev. gentleman took a first-class ticket to Damascus for himself and family. The cook and dragomans travelled second class, the mules and impedimenta walked after the train, in default we presume of 3rd and 4th classes. On their journey the party admired various interesting ruins, of which the present volume gives some excellent reproductions, and met with no adventures of a sensational character. Our author's tone is frankly subjective throughout. The emotions with which he tries to picture to himself the valley of Jordan crowded by the invading hosts of Israel, the Scriptural quotations which occur to him at various historic scenes, the glass of Pilsener at the good Samaritan's Khan, the refreshing bathe, the unpleasantness of earwigs are all faithfully chronicled. The interest of the book is thus mildly sustained throughout.

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MR. EDWARD STANFORD; LONDON.

27. "*Asia*." Vol. II., *Southern and Western Asia*, by A. H. KEANE, F.R.G.S. This is a book which should be in every school where English is spoken and in the hands of everyone who is anxious for up-to-date geographical and political information of a not too profound character. It is needless to say that the numerous Maps with which the book is illustrated, besides "illustrations" generally so-called, reflect the very greatest credit on Mr. Stanford and are as near perfection as they can be in constantly advancing stages of more and more accurate and detailed knowledge. As, however, there are spots in the sun, we may say that Mr. Keane too often derives his information from popular, if not poetic, sources, rather than from the duller authorities of a more severe and accurate type, especially in the original languages concerned. A drawing of Nautch girls of Hyderabad therefore fittingly opens the volume and the opinion of a *Times* Correspondent on some of the parts composing Dardistan, which is not even named in the book, has more weight with such a writer than the reports of Leitner, Biddulph, Drew, Barrow, Macgregor, and other real authorities. The portrait too of the Amir of Afghanistan seems to be identical, though on a reduced scale, with what was placed by him

at the disposal of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. About Kafiristan some inaccurate knowledge is shown, but it does not matter since that country is now more isolated than ever under Afghan rule and its historic inhabitants have been destroyed or forcibly converted to Muhammadanism, whatever the official advocate, if not the *agent provocateur*, of the Chitrál imbroglio may say to the contrary, even when supported by Mr. Keane, apparently a worshipper of whatever is notorious. To those who want correct information on subjects remote from ordinary attainment, we do not advise consulting this book—for instance, as no Knight of an English Journal has recently visited the Druses, therefore, in ignorance of what was written on them by de Sacy a century ago, not to speak of what has appeared in this very Review, which by the way is often used by quasi-specialists without acknowledgment, we find them described as “half-pagan,” as quasi-Muhammadans, with a doctrine derived from “the ancient Egyptians” and yet one “*distinguished*,” a page further on, from “the *Ishmaelites* descended from the murderous sect of Assassins” whereas the Druses *are* Ismailians, and descended from the so-called Assassins, whilst Ishmaelites are the ordinary Arabs. Thus too we have “*Meteollis* or Shiah sectaries” whereas the author refers to the Matavallis, who are sectaries *from* the Shiah persuasion. Then come the Nusarieh and Nazarini, confounding alike spelling and sense, but why will books on foreign countries be entrusted by a Publisher to those who are not acquainted with their respective languages, the sole key to any real knowledge regarding them? However, where paper is patient and the public ignorant, clever men with a knack for writing will always displace the accurate and retiring student. At the same time we repeat that this book is a credit to its author for the bulk of its contents and that it is extremely useful to the ordinary reader as well as a stimulus for further research to the genuine student and the suspicious critic.

### THE LIFE OF GORDON.

MR. T. FISHER UNWIN; LONDON, 1896.

28. *The Life of Gordon*, by DEMETRIUS BOULGER. As a panegyric of British ideals, so nobly personified in the late General Gordon, this work is perfect, and Mr. Boulger is entitled to the gratitude of all hero-worshippers. As an impartial disquisition however of events and even of the character of a man, who in his ever-changing moods and opinions was “not one but all mankind’s epitome,” this very readable book in two volumes of close type leaves much to be desired. The public will not thank us for disturbing any superstitions connected with the great man whose very failings were grand and, indeed, it is with bated breath that one should express any misgivings regarding a national idol, for every accepted embodiment of national pride has its use in stimulating national life. We will, therefore, only venture to point out that if ever a man was alike the maker and the marrer of his own fortune that man was invariably Gordon. His fall was due to himself alone, as was his rise; and if those who have known him intimately at the Cape, in China, in India, in the Sudan and

elsewhere, were not afraid to speak out, they would describe him in a far less laudatory strain than his present able biographer. What can be said of the man who, impatient of the trammels of an Indian secretaryship, resigns it with a manifesto that God would still prosper the master whom he was leaving; what of the officer who being sent against a foe finds that the latter was in the right and comes to terms with him on that footing—an act to be no doubt admired from a higher standpoint than that of routine obligation; what of the man who unjustly, as Slatin Pasha sorrowfully shows between the lines of his book, caused Zobeir Pasha's son to be executed, then sends home an Arabic pamphlet, which he could never have read, in justification of that act, whereas it did not justify it at all, then stipulates for the elimination of Zobeir Pasha whilst he was in England and finally finds that nothing is too good for Zobeir as soon as he gets back to Egypt? This is all very fine, but is it fair? The genius of Gordon in explaining to the Cabinet that he intended to relieve the Egyptians at Khartum by following Thomas à Kempis' "*De imitatione Christi*" is as striking as the impression which that statement created on the *blasés* statesmen who sent him to his doom. Sometimes in favour of slavery as a matter of expediency in the Sudan; at other times its strongest opponent; now burling defiance at the Mahdi and then indignant at his refusal to become the Sultan of Kordofan under himself; trying to conjure an inevitable fate if he remained at Khartum by toys to the populace, when he could so easily have left it with the Egyptians and thus have accomplished his mission,—all this may be "divinely mad" and truly "magnificent," but belongs neither to the arts of peace nor to those of war. The public prayed for him in all the Churches and Chapels in England at his request, but left his sister to pay the bulk of the endowment for the Gordon Home. In China, he *was* truly great, but even there he said and did much that in a less eccentric man would never have been forgiven, and Mr. Boulger now leaves us with a cock-and-bull story of the English and German Ministers conspiring against the Emperor to whom they were accredited by means, it would appear, of Gordon and Li Hung Chang! "Save me from my friends" might be well said by admirers of the illustrious hero.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We are compelled to postpone to next issue the reviews of a number of important works that have reached us too late for this number. Among them is the first volume of the valuable *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, with an introduction by the indefatigable Mr. F. C. DANVERS (Sampson Low, Marston and Co.).

Parts 3 and 4 of the sumptuously got-up "*Naval and Military Trophies*" (J. C. Nimmo) which, *inter alia*, give the flag captured at Tel-el-Kebir and the Tiger's Head from the Throne of Tippo.

A simply invaluable work on "*Hindu Astronomy*," by Mr. BRENNAND (C. Straker and Sons), which shows that we have much to learn, where we think we have only to teach, and where even mythological representations contain the history of astronomical facts.



Blackie and Son have published, in a most charming form, and with the happiest illustrations, "*On the Irrawaddy*," a story of the first Burmese war, by the versatile G. A. HENTY.

"*Mon Voyage a la Mecque*," by GERVAIS COURTELLEMONTE (Hachette et Cie., Paris), gives us a very readable account of a voyage, or pilgrimage from Algiers to Mecca, undertaken in 1890 by the author, who is evidently thoroughly in sympathy with Muhammadans and their tenets.

The REV. DR. C. CROSLIGH, D.D., breaks a lance for "*The Bible in the Light of to-day*," even when under the most searching glare of modern science (Christian Knowledge Society).

Rather late to reach us, but still very welcome, are two highly interesting volumes on "*Confucius*," the great teacher, and "*Lao-tze*" the great thinker (Kegan Paul and Co.), by GENERAL G. G. ALEXANDER, from whom we have also received a most convincing paper on "*Tao*" as an exact equivalent for "*God*," which we hope to publish in our next issue.

MR. J. KOROSTOVETZ has sent us from Lisbon what appears to be an invaluable work in the Russian language on "*China, Japan, and Corea*," of over 625 royal octavo pages in close print, and with a good map.

The Madras Government has sent us two quarto volumes of the *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains* of that Presidency, compiled with numerous notes of the highest historical value, by MR. ROBERT SEWELL, whose most interesting "Notes by the late Sir Walter Elliott" in this Review will doubtless be remembered by many of our readers.

The Nine Volumes of the Semitic Series of the ANECDOTA OXONIENSIA (Clarendon Press) to be reviewed in our next number by Dr. M. S. HOWELL and the Rev. Rabbi H. GOLLANCZ.

We have also received: The new library edition of SIR W. W. HUNTER's little book, the "*Old Missionary*" (Henry Frowde), the illustrations to which, by General Sir Charles D'Oyly, give it an additional charm. We reviewed the first edition in our October, 1895, number.

A second edition of "*Four Months in Persia*," a visit to Transcaspia, and other papers (which we advertise elsewhere in this issue), by MR. C. E. BIDDULPH, a work whose first edition has been so well received by the English and Indian press.

A sixth supplement to *Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*; as also a paper on *Rare Kashmir Coins*, and on the coins of Nimrōz, or Sijistan, by the assiduous numismatist C. J. RODGERS.—The last Quarterly statement of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*.—The Journal of the "*Buddhist Text Society of India*."—A pamphlet on "*Indian Medical Reform*," by DR. BAHADURJI, on the lines of his lecture before the East India Association, and reported in this Review.—A lecture on "*Education in Burma*," by the scholar TAW SEN KO, Assistant Secretary to the Burma Government.—A very interesting Journal of the Japan Society of London.—MR. H. HILLMAN's "*Imports and Exports of Siam*."—"Minerva," the excellent Italian monthly review.

As we go to press we receive a large quarto volume (the 2nd part) from the Archæological Survey of India on "*The Moghul Architecture of Pathpur-Sikri*," admirably described, and most profusely illustrated, by MR. F. W.

SMITH. This work reflects the very greatest credit on the Government of the North-West Provinces, under whose enlightened auspices this work has been issued. Before reviewing it, we must await the first part. Also from the Madras Government *Châlukyan Architecture*, by A. REA—exceedingly well done.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt also of: *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*;—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—*Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—The American weekly, called *Public Opinion* (Astor Place, New York);—*Public Opinion*, (London);—*Journal of the Society of Arts*, (London);—*Le Mémorial Diplomatique*, (Paris);—*The Canadian Gazette*, (London);—*The Indian Magazine and Review*, (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*Comptes-rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—*Le Tour du Monde*, (London and Paris: Hachette);—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: The National Press);—From Geo. Newnes, London: the three last numbers of *The Strand Magazine*;—the three last numbers of *The Strand Musical Magazine*;—Nos. 6, 7 and 8 of *England's History as pictured by famous Painters*;—*The Navy and Army illustrated*;—"The Way of the Cross," a Pictorial Pilgrimage from Bethlehem to Calvary. The last Quarter's "Sanskrit Journal" of the Oriental University Institute, Woking—full and interesting;—The "*Revue de l'Islâm*" (Paris), an instructive and suggestive publication.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—Mr. O'Connor's report on the trade of British India with foreign countries is as usual most ably compiled and contains a mass of valuable and interesting information. It states that the imports of cotton goods were smaller than those of last year, the markets having been well supplied previous to the imposition of the duty and also during the agitation against its continuance. But notwithstanding the decrease on these imports nearly Rx. 7,000,000 increase on nearly all other imports brought the total imports of merchandise for the year to nearly the same figure as in 1894-95. The importation of gold was especially large. The export trade shows large increases in cotton and other articles of importance, but a decline in wool, opium, jute and oilseeds. British shipping still "retains its preponderance amongst the vessels which enter Indian ports, 86 per cent. of the steam tonnage which entered our ports last year having been British."

An important Resolution will shortly issue, reviewing the working of Municipal Administrations throughout India. This will mean the review of the years from 1884 to 1895 and should prove interesting reading.

The amount tendered for conversion of the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. loans is in India 475 lakhs, in London 37 lakhs—a total of 512 out of 566 lakhs. The unconverted amount of 54 lakhs falls due to be paid to the holders on January 30th.

The Indian Cantonment Code, which has been under revision for years, is before the Council and will shortly be issued in a final shape.

The Marri tribesmen, who attacked a station, followed up this outrage by killing a party of workmen on the Quetta Railway and by firing upon a train that carried troops to the scene of the disorders. The line is since patrolled by soldiers. The raid, however, is regarded as an isolated act of fanaticism, involving no serious consequences.

The notorious Mullah Povindah, who led the Mahmud Waziris astray in 1894, has returned to Waziristan from Afghan territory. The Tochi and Wano garrisons are on the alert, lest he stir up trouble again.

The bubonic plague, which was either imported, or created by local conditions, continues in Bombay. It has also made its appearance in Calcutta, but, fortunately, on a very small scale. All possible measures are being taken to combat the disease. Mr. Haffkine has been deputed to enquire into it.

His Excellency the Viceroy's tour has been conducted with a minimum of display, owing to the great distress that prevails in most parts of India. There were no Durbars and beyond the usual State dinners as little ceremonial as possible.

The agricultural prospects are still gloomy. The situation is being closely watched by all the provincial governments and relief works have been established in all directions, such as feeder-roads, small irrigation projects, minor lines of railways, construction of wells, etc. The number

of persons on relief works is reported to be 331,700. All the railways have reduced their rates for grain from seaport towns to stations in Upper and Central India. This stimulates imports from abroad. The recent rainfall in many districts, though it came too late to do much good to the autumn crops, will be of benefit, and prices of grain are expected to decline.

The extensions of the Chenab Canal in the Panjab are being vigorously pushed forward. The project will bring vast tracts of waste land under cultivation. It will water 200,000 acres, which will mostly be put under wheat.

The plan for the Simla-Kalka Railway has been approved on the new lines generally suggested by Mr. Prestige. The first sod will be cut in April next, if not before.

Mr. W. Mackworth Young of the Indian Civil Service has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, in succession to Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, whose tenure of office expires in March next.

A dreadful accident occurred at Baroda during the festivities in honour of the Viceroy's visit. Two crowds met at a narrow point in a road and a crush ensued in which 29 persons lost their lives and many were injured.

The Viceroy turned the first sod of the Tapti Valley railway line, which is being constructed with money raised locally, and is likely to be a great success financially.

Great drainage extensions have been undertaken in Calcutta.

BURMA.—Early this year the troops in the Chin Hills will be replaced by military police and the garrison will then be reduced by one regiment.

An expedition of three parties each with 100 police and a survey officer has been sent to punish the Yindus for their sanguinary raid last year and to survey the hill country which is as yet practically unknown.

Various irrigation schemes are planned, which, if carried out, will afford complete protection against the periodically recurring distress in the Upper Provinces.

Ten thousand persons are now employed on the earthwork of the Meiktila-Myingyan Railway.

THE NATIVE STATES.—The Nawab of Loharu has been complimented by the Government of India for the progress made by the Maler Kotla sappers formed in 1894 under the Inspector-General of the Imperial Service troops.

Kumar Jorawarsing Gulabsing has eventually been selected and duly installed as the successor of Raja Pratap Singh in the State of Sunt, in the Rewa Kantha Political Agency. The Raja died a year ago, leaving no male issue, and there was some difficulty as to who should succeed to the *gadi*. The man chosen is still a minor, so that the State will have to be administered by the Agency, whilst he is sent to the Rajkumar College at Rajkote to complete his education.

H.H. the Maharaja of Travancore has accepted the terms proposed by the Government of India for the construction of the railway from Tinnevely to Quilon. A scheme for introducing a pure water supply into Trevandrum has also been put in hand.



On the occasion of the Viceroy's visit to Alwar, the Maharaja proposed the Queen's health and said that if necessity should arise he would be proud to lead the Imperial service troops against the enemies of the Empress.

The Nawab of Rampur has sanctioned a grant of one lakh of rupees for the purchase of grain for sale to the poor of his State at low rates. The Maharaja Holkar of Indore too is laying in great stores of grain for gratuitous or cheap distribution to his subjects and the Maharaja of Benares is setting a good example to the land-owners of these Provinces by his liberality in this time of distress. He has advanced half a lakh of rupees to his tenants in Benares free of interest and recoverable by instalments over a series of corn-harvests. H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala has placed one lakh of rupees at the disposal of the Viceroy for famine emergencies and Sir Asman Jah of Hyderabad has contributed a similar sum for relief in the Nizam's dominion.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Amir has formally notified to the Government of India his assumption of the new title of "Zia'ul-Ittihad-wad-Din"—"Light of Union and Religion." He has ordered that August 15th shall in future be observed as a holiday throughout his dominions, it being honoured by the name of the "Feast day of unanimity." Transfrontier rumours credit the Amir with the intention of making Umra Khan Governor of Kafiristan and the adjoining country eastwards.

Great concessions were made by the Indian Government to the Amir in the Kafiristan direction, the Bashgal valley having been ceded to him, and he, in consequence, now claims dominion over the whole of the Mohmand country, even to Michni, and intends to send regular troops to garrison Mittai. His claim to Mittai is based on the allegation that it has always been an integral part of the Mohmand country and that revenue for Kabul has occasionally been collected from the people. The Government of India, however, are in negotiation with the Amir regarding this point with the view of a settlement on the terms of the Durand Agreement. The Afghans seem now to have Kafiristan thoroughly under control and are building forts at various points, so that the garrison may be safe against sudden risings. *Masjids* are being built in all the principal places, and *Mullahs* with small escorts of sepoys are scattered over the country in order to convert the Kafirs.

The Amir has ordered a conscription of one Afghan in every eight for his regular army with a view to increase the number of men who receive some kind of military training.

Moulvi Ghafar Khan, Assistant Collector in the Lucknow division, has been appointed British Agent at Kabul.

CHINA.—The Siberian Railway is to be constructed across Northern but not across Southern Manchuria. Thus Russia has not obtained permission to connect her railway system with an open port in the Leao-tong Peninsula.

One result of Li Hung Chang's interview with M. Hanotaux is that the arsenal of Fu-chen is to be reconstructed by French engineers. The work is to begin in February.

The Chinese Government has signed contracts in Peking for two Arm-strong cruisers and four German torpedo boats.

The Tsung-li-YamIn has received a secret edict appointing Sheng Taotai Director-General of Railways and granting permission for the construction of the Han-kan, Canton and Su-chan lines. Sheng proposes to expend thirteen million taels of the Imperial grant, in order to construct a portion, which will then be mortgaged to a syndicate (probably American) as security for a loan of twenty million taels to complete the undertaking.

The commercial treaty between China and Japan, which has been the subject of negotiation ever since the conclusion of the war, has at last been signed and ratified. It is to remain in force for ten years.

There are many rumours as to the treatment and its reasons which Li Hung Chang received on his return at the hands of his Government. A Singapore correspondent states that Li is so disgusted, that he is about to retire into private life.

The new *condominium* in COREA means that JAPAN pretty much occupies the same position that she held before the war, except that she has Russia for a partner in Corea in place of China. Count Okuma, the new minister for foreign affairs, is energetically supported by the Strong-Foreign-Policy party.

A treaty of commerce and friendship between Switzerland and JAPAN, practically identical with those already concluded by Japan with Great Britain and other Powers, has been signed at Bern. The treaty of commerce and navigation between Germany and Japan has also been ratified. By way of compensation to Germany for relinquishing consular jurisdiction, the whole of Japan is, in virtue of the new treaty, to be opened to Germans and German trade.

For some time past the Japanese Government has been sending special agents to different parts of European Russia in order to open up fresh markets for Japanese goods; arrangements are being made at Odessa for a direct line of steamers to run between Japan and the Black Sea ports.

A deficit of half a million dollars is anticipated in the STRAITS SETTLEMENTS this year, mainly due to the cost of the proposed passenger railway to JOHORE which is not favourably regarded in commercial circles. Last year there was a considerable surplus. According to the trade returns the imports are stationary, while the exports show an increase of 5 per cent. The Governor, Sir C. B. M. Mitchell, who is expected shortly to succeed Sir W. Robinson as Governor of Hong Kong, examined certain complaints which have been made against the British North Borneo Company's Government.

It is difficult to know what is really happening in the PHILIPPINES, as the official and unofficial accounts are in conflict. The insurgents are numerous, and the rising is of more gravity than was at first expected. General Blanco has resigned the Governor-Generalship, and is succeeded in the post by General Polavieja.

PERSIA.—The Prime Minister has tendered his resignation, which the Shah has accepted, and the appointment of new Ministers for Foreign Affairs, the Interior, War, and Justice has been made. The Shah has an-

nounced that he will henceforth dispense with a Prime Minister, and will be himself at the head of a Cabinet of responsible ministers.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The intolerable character of the situation continues and the snail's pace at which European diplomacy is proceeding with regard to the crisis is causing dissatisfaction. The special tribunal which had been created for the trial of persons charged with being concerned in the excesses of August 26th and 27th has been chiefly occupied with the prosecution of Armenians. This led to the closing of the tribunal which the Embassies regarded as a mockery of justice. Two Armenian Bishops have been sentenced to death.

There is widespread destitution in the provinces.

The serious feature of the massacre near Kaisarieh, where about 100 Armenians were killed and nearly all the houses inhabited by Armenians pillaged, was that the efforts of the authorities to prevent the attack upon the Armenians were quite unavailing. The particulars of the massacre at Egin in September, which have lately reached us, are of a most revolting character.

The Sublime Porte gives a categorical denial to the report that massacres had occurred at Diarbekir and Kharput.

Diran Bey, Artin Pasha's son, has induced the Armenian Committees in Europe to discontinue their action for a few months in order to see whether the projected reforms are carried out and the persecution of the Armenians ceases. An official communication published by the Press gave a summary of the reforms decided on and sanctioned last year for application in all the provinces of the Empire, and it was also announced that instructions have been forwarded to the various provincial authorities to set about the immediate execution of the reforms.

The *pour-parlers* are going on with the European Cabinets with a view of furthering the operation of the reforms. The criminal proceedings, however, which have been instituted against several respectable Armenians, have weakened the favourable impression produced by conciliatory measures.

The Turkish newspapers published a notification of subscriptions for armaments compulsory, as it were, on Muhammadans and voluntary on Christians. Tickets for 5 to 100 piasters will be issued. Subscribers of 2,000 piasters and upwards will receive medals with their names engraved upon them.

Mgr. Ormanian, Bishop of Armash, has been elected to the Patriarchate by the General Armenian Assembly.

EGYPT is placed once more in authority in Dongola, and a crushing blow has been delivered at the power of the Khalifa in that region. There has, however, again been a small Dárwish raid near Suakin.

The Khedive has conferred upon the Sirdar, Major-General Sir H. H. Kitchener, the Grand Cordon of the Osmanieh Order in recognition of his distinguished services in the occupation of Dongola.

For financial reasons, the Anglo-Egyptian expedition is not to advance south of Dongola for the present; the province is to be organized and adequately garrisoned, and two strategical points south of Dongola are to be occupied for defensive reasons.

It is hoped that Dongola, which is being rapidly rebuilt, will become an important trading centre, and to this end direct steamer and railway communication with the town are soon to be established. Manchester goods will be there exchanged for the gold dust, gum and ivory brought in by caravans from Kordofan and Darfur.

Colonel Hunter, who is in charge of the whole frontier, is busily engaged in settling the country.

The railway from Wady Halfa, which has been carried beyond Kosheh, is progressing at the rate of 1,000 yards daily.

The friendly Arabs, in the country south of Dongola, are being organized to form a chain of posts, which will hold the desert wells and patrol and guard the roads between them. They are also to be employed to signal Dervish movements. All the troops are now in tents at Dongola, El Debbah, Korti, Meraoi and other places. The health of the men is excellent.

Sir H. H. Kitchener, during his stay in London, made some interesting statements with regard to the Dongola campaign. At present he has no idea that the expedition has come to an end at Dongola and he is having all the approaches to Omdurman guarded, and whether the expedition advances or not, he will have the force at Dongola increased. He also holds that it would be a great mistake to assume that the Khalifa's power was broken.

A German officer, Capt. Morgen, visits the Sudan for the purpose of prosecuting a military study of the recent expedition.

The Appeal Court of the Mixed Tribunals in Alexandria gave judgment in the action against the Egyptian Government with regard to the half-million advanced to it by the Commissioners of the Public Debt for the purposes of the Sudan Expedition. The Court decided that the Egyptian Government must refund the money with interest; this the offered British loan will enable them to do.

The new treaty with regard to TUNIS by which Italy surrenders the capitulations that exempted Italian subjects from French jurisdiction, and in return is placed on the same footing in the matter of tariffs as other European Powers has been signed.

The Sultan of ZANZIBAR is in accord with his English advisers, who control the military, financial and executive departments of the state; the Consular Courts of the various Powers are substituted by an Appeal Court with a British judge as president. Women convicts are no longer to work in chains and the men will be only lightly manacled.

Said Khalid has been transported from the German Consulate to Dar-es-Salaam in German East Africa.

Signor Cechi, Italian Consul, the captains of two Italian warships and about six officers have been killed and a hundred men wounded by Somalis at Mukdishu on the coast.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The operations in Rhodesia have been monotonous, protracted and inconclusive, and the details difficult to understand. It is computed that the Matabeles and Mashonas have lost 8,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners. Their cattle have died from rinderpest, thou-



sands of their sheep and goats have been captured, and hundreds of their kraals burned. They are thoroughly exhausted.

The war may now be considered to be over, though the conclusion of peace is regarded in some quarters as a merely patched-up affair. The troops will be withdrawn as soon as the police force is at work. In future the natives will be governed largely through their own chiefs.

At an extraordinary meeting of the British South Africa Company the Duke of Abercorn, who presided, explained that the heavy expenses incurred through the native rebellion in Rhodesia and the outbreak of the rinderpest, had exhausted the half-million they had in hand last February and also the sum raised on debentures last July. More capital was required and he recommended, therefore, that the capital of the Company be increased by the issue of 500,000 new shares of £2 each, which was accepted.

According to the *Times of Africa*, Earl Grey retires from the Administratorship of Rhodesia in February.

An agreement upon the railway rates question has been arrived at between the Cape Government and the ORANGE FREE STATE.

Major von Wissmann will not return to his post as Governor of GERMAN EAST AFRICA. He declared against the proposal to send out German peasants and advocated instead the settlement in the colony of Indians from the Malay peninsula. Col. Liebert will succeed Wissmann as Governor. Two missionaries, K. Segebrok and E. Ovir, have been killed by natives of Meru. An expedition has been despatched to punish the murderers.

TRANSVAAL.—The amount to be claimed on account of the Jameson raid is not yet settled. President Krüger said that he delayed it because he did not wish to demand a sum that was not fair, and he believed that when the claim, which would not be big, was sent in, it would be paid. He also said that the object of the laws passed by the Volkraad was to prevent trouble, and that the Raad was doing its best to assist the mining and other industries as much as possible. The Transvaal Aliens' Restriction Law comes into operation on January 1st. Mr. Conyngham Greene, the new British Agent to the Transvaal, reached Pretoria on the 1st December. The news of Dr. Jameson's release has been received calmly in official circles.

The treaty of peace between ABYSSINIA and Italy was signed on the 26th October. The terms prove to be much more favourable to Italy than was expected, but there are two points which may lead to future difficulties—the deferring of the boundary settlement, and the engagement to restore to Abyssinia any territory abandoned by Italy.

M. Leontieff, accompanied by the secretary of the Emperor Menelik, has gone back to Abyssinia.

The operations of the NIGER COMPANY will, it is reported, be confined to regions recognized as undeniably British. The campaign is expected to be on an extensive scale; nineteen additional officers have been despatched to West Africa, and eight gunnery instructors and signallers. Two gunboats are also on their way to the Niger. Sir George Taubman-Goldie,

Governor of the Royal Niger Company, is on his way out to Burutu via Las Palmas. (See the article on the subject in this issue.)

The island of MADAGASCAR is still in a very disturbed state. The Hova Minister of the Interior and Prince Ratsimananga, uncle of the Queen, have been convicted of complicity with the rebellion and were executed at Antananarivo. The Hova Prime Minister has resigned and no successor will be appointed. At an interview between the Queen and General Gallieni, the latter assured her of French sympathy, but told her distinctly that Madagascar was henceforth French territory and its inhabitants were French subjects. The Queen returned a submissive reply. The Hova flag has been abolished, as also slavery throughout Madagascar.

CANADA.—A third steamer is to run between Vancouver and Sydney from April next in consequence of the development of the direct trade between Canada and Australia. The question of the fast Atlantic service, which had come up for discussion has been allowed to drop till the members of the new Government have had the opportunity of making a full investigation of the facts before coming to any decision. Mr. Laurier, speaking at a banquet at Quebec, said in reference to it that a debt of public gratitude was due to Sir Hugh Allan as the pioneer of the St. Lawrence trans-Atlantic navigation. When the Government had enquired into the merits of the case, they would establish a service rivalling the best lines between the American ports and the mother-country.

The Montreal Board of Trade has passed a resolution in favour of penny postage throughout the Empire.

The rush to take advantage of the gold discoveries in the southern portion of the province is on the increase and the development of the mines is being rapidly carried on.

The trade returns of the Dominion show a large increase in both imports and exports. The year has been an unprecedented one for fruit-growing.

Despite the opposition of the Catholic hierarchy, there is a likelihood that the basis of settlement of the Manitoba school question will be accepted by the Catholics as a fair compromise.

Four members of the Government—Sir R. Cartwright, Sir O. Mowat, Mr. W. S. Fielding, and Mr. W. Paterson—have been visiting the leading cities to ascertain the views of manufacturers, merchants and importers on the subject of the tariff.

The Dominion Government has recommended Sir Henry Strong, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, for appointment as Canadian representative on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Government will purchase all rights in the property of the Newfoundland Railway Company for £355,000 payable in three per cent. bonds. A large coal deposit has been discovered near Cape Ray, experts pronouncing it the finest in the island, which will be developed next spring.

AUSTRALIA.—There is great distress in the northern parts of SOUTH AUSTRALIA, where drought has ruined the harvest. 100,000 tons of wheat

flour will be required from America. A relief fund has been started. The Bill for the reduction of the immigration of coloured races into South Australia has been passed by the House of Assembly, but rejected on the casting vote of the President.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—Parliament was prorogued after a fruitful session. The land laws have been slightly amended to facilitate settlement. A Coal Mines Bill remodels the regulations for collieries upon the lines of the English Act. Measures have been passed to safeguard the public health, to prevent food adulteration, to reduce pilotage dues, and to regulate factories and shops. The Assembly also passed a resolution in favour of holding an international exhibition in Sydney in 1899.

The revenue returns show a slight decrease. All the items, however, which are generally supposed to indicate the condition of the people, show satisfactory increases.

As a precaution against rinderpest, the introduction of stock, fodder and fittings from Africa is prohibited for two years.

The QUEENSLAND Legislative Council having shelved the Federal Enabling Bill, the Premiers of Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, and Tasmania have each telegraphed to the Queensland Premier urging him to reconsider the question of federation, and take measures to insure the representation of Queensland at the Federal Convention.

The principle of plural voting has been condemned in VICTORIA, and a "one man one vote" Bill supplemented by a Woman's Suffrage Bill has been carried in the Assembly by a great majority. The alternative which was presented to the Victorian Assembly was not the continuance of the present system of plural voting, but the proposal to confer a dual vote upon all freeholders. If the colony is given time for reflection before the present Bills are passed into law, the introduction of the dual vote may precede the extension of manhood suffrage into universal suffrage.

A Bill authorizing a loan of £2,300,000 has passed the Assembly.

The revenue of Victoria for the first five months of the financial year shows an increase of £40,000 over the same period of 1895. Lt.-General Sir Andrew Clarke will assume the position of Agent-General for Victoria early this month.

The Government have abandoned that portion of their financial Bill which dealt with the establishment of a State Bank. The proposals for the creation of a *Crédit Foncier* are retained.

The Colonies have led the way boldly in the extension of the franchise.

NEW ZEALAND.—Mr. Seddon has returned to power, but it is not expected that his Government will last long, owing to the slender majority by which it got in. Large numbers of women recorded their votes, but notwithstanding; the elections have gone generally against the Prohibitionists.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded, during this quarter, of:—Pandit Kashinath of Jhind, the great astrologer, who has cast the horoscope of most of the Rajas and Nawabs of Northern India; Mr. E. Lavington Oxenham, H.B.M.'s Consul in Ichang, China; Mr. F.

Holmwood, C.B., H.B.M.'s Consul General at Smyrna; Lt.-Col. W. A. Trydell Helden, C.M.G.; Major-General Tod-Brown, C.B., R.A. (Punjab campaign); Col. R. Guthrie-Craig; General Sir James Abbott, K.C.B., who had a most distinguished military career and reached the ripe age of 89 years; Mr. William Foxton; Lieutenant F. J. Wallis of the Burma Military Police; Baron Sir F. Von Mueller, K.C.M.G., etc., the famous Australian explorer and man of science; C. W. Burn, L.C.S.; Major F. S. Evans in action against the rebels in Rhodesia; Mr. W. H. White, F.R.I.B.A.; Mr. H. Trimen, the eminent botanist; Mr. Stephen Lynch; Captain John Rose (North Staffordshire regiment); Sir Albert Sassoon, the head of the well-known banking firm of David Sassoon and Co. of Bombay; Dr. J. A. Moloney, the African traveller; Rear-Admiral Walter Stewart, C.B.; Surgeon-General W. Munro, M.D., C.B.; Major-General I. Lawrence Bolton; The Venerable H. Maundrell, first Archdeacon of Southern Japan; Lt. E. D. Young, R.N.; Mr. F. Carnac Barnes, a well-known Government official in India; Mr. Manomohan Ghose, the distinguished Indian native lawyer; Admiral H. Duncan Grant, C.B.; H. H. the Maharajah of Hutwa, the head of an ancient Brahmin family; Admiral Sir G. H. Richards; General Sir Robert O. Bright, G.C.B.; Major-General George Mein; Colonel E. S. Reynolds, a former member of the Foreign Department of the Government of India; General P. F. Gardiner of the Bengal Staff Corps; Sir E. G. Hornby, after a long career of great usefulness and interest in the East; Surgeon-Major-General E. C. Markey, C.B.; Sir C. W. D. Staveland, G.C.B., who rendered distinguished military services in the Crimea, in India, and in China; Major G. K. Moore, Hong Kong; Sir Napier Broome, the well-known Colonial Governor; Major-General Ch. F. Boulton (Bombay Staff Corps); Mr. Charles Grey; Rear-Admiral F. Durrant, C.M.G.; Colonel J. S. Ross (late of the Madras Staff Corps); Sir H. L. Phillips, K.C.M.G.; Lt.-General H. W. Gulliver of the Royal Engineers; Lt.-Col. Sir E. Y. W. Henderson, R.E., K.C.B.; Lt.-Col. Watson (Ceylon rebellion 1848); Admiral T. H. M. Martin; Rev. Th. H. Carthew; M. Armand Rousseau; the Marquis de Montcalm; Major-Gen. G. B. Tremmenheere, R.E. (first Sikh War); Assistant Commissary General A. E. Petrie (Crimea and New Zealand); General Henry St. Clair Wilkins of architectural fame in New Bombay, Puna and Bhuj.



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INDIAN FORESTRY.

THE EXTENDED EMPLOYMENT OF NATIVES.

BY SIR DIETRICH BRANDIS, K.C.I.E., PH.D., LL.D., F.R.S.

THE extended employment of natives in the forests was urged by me in 1868. In a Report dated 28th July I said: "Ultimately it is hoped, that a large proportion of native forest officers for the higher appointments may be available. It cannot be sufficiently urged, that unless the practice of rational forest management becomes the common property of the natives of this country, the permanence of the measures now initiated and their ultimate beneficial effects will remain uncertain."\* Referring to this Report Sir Stafford Northcote (the late Earl of Iddesleigh), then Secretary of State for India, wrote in a despatch to the Governor-General: "I am glad to perceive that Dr. Brandis appreciates the great importance of interesting and employing the natives of India in forest administration, a most important step, as he observes, to the stability of the measures taken with that view."†

The plan which at that time I had framed in order to realize these objects, was as follows: The Officers of the protective and executive Branch of the forest service should all be natives of India, while the officers of the controlling

\* Parliamentary Return on Forest Conservancy, Part I., India, 1871, p. 393.

† Ibidem, p. 405.

branch should be Englishmen, who had received their professional training in the forests of France or Germany. At that time a sharp division between Controlling and Executive officers was not possible. The officers in charge of Forest divisions had necessarily charge of the executive work in the forest ranges included within their sub-division. But eventually, as the management of these forest ranges became more intensive and as the growing revenue permitted such outlay, Rangers would be appointed as executive Officers. These should all be natives of India, they should receive a thorough professional training and should in case of distinguished service have the prospect of promotion to the controlling branch, and of rising to high appointments. At that time I held, what I hold much more strongly at the present moment, that few measures were more likely to secure the maintenance of British Rule in India, than a more extended employment of Natives in responsible positions in the public service. And I considered, that the Forest Department was one of those, in which, without any political risk, the highest appointments might be filled by Natives. In those days I regarded the arrangements for the professional training of young Englishmen as a measure of temporary character, and the establishment eventually of Forest Schools in India as the main object to be aimed at.

At an early date I had fixed upon Dehra Dûn at the foot of the North West Himalaya, as the seat of the future Indian Forest School, and I did, what I could, by personal influence with the local officers, to get a good system of management introduced in the Dûn forests, in those outside the Siwaliks in the Saharanpur district, and those in Jaunsar and the adjoining leased forests of the North West Himalaya. From the commencement I held, that the teaching at the Indian Forest School must be mainly practical and that in order to make this possible, large areas of well-managed forest must be attached to the School. Fortunately the establishment of a large Military Cantonment at Chakrata in 1869, with an annual consumption of

312,000 cub. ft. of stacked firewood, necessitated the preparation of a working plan for the forests that were to supply that wood. Accordingly I prepared, in November, 1874 and April 1875, with the assistance of the local forest officers, a preliminary working plan, intended to provide for the needful cuttings until 1878. Similar work was done in the other forests, which I intended should eventually form the School Forests.

But the idea of a Forest School for Native Forest rangers at that time found little favour with the leading authorities in India. By many the professional training of young Englishmen for Forest Service, was still regarded as a needless, nay as a mischievous attempt at over-refinement. A forester must be a keen sportsman, must have a strong constitution and plenty of common sense. That is all that can possibly be needed in India. To establish a Forest School, in order to give a professional training to Native Forest Rangers seemed an Utopian beginning. By that time the forests had been made subordinate to a newly created Department of the Government of India of Land Revenue and Agriculture, and my Chief, the Secretary in that Department, Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., was strongly opposed to the measure. At last in 1878, at the end of a long and severe fight, I carried my point with the assistance of several Members of the Government of India, who had confidence in my judgment.

Sanction however was only given on condition, that no additional outlay should be required. This necessitated arrangements which were imperfect and in some instances faulty through excessive economy. Under these circumstances the success of the undertaking entirely depended upon the person selected as Director. Major F. Bailey of the Royal Engineers, had joined the Forest Department in 1871, and had done excellent service, both while in charge of the Dehra Dûn Division, as well as subsequently in organizing a special branch of the Service for the topographical survey of the forests, which has furnished at a very



moderate outlay excellent maps of the State Forests in several provinces. Under Major (afterwards Colonel) Bailey as Conservator of the School Forests, the area of which now aggregates 516,000 acres, and Director of the Forest School, the management of the forests was steadily improved, the revenue increased, and this made it possible gradually to strengthen the Staff of Instructors. The leading principle was slow but steady progress.

In 1881 the first successful students left the School, three with the Rangers' and two with the Sub. Asst. Conservators' certificate. Subsequently a lower class was established, in which only a forester's Certificate could be obtained. Altogether in 1895, 355 professionally trained men, all Natives of India, the majority belonging to Indian races, had left the School, of whom 273 had obtained the Certificate as Forest Rangers (three of them as Sub. Asst. Conservators) while 82 obtained the Forester's certificate. The students of the lower class, those who prepare for the forester's certificate, come from those provinces in Northern and Central India, where Hindustani is commonly spoken, and to these instruction is given in that language, while the Candidates for the Ranger's Certificate are taught in English. Handbooks in English and in Hindustani for the students of the School have been published and are under preparation. In the Bombay Presidency arrangements have been made at the Poona College of Science, to give Candidates for the Forest Service instruction in forestry and natural sciences.

*Working plans controlled by Inspector General of Forests.*

Attention has before been drawn to the fact, that the first attempt to regulate the working of forests by a working plan was made in Pegu in 1856. In later years the writer of this paper was able to prepare preliminary working plans for several districts in other provinces, and Dr. Schlich, while Conservator of Forests in Bengal, prepared working plans for some forests in that province. Obviously, since trees take 100 years and more to attain a marketable



size, working plans are indispensable, and regular working plans must sketch out forest operations for a lengthy period. The work of preparing working plans for the more important forests in all provinces could not be attempted, until a sufficient number of professionally trained officers with sufficiently long experience of the country were available. Dr. Schlich has the great merit of having started this business on a large scale. In order to enable him to control this important work, an Assistant Inspector General was appointed and the powers of the Inspector General of Forests were considerably enlarged. All working plans, previous to being sanctioned by the Local Government were submitted for his approval. In other respects also the position of the chief forest officer was greatly strengthened. He was invested with the control of the forest school and was authorized, upon professional matters, to correspond directly with Conservators of Forests.

In the early days of forest administration the main point aimed at was, not to centralize but to throw the responsibility of forest administration entirely upon Local Governments. In those days it was better that the Inspector General of Forests should have no official authority and that he should be merely the adviser of the Government of India and of Local Governments. His chief duty therefore consisted in visits to the forests in different provinces in company with the local officers. If he succeeded in securing their assent to his own ideas, and if the Local Government approved of his suggestions, well and good. In provinces where this was not the case, the local officers had to be left to their own devices. Progress under these circumstances was unequal in the different provinces. Hence the greater powers, which were given to the Inspector General of Forests, after Dr. Schlich had succeeded me, marked an important step in advance. At first sight it may be regarded as a retrograde step in the direction of centralization. This however was not the case, for by that time the principle of placing Divisional forest

officers under the orders of the Civil district officer effectually guarded against undue centralization.

One of the most important results of the Dehra Dún Forest School has been, that several native officers, who had received their professional training at that school, are now being employed on the preparation of working plans for important forests, and that their work compares favourably with the work of Englishmen educated on the continent of Europe or at Coopers' Hill College. The present Inspector General of Forests in his Review of Forest administration in British India for 1894-95 states "There are many trained Rangers of pure native extraction who yield nothing to anyone." This is a most satisfactory result, and I must claim the indulgence of the reader still for a few further remarks to show, how this result may be utilized, to remove some of the difficulties under which Indian Forestry at present is labouring.

*A larger Number of Natives must gradually be promoted to responsible appointments.*

Within the 10 years which intervened between the Census of 1881 and 1891, the population of the British provinces (without Upper Burma) has increased by 19,365,000\* or nearly two millions a year. But not only has the population increased in numbers, it has also increased in wealth. The consumption of forest produce per head of the population is steadily increasing. In towns and villages the people build better houses, requiring more timber and bamboos. The consumption of sugar which, apart from Tobacco, is the chief luxury among the native population, is augmenting rapidly, and the cultivation of sugar cane is increasing on a large scale. In his working plan of the Gorakhpur forests (1893) Lala Har Swarup explains, that wood fuel finds a ready market now in that district for

* 1891 :	221,173,000	less	2,947,000	=	218,226,000
1881					198,861,000
					19,365,000

brick burning, the manufacture of Saltpetre and for Sugar factories, which in that year numbered 299 in the district. Those forests I visited in 1864, they contain little valuable timber, and revenue from the sale of firewood I regarded as hopeless at that time. Keshavanand, another of the older Native Forest officers trained at Dehra Dún, in his working plan of the Charda forest in Oudh (1894) proposes to treat this forest with the object of producing a maximum amount of fuel and small timber, all of which can, he adds, be disposed of either locally or to the railway. This forest I had visited repeatedly in 1863, 1875 and 1880, and the difficulty always was want of sufficient demand for the inferior wood it produces.

There is however no necessity of going into detail. The steady growth of forest revenue proves the steadily increasing consumption of forest produce in the British provinces.

		Mean annual Revenue. R.	Expenditure. R.	Surplus during the 3 years ending R.
1874-75	...	6,352,000.	4,363,000.	1,989,000.
1884-85	...	10,267,000.	6,546,000.	3,721,000.
1894-95	...	16,948,000.	9,206,000.	7,742,000.

The export of forest produce beyond India, chiefly Lac, Cutch Myrobalans and Teak timber, is insignificant. The Teak timber exported from Rangoon and Maulmein 40 years ago amounted to 86,000 tons (at 50 cub. ft.) annually, nearly the whole of which in those days was sent to Great Britain and North America. During the 5 years ending with 1894-95 the quantity exported from these ports had risen to 188,100 tons, but of this quantity only about 45,000 tons were sent to countries outside India. The bulk of the Teak timber exported from the Burma ports now goes to Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, as the forests of the western peninsula are not sufficient to meet the requirements of the older portions of the British Indian Empire. The growth of Revenue therefore, both gross and net revenue, is a true index of the growing consumption of forest produce in India.



It is this steady growth of the population and this steady growth of the requirements of the people in regard to forest produce, that necessitates a regular management of the limited forest area available to meet these requirements. The aim is or should be, to produce the largest quantity of timber, Bamboos and other produce, on the smallest area possible. In those districts, where there still existed a large extent of forest at the disposal of Government, with a thin population, very extensive areas were demarcated in the hope, that after these forests had been brought into good condition, villages might be established in suitable positions within these forests. The indispensable condition of this being possible is, so to improve the productiveness of the forests, as to secure the same annual supply of forest produce from a smaller area. This end however can only be attained by strict protection and regular working. This project may possibly be pronounced to be fanciful. Localities within the forests, it will be said, are uninhabitable, the people settled there will perish of fever. To this I reply, that in the wildest forest regions of India we constantly come across evidence that the land at one time was under cultivation, fruit trees, ruins of large buildings and terraces of the old fields. There is very little of what may justly be called virgin forest in India. Where people once lived and prospered, there they can live and prosper again.

All the world over people living in the forests or in their vicinity, feel the commencement of strict protection as a hardship, howsoever considerate the settlement of forest rights may have been. Not everywhere may it be possible, by giving them opportunities of earning money through forest work, and by supplying their wants in a liberal manner, to gain the good will of these people, as has been the case with the Karens in Burma. The only plan therefore, which can be suggested, in order to mitigate the friction which is the unavoidable consequence of strict protection and a regular system of working, is to employ as many competent and professionally trained Native forest



officers, not only in subordinate but also in responsible positions. It is not maintained, that Native Forest Officers will necessarily be more considerate than Englishmen. But in any case it cannot be said against them, that they lack the perfect knowledge, the deep insight into and the sympathy with the feelings and prejudices of Asiatics. One point is certain, they will be able, with greater force to insist upon the advantages which the people actually derive from well managed and efficiently protected forests, more abundant and permanent supply of forest produce, heavier dew on the fields in the vicinity, and shelter against scorching winds. The larger the number of natives employed in responsible positions in the forests, the more forestry will cease to have the character of an exotic plant, or a foreign artificially fostered institution. In order however to attain this object, it will be necessary greatly to strengthen the teaching Staff of the Dehra Dún Forest School, and eventually to establish similar institutions in other parts of the country, particularly in Burma.

Against these proposals it may be urged, that in Ajmere Merwara the chief forest officers have during the last 5 years been natives of India of Asiatic extraction, and that nevertheless the majority of the reserves has been annually opened to grazing. This however was the Commissioner's order. An English Officer might perhaps have remonstrated with greater energy. But this does not weaken the strength of the present argument, that the more extended employment of Native Forest Officers in responsible positions, will make it easier for Government, to do its duty, with due regard to the future development of the British Indian Empire.

The measure here advocated must not be expected to yield great results at once. If decided upon, it must be carried out cautiously but steadily. The aim should be, gradually, in a few carefully selected districts, say in Berar or the Central provinces, to fill all appointments with pure natives of India, and when this has proved a success, to

proceed further. It will be a great point gained when the first Native is appointed to the post of Conservator of Forests in Berar or in one of the Forest Circles of the Central provinces. There is at present an Imperial Forest Service which is recruited from Coopers' Hill and a Provincial Service which is recruited from Dehra Dûn and for Bombay from the Poona college of science. When the measure here advocated has been adopted, the pay of the superior officers of the Provincial service must, as a matter of course, be raised. Professional education must lead to an honourable and paying career. This once clearly established and publicly known, desirable and promising Native candidates will not be wanting, and upon the Indian Forest Schools will then mainly rest the duty of preparing men for forest work in India.

Something has already been accomplished in Native States in this direction. A considerable number of smaller and a few larger States have imitated the example of the British Government, they have organized the administration of their forests, and in most cases men who have received their professional training at Dehra Dûn, have been placed at the head. Thus the Conservators of forests in the large Rajput States of Marwara and Jaipur have from the commencement been Native Gentlemen trained at Dehra Dûn, and they have done remarkably well in that position. If forest service, be it in British territory or in Native States, once comes to be recognised as offering an honourable career that may, as the reward of honesty, skill and energy, lead to high and well paid appointments, forestry will become naturalized in India and will cease to be looked upon as a mistaken attempt to introduce Foreign ideas and Foreign practices.

These plans are not new. Attempts to appoint Natives of India to responsible posts in the Forest Department were made many years ago, long before the Dehra Dûn School was established. These attempts have failed, because they were ordered to be made suddenly, and without the

needful forethought. The measures here advocated must be allowed to develop slowly but steadily towards the point aimed at.

The proposals here made, gradually to employ Natives in responsible positions of the Indian Forest Department, have been made on one condition, and this condition is absolute, viz., that they have received an ample, thorough, practical, and theoretical training in their profession. Several times of late years the attempt has been made, to alter the constitution of the Dehra Dûn Forest School, and to remove the School forests from the Director's control. The Director of the School is and must be Conservator of the School Forests. This large forest area must be entirely under his control, establishments for the management and protection of it must be provided upon a liberal scale, the Divisional and Executive Officers, the Deputy Conservators and Rangers of the School forests must all be picked men. If this principle is not maintained, the employment of men trained at the School in responsible positions, is out of the question. Nay more is required. The Coopers' Hill forest students now most properly spend a considerable part of their time in Germany. One of the advantages of this arrangement is, that it enables them, while in India, to remain in touch with the progress of forestry in Germany. No officer, who aspires to the high position of Conservator of forests, ought to be ignorant of what goes on in his profession in those countries of Europe, where it has attained its greatest perfection. A large number of young men from Japan are now in Germany, studying at forest schools, at Universities and other institutions. If Dehra Dûn is maintained and strengthened as it ought to be, it will hereafter come to be considered, how to enable Native Forest Officers, who have distinguished themselves in actual service, and who are anxious to rise further, to spend some time in the Forests of Germany. There they will find, that the villages, which own well managed communal forests, are prosperous, although now and then



they complain of the restrictions, which a good system of management unavoidably imposes. What Indian Forest Officers will learn in this respect in Germany, will be really useful to them in India.

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Sir Dietrich Brandis,—the former Head of the Indian Forest Department, which he organized and brought to its present state of perfection during a life's career of extraordinary laboriousness, practical sagacity and the very highest scientific command of his subject—has favoured us with an exhaustive paper on "Indian Forestry." In it he gives, as an Introduction to his theme, an account of "the development of systematic forestry in Europe" with special reference to its greater utilization in Great Britain and Ireland, to the great benefit of owners and the country. He then shortly refers to "forestry in Japan," the only country outside Europe, where some system of forestry has grown up independently of European methods. He now commences his more immediate subject by a most charming account of "Indigenous Indian Forestry and Sacred Groves," as also of "the game preserves" that have been maintained by Native Chiefs. We also get the condition of "forests in Rajputana," followed by an account of the remarkable woodlands, the Káns of Sorab in Mysore.

So far as regards old and indigenous attempts at Forestry in India. Another era opens with the attempts made by the British Government to introduce a regular system of forest management. "The Government timber monopoly on the Western Coast" is detailed, followed by an account of "Forest Management in Malabar and Kanara." Sir Dietrich then shows how the Governments of Bombay and Madras were the first to organize forest administration within their respective territories. We next have the results of handing over to private enterprise the Attaran forests in Tenasserim on the East side of the Bay of Bengal, and, after dwelling on the labours of Major Phayre in Pegu, under whom Dr. (now Sir) D. Brandis commenced work in January 1856,



with the threefold object (1) to improve the forests, (2) to make the inhabitants his friends, and (3) to produce a surplus revenue for Government, he explains the system which he there initiated. How the Pegu forests in 1861 were thrown open to private enterprise is then told, as also the subsequent change of policy, which resulted in Government throwing open no more forests and resuming the leases on their lapsing. We then get a history of *teak* and other plantations and are led on "to the demarcation of forests," "their yield," "their protection against fire" and "the organization of establishments," "Indian Forest Floras" and "Forest legislation," in which Mr. Baden-Powell, whose book on the subject he refers to, took an important part. We, finally, come to "the protection of cattle fodder" and the "evil effects of denudation." At the close of this paper, in which the labours and book of Dr. Schlich and the services of others are justly stated and appreciated, we reach the establishment of "the Indian Forest School at Dehra Dûn" for the training of Natives for the Forest Service. It is there that Sir D. Brandis makes those suggestions for the future welfare of Indian Forestry, with which we begin our present issue. The other portion of the paper we hope to publish in the July number, or the whole in the form of a separate treatise, as a historical retrospect of the geatest value, which, if this were possible, would add to the high reputation of the author, and show how abundantly deserved is the gratitude of the Government for the incomparable services of Dr. Brandis and of his eminent and loyal coadjutors.—*Editor.*

## THE GOVERNMENT AND THE JUDGES OF THE CALCUTTA HIGH COURT.

By C. D. FIELD, LL.D.

IN an article which appeared in the January number of this Review, we said that no institution of Western civilization, introduced into India by British rule, has been more successful than the Administration of Justice: and in no part of India has this success been greater than in the Lower Provinces of Bengal. In these Provinces the period of trial and probation has been longest; and the institution has been favoured by the natural mental proclivities of the people, as well as by the influences of a peculiar system of education.

To the British Administration of Justice it is owing that professional *Thugs*, organized bands of *Dakaites*, and hired bodies of trained *Lattials* have ceased to exist; and life and property enjoy a security never before known under any of the former rulers of the country. Disputes about property and the many rights of a settled community are now conducted, not with the display of physical strength and the force of armed lawlessness, but with the peaceful weapons of argument and reason.

The commands of a powerful Executive, addressed to the general public, or some important section of it, are usually couched in the imperative language of unquestioned authority; in most instances vouchsafe no reasons to convince; are little concerned with the individual, to whom hardship or injustice may be even necessary for the general good; and must be obeyed without discussion or remonstrance or appeal. The decrees of a Judicial Tribunal on the other hand descend to the level of the individual, and consider his particular circumstances. He is allowed to put forward the facts and arguments, which he believes to be in his favour. If he fail and is dissatisfied with the

opinion of the Judge, he can appeal, again try his powers of persuasion, and test the justice of his cause. If the decree is finally adverse, he has no doubt to acquiesce, but his acquiescence is without the bitterness or resentment with which he submits to an imperative command of alien rulers—submitting unheard, unconvinced, dissatisfied—submitting, because to resist is dangerous or impossible. The commands of the Executive are concerned more usually with great occasions, great matters, great men. Their influence on the lives of the middle classes is infrequent, and they seldom directly affect the lowly peasantry, whose conception of executive power is unfortunately limited to its visible embodiment in the local police officer—and his action has not as yet inspired confidence or created the impression of a beneficent exercise of this kind of power. On the other hand the authority of the tribunals, actual or potential, affects or impresses all men, high and low. The instances of its exercise are sufficiently numerous to convince the people that to these tribunals they may look for enforcement of just rights, redress of injuries, protection from oppression : and experience has made them feel that they may look with confidence, subject only to the fallibility of human judgment. The Administration of Justice has thus become to the inhabitants of the Lower Provinces of Bengal the strongest exemplification of the beneficence of British Rule.

To the creation of this confidence in the tribunals, this faith in the good intention of the rulers, the High Court has in the greatest degree contributed, as well by the exercise of its appellate judicial powers, as by a careful and never-ceasing supervision of all the subordinate courts, so as to prevent delays, enforce a proper discharge of judicial duties ; and above all, secure integrity and impartiality in those who exercise judicial functions. There is in consequence no authority for which the people of the land feel greater respect, in which they have greater confidence, than the High Court. The proceedings conducted



*coram populo*, and excluding the possible suggestion of underhand influence; the uniformity of the principles administered, intelligible to an audience which includes the highest cultured native ability, and not varying with the personality of those who administer them; the rule that no man can be affected without being heard; the known integrity of the Judges; the feeling that the most able of their countrymen have been admitted to share that eminence—all these perceptions unite to solidify that confidence which is the fruit of more than a century's experiences of the Supreme and Sadr Courts, of which the High Court is to-day the successor and representative. What statecraft is it then to degrade this high tribunal and diminish its importance in the eyes of the people, who have come to honour, to respect and to trust it? Yet this is the policy which has steadily been pursued during the last thirty-five years. The Judges of the old Supreme Court were knighted, though the limits of its ordinary jurisdiction extended no further than the town of Calcutta. This dignity (as it is commonly regarded) was withheld from the Judges of the High Court, presiding over the administration of justice to a population of some seventy millions or more than double that of England and Wales—and this, while new Orders have been created and new honours lavished so profusely that not only the Heads of the Government receive them, as a matter of course, but many other minor officials share the distribution. Let no mistake be made as to the object of this argument, which is directed solely to the aspect in which the natives of the country view the matter when they see the marks of dignity, expressly provided for honour, withdrawn or withheld from those who preside over the judicial administration. Nor is this argument affected by the honouring of selected individuals, while their brethren on the Bench are not so honoured, the principle of selection being unknown and therefore liable to be misunderstood. The Judges of the High Courts ought to be knighted, upon being permanently



appointed, according to the practice in England. A knight-hood conferred after some years of service, or upon retirement, suggests considerations inconsistent with a proper conception of judicial independence.

Then the precedence of the Calcutta Judges was taken away—at whose suggestion—on whose complaint—on what grounds that did not exist when the High Courts were first established, at which time such a change as part of the general scheme would have been wholly invidious?

The next step in the policy of lowering the *status* of the High Court was to reduce the salaries of the Judges; and as these salaries are paid in rupees, the fall in exchange so far aggravated the reduction, that the position of a Calcutta Judge, once worth more than £5,000 a year, is now worth little more than half this sum. Macaulay wrote in 1840:—“All English labour, from the labour of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief down to that of a groom or a watchmaker, must be paid for at a higher rate than at home. No man will be banished and banished to the torrid zone, for nothing. The rule holds good with respect to the legal profession. No English barrister will work, fifteen thousand miles from all his friends, with the thermometer at ninety-six in the shade, for the same emoluments which will content him in chambers that overlook the Thames. Accordingly the fees in Calcutta are about three times as great as the fees of Westminster Hall.” If these observations are not quite as pertinent now as when they were written, they still retain sufficient force to constitute a strong argument against the policy of what has been done. As a natural result the judgeships, which once tempted to India ability which only wanted opportunity to have achieved success at home, are now less desired than County Court judgeships, and are refused by the best men of the local Bar in India.

The salaries of the Calcutta Judges were originally fixed a little higher than those of their brethren in Madras and Bombay on account of the higher cost of living and of

house rent. With respect to those Judges, who were members of the Civil Service, some consideration was also due to the fact that the further promotion to the Local Council, possible at Madras and Bombay, did not exist for them, as there is no such Council at Calcutta. The differential circumstances have not altered, while the work of the Calcutta Judges is greater in proportion than that of the Judges of the other Courts.

The last step recently taken to diminish the worth of these appointments and further lower the *status* of the Court is to extend the period of *actual* service qualifying for pension from 11½ to 14½ years. What public opinion says to this policy will appear from the following extract from an address presented last September to the retiring Chief Justice by the representatives of the European and Native communities—"It is with regret that we have noticed that in India, where a proportion of the Judges of the highest courts in the land are drawn from the Bar of England, the emoluments and conditions of service have been so altered as to make it increasingly difficult to obtain for the High Courts the services of men, who, it is most desirable on all grounds, should be attracted to them; while, at the same time, the inducements to Indian Civilians and others, who have sought a career in this country, to aspire to the honour and dignity of a seat on the Bench of the High Courts, have suffered in a manner which we cannot believe to be for the benefit of the country; and while we are fully alive to economy in all departments of the State, we yet hold that it is a mistaken policy to apply economy to the High Courts, when it is exercised at the risk of sacrificing their efficiency."

As regards the members of the Indian Civil Service (from which body one-third at least of the judges must be taken), the policy of degrading the High Court, emanating from a Bureaucracy impatient of all restraining influence,\*

\* The conflict at this moment taking place between the Executive and the Judiciary in the Transvaal is another instance of the same impatience.

has been marked by a breach of faith, which old John Company would have disdained, and which would not have been sanctioned by Parliament, ever scrupulous to respect anything in the nature of vested rights. The reduction of salary and the extension of the period of service were made applicable without excepting those men who were within reach of judgeships, and who had entered the service and risen in the Judicial Department on the faith of the continuance of the attractions, which were held out to them. Can we be surprised when we are told by the retiring Chief Justice, while agreeing with the views of the address, that a very large number of the more experienced of the District Judges retired upon the promulgation of the new rules ?

It has been said that the changes made are justified by the improved conditions of life in India. No doubt there has been a vast improvement. The Government of India and each of the Local Governments now have Hill Stations to which the High Executive Officers betake themselves in the fierce heat, when the heaven is as brass and the earth as iron ; and when the monsoons produce their annual crop of malarial fevers. But throughout the torrid and sweltering months alike the Judges of the Calcutta Court from day to day pursue their duties *in the plains* ; and not for them have the old conditions been changed. It has not occurred to the Executive to apply to the members of its own body an argument, which in their case would have irresistible force.

We have educated the people of Bengal in Western ideas and ways of polity—we have evoked Native public opinion. The instance of its expression, to which allusion has above been made, is creditable alike to us and to our pupils—temperate in language and warranted by the occasion. If our protestation of the objects with which we govern is to be regarded as sincere, our Statesmen will not disregard the voice of the people, who, admitted to equality with us as subjects, yet lack the first right of subjects in our polity—representation in Parliament.



## "INTER TERRORES SILENT LEGES."

A VOICE FROM BOMBAY.

### TERRORES.

THE telegrams from Bombay revealing alarming incidents of the plague only convey a faint idea of its magnitude, while the statistics given, showing about 8,000 deaths from plague in the City alone, are now admitted by the Corporation and even by Lord Sandhurst to be below the real figures which on the 2nd March "The Times of India" estimated at 16,733 adding that a competent authority put the number as high as 20,000. The same newspaper states that it has been computed that about 500,000 people out of a normal population of about 900,000 have fled from the City and this exodus still goes on at the rate of 800 or 1,000 every day.\* It was by this means that the plague was taken to Karachi and Poona from which towns the people are taking flight, spreading the pestilence over numerous towns and villages. The disease is raging at Surat and Ahmedabad, and cases have occurred at Pahlampur, Bhowanagar and Sialkote. Calcutta and Pondicherry have taken alarm; and the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce has telegraphed to Bombay that all passengers and cargoes should be disinfected *en voyage*. The Bombay death rate was 103 per 1,000 on the census population: the *Times of India* treats this as about 200 per 1,000 of the present numbers. The Government of India has sent medical officers for plague duty to the Central Provinces.

During February, a great change of policy on the part of the Bombay Government has given some satisfaction to

\* In spite of the assurances telegraphed from the *Times* or to it, the decrease in the number of deaths from plague at Bombay is merely due to there being less people left here to kill, the numbers during the last four weeks being 843, 730, 635 and 521, thus showing rather a proportionate increase than the contrary, the present population being 301,764 out of the former normal number.



the European community which, according to the Correspondent of the "Times," was feeling constant anxiety as the plague invaded Malabar Hill and other European quarters and all classes were suffering from the entire stagnation of commerce and retail business, causing loss to merchants, shopkeepers, lawyers and shipowners. The rigorous quarantine established by the Foreign Powers against shipping from Bombay and Karachi is now supplemented under the recent legislation of the Viceroy's Government by an internal quarantine of people leaving Bombay. All over India passengers at railway junctions and ports are stopped and examined for boils on the armpit or groin and other tokens of plague. The Native States of Baroda, Kolhapur, Sangli, etc., have put on frontier quarantine and inspection. But as all manner of little towns and villages have now become centres of plague, some doubt may be felt as to the value of this interference so late in the day. It ought to have begun in September or even as late as Christmas when the deaths in Bombay and Karachi were counted by tens instead of hundreds. It appears that many victims of this plague die from attacks of the lungs without any boils or blackening of skin: and that many infected persons evade search and many deaths from plague are never reported. Hence the tardy precautions now enjoined are from these causes likely to be as ineffective as the statistics are delusive. One good result however which is being produced is the provision of plague hospitals, doctors and nurses which has been gradually attained since the Queen's speech in January directed stringent measures. The newspapers have lately teemed with indignant letters from Surgeons, Engineers, and others on the infamous state of the only Hospital for Infectious Diseases, the Arthur Road Hospital. In the *Bombay Gazette Summary* of the 20th February, a lady Doctor, Mrs. Pechey Phipson writes about "the brutal neglect of duty" by the Municipality in not organizing a single hospital until five months after the disease had been established. One Native Doctor was left

unaided by any Assistant or Nurse to look after one hundred patients daily, men and women, dead and dying without anything being done. We are glad to learn that some Nurses belonging to religious orders and several Nuns from Bandora have since volunteered ; but Mrs. Phipson blames the authorities for not having in September or October erected a temporary hospital in each ward. She adds that "if the cruelties of the past five months could be made known, the world would ring with a chorus of horror and detestation at the brutal indifference to the sufferings of the poor."\* This state of things, as a native editor tauntingly points out, justifies Lord Sandhurst's early determination not to enforce isolation of plague cases, as it is stated that some sufferers ran away from the miserable Arthur Hospital to die elsewhere. Some of the responsibility must attach to the Corporation as it appears that Lord Sandhurst's Government came to Bombay only in December, and as the only effect of Mrs. Phipson's letter was, that the Corporation declined to grant money to support a new hospital at Parel House which General Gatacre has started with nurses and soldiers as attendants for convalescents from the Arthur Hospital. The important question remains why nothing of energy was displayed until February. The *Times of India* on the 27th February complains that three months before then, the press had demanded that the aid of Dr. Yersin with his serum should be obtained : and while noting that Dr. Lowson of Hong-kong fame, who according to "The British Medical Journal" has more knowledge of the plague than any man living, had just come to Bombay, the same paper expresses astonishment that he was not sent for months before. Others wonder why if the Governor went the length

\* Making every allowance for the professional and humane spirit of Mrs. Phipson in so impartially abusing the Municipality and the Authorities, when the *Times* and other papers in England only re-echo the abuse on the former, in order to cast a slur on native bodies generally, I can only say that "cribbed, cabined and confined" as they are by the Government, they cannot be expected to show the spontaneity of unfettered men.

of *persuading* the natives to isolate cases and to burn infected huts in February, he did not see that these things were done in September and October by the humane, discriminating, tactful and courageous use of force as was done in Egypt last year by Lord Cromer and Rogers Pasha with the very minimum of opposition from the Muhammadans. The deepest anxiety was expressed as to his Lordship not closing the two intra-mural cemeteries of the Muhammadans,\* when an extra-mural burial ground can be so easily provided and would, indeed, be more orthodox as also more commend itself to the enlightened members of that community. It is also pointed out that plague corpses are hardly covered over and that in 1825 at Modena and in 1856 in London the disturbance of old plague cemeteries led to a new epidemic. It may be that Sir Charles Ollivant who will replace Mr. Birdwood in the Bombay Government Council at the end of April is going out armed with plenary powers to take the plague into his own hands. But the European merchants, ship-owners and bankers have lately become alarmed at the spread of the plague, which is now cutting off Europeans, and at the disorganization of trade; and, while protesting that mere whitewashing of houses is of no permanent benefit, have put forth a manifesto that the Government of Bombay must come to the rescue and not merely leave these things to the Vestry bodies and officers. They say the closing of the burial grounds is of urgent importance. The *Bombay Gazette* opines that there is evidence that the Government of Lord Sandhurst does *not* maintain a merely passive attitude; but these men of business insist that the Government must intervene and not merely touch the fringe, but really grapple with the great danger. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce has since taken up the matter in a long letter to the Governor, whose speech in reply appears in the newspapers. It contains no assurance that he will coerce refractory natives or close the

\* This has now, we believe, been done.—ED.



burial grounds, neither has he thought fit to give any answer to the complaint that what he is doing in March ought to have been done in October. Many spinning mills are closed, schools shut up, Colleges half empty, whole streets of shops abandoned, and the High Court sits only in the afternoon ; Karachi, Poona, Bandora and the towns in Gujarat and the Thana District are getting into the same condition, while the papers are full of awful and pathetic incidents. As the dynamo that supplies power and energy to the Bombay Government as yet evinced is really at the India Office, we presume that Lord George Hamilton will not permit Lord Sandhurst and his colleagues to leave Bombay for a hill Station this month, though we have no reason to believe that they themselves have any intention of departing from the traditional chivalrous practice of Anglo-Indian officials of *remaining on the spot* during such emergencies. The later telegrams are more encouraging, but the rainy season will multiply the difficulties and dangers. Therefore every day now is important and the highest authorities ought to remain in the city. At the same time, it is possible that the approaching dry hot weather may stamp out the epidemic, though there must always be a fear of its recrudescence in the rainy season.

The *ipsissima verba* of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce letter to Lord Sandhurst are important. "The labouring and trading classes of the population continue to leave the city in large numbers, trade and manufactures are paralyzed and it is no exaggeration to say that in view of these conditions and the quarantine restrictions now being imposed against Bombay, not only in Europe but in other Indian and Eastern ports, a grave commercial crisis is being rendered exceedingly probable. From a purely commercial point of view the plague is at present, and probably will continue to be, a greater calamity than the famine. Moreover it is almost as much a matter of Imperial as of local concern."

Later telegrams declare that 3,296 persons have been



inoculated with preventive serum: and that both Dr. Haffkine and Dr. Yersin have been successful in this method. On the 22 March Lord Sandhurst telegraphs that inoculation has at last begun in Karachi, Thana, Surat, Ahmedabad and Poona; also the gratifying fact is added that the native opposition to the isolation of the sick in hospital and to the segregation of the infected living is almost ended. But the *Times* published a Reuter's telegram from Bombay of the same date that the segregation measures meet with determined opposition, the mob having completely smashed the Municipal van with patients inside. Reuter's telegram seems also to show that in the absence of the Governor, the General commanding the Bombay garrison is entrusted with civil authority: "A strong Mahomedan deputation waited upon General Gatacre to-day, begging for a reversal of the segregation orders so far as they related to Mahomedans. General Gatacre promised that there should be no violation of the purdah system, but at the same time pointed out that it was impossible to exempt any single community from the sanitary measures taken." We were under the impression that the Municipal Officers alone had powers to deal with such delicate matters. Lord Sandhurst also wires that plague is now established in Haidarabad and Sukkur, and suspected at Shikarpur. His Lordship told the Chamber of Commerce that people coming into Bombay must be medically examined as there is a fear of re-infection of houses by those who return from other infected places. Mr. Snow, the Municipal Commissioner, has his confidence and warmest admiration.

Looking on Lord George Hamilton as a benevolent Jove, the appointment of Sir Charles Ollivant may be imputed to the need of doing something, for Lord Sandhurst, being between the two fires of the Secretary of State and the determination of the European merchants that he should, by pressure on the recalcitrant natives, save the trade of Bombay, appeared merely to recline behind the

Municipal officers and to thrust the whole responsibility on them. This is unfair on them and can only tend to reflect on the fitness of a native corporation, but the question is not to whitewash either Lord Sandhurst or the natives, but to grapple successfully with a calamity. This can only be done by revealing its extent, as we endeavour to do in this paper and not to join in the conspiracy of silence which, for political ends, has hitherto prevented "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth" becoming known to the British Press, a circumstance which can only deepen the distrust of the European Powers as regards any matter in which British commercial interests are concerned.

The history of the Bombay plague, if it ever comes to be impartially written, will show that the Authorities erred as much owing to their servitude to red tape, as did the Municipality because of its subservience to Government. Now that Lord Sandhurst has a Viceroy's Act for the better prevention of the spread of epidemic disease to back him up; now that he is to get Sir C. Ollivant from the Secretary of State as a constant reminder, he has plucked up the courage to be "strong on the stronger side" and has appointed a special Committee of four to carry out stringent measures. The solitude, however, has been already created at Bombay, and it will be called peace and attributed to the efforts of the Governor.

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#### LEGES.

##### AN INJUSTICE TO BOMBAY.

THE appointment of Sir Charles Ollivant to succeed Mr. Birdwood as Judicial Member of Council at Bombay is much debated in the European and Native Press of this City, as it has been an immemorial practice for the Home Government to appoint one Member from the Judicial and the other from the Executive Branch of the Bombay Civil Service. One reason for this is that the Governor of Bombay in Council sits precisely as a Court of Appeal in Civil and Criminal Cases of the highest importance arising

in the Native States under the control of the Political Agents in Kattywar, Kolhapur, Poona, Satara, the Mahi Kanta, and elsewhere. So vast and complicated are these appeals that Mr. Birdwood has on several occasions, as is pointed out, obtained the services of Mr. Justice Fulton as his special legal adviser or deputy member. But Sir Charles Ollivant is without judicial experience, and as Mr. Fulton has now accepted a Judgeship in the High Court it is improbable that he will remain in the Secretariat. The whole Bench of the High Court has been passed by ; and when the Hon. Mr. Setalvad interpellated Lord Sandhurst on the matter, the questions were ruled out of order\* and the public were deprived of information whether the supersession of the Judges was done under advice of the Bombay Government or by Lord George Hamilton alone and as to the machinery now to be used for getting these hundreds of Political Appeals determined. Much has been said in praise of the Puisne Judges who belong to the Civil Service, Mr. Justice Candy and Mr. Justice Parsons ; but according to the abundant notices in the Bombay newspapers, this supersession has terminated the long career of Mr. Justice Jardine who was also Vice Chancellor of the Bombay University, and had acted as Chief Justice. This gentleman after filling the highest executive offices under Sir Richard Temple and Lord Reay who chose him as their Political and Chief Secretaries, and after long service in Burma and under the Government of India, accepted the place of Judge of the High Court which he held for 11 years and resigned after 33 years' service a few

\*. In reply to Mr. Setalvad Lord Sandhurst merely said that the Civil and Criminal Appeals from Native States and Political Agents will, after Mr. Birdwood's departure, be disposed of by the Governor in Council. Such a course is manifestly unfair to the States who are thus deprived of a mature legal judgment on their cases. Besides, there is a certain class of Civil Cases where the Governor in Council sits directly under the Privy Council, which hears appeals from him. It seems improper that people should have to appeal to the Privy Council from judgments really emanating from a young subordinate of the Secretariat, viz., an acting Legal Remembrancer.



days after the supersession had become known. The new appointment practically closes the careers of Mr. Justice Candy as well as Mr. James and Mr. T. D. Mackenzie who have held the most distinguished executive offices, while Chief Secretary Vidal has resigned the Indian Civil Service, and some alarm is expressed as to other senior men doing the same thing. An apparently inspired notice in the semi-official "Bombay Gazette" assigns the appointment of Sir Charles Ollivant to the emergencies caused by the spread of the plague at Bombay. It is computed by the journals there that from 17,000 to 20,000 persons have died from plague in that city, while the disease has spread many hundred miles along the railways and across the seas, and is causing in Karachi and Poona as well as in Surat and Ahmedabad the same fears which have caused between 400,000 and 500,000 of the population to flee from Bombay, carrying the pestilence all along the coasts, endangering Calcutta, startling Madras and Rangoon, and closing Marseilles and Brindisi to Indian cargo. The merchants and shipowners of Bombay have in desperation pronounced on the need of thorough measures of hygiene, something more than whitewashing houses; and dire complaints have appeared about the mismanagement of the plague hospitals, the absence of doctors and nurses; and now we learn the news that a second new batch of 30 medical officers has been called for, and that very late in the day a few doctors who dealt with the plague in Hong-kong in 1892 have been invited and come. There are rumours that in January some difference of opinion occurred between Lord Sandhurst and the Home Government; and it has often been noticed that the first mention of stringent measures against the plague was in the Queen's speech to Parliament, since which date a complete change of policy was seen in Bombay, leading in February to a reform of the hospital, the provision of doctors and nurses, a mild endeavour to isolate plague cases, the burning of infected huts and the erection of segregation camps of tents



or bamboo sheds. The deaths of hundreds of people in Poona and Karachi seem to have caused the Bombay Government to stop infected persons leaving that City; and it now appears that some measures are to be taken to compensate the owners of houses destroyed as infected. Had all these precautions been taken in September the area of the scourge might have been confined and the loss of life reduced and the ruin to the trade of Bombay and Karachi prevented. It may be, as the European Press supposes, that these facts induced Lord George Hamilton to diverge from precedent, and to send out Sir Charles Ollivant, a former Municipal Commissioner, armed with instructions which will secure the policy of "stringent measures" and obviate the necessity of further interference by the Government of India. Necessity knows no law: and the many Civil Servants, Judges and Commissioners who have been passed over must acquiesce in the Crown's choice of an amateur authority on hygiene, if the reason for the choice is the one supposed. Much sympathy is expressed for the sufferers; and we regret that the Legislative Council Rules precluded Lord Sandhurst from stating how he means to get the judicial work of his Government done in the future, especially in the extra-territorial civil and criminal jurisdictions and in those cases in which there is an appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council from that Government.

The supersession of Mr. Jardine by depriving the Bombay Government of their greatest authority in political appeals from the native States, and the Presidency of a learned and active friend of education and of the natives, is an instance of Government by panic. When a timid Governor is confronted by clamour during such an emergency as a plague or a Secretary of State has to face an European Concert to which England is the *bête noire* that is ever ready to sacrifice the health of the civilized world for the sake of her commerce, he is eager to clutch at a straw that seems to offer a chance to save the situation. That Sir C.

Ollivant is that straw, he would, probably, himself be the last to deny. As he is, we believe, in indifferent health, the retreat of Mahabaleshwar rather than the ghastly bustles of Bombay, would appear to be his likely residence, but, were he the strongest of men, he would still have to supplement his dilettante experiences in sanitation with the advice of expert Doctors and Engineers. These will have to be consulted and used in any case and a Special Commissioner must also be appointed to the Bombay Council in connection with the plague. Merely to pull down houses and, perhaps, add another to the Bombay riots, if the plague is still raging on the 29th April, when Sir C. Ollivant is expected at Bombay, can scarcely be the last resource of a Government to which the care of the living is, at least, as much entrusted, as that of the dying and dead. A Legislative Council without the Legal Member is as fatal to the good government of Bombay, as his substitution by a civilian interested in Sanitary Engineering is absurd. Not only Mr. Jardine, but also the whole of his service have been injured by this grotesque supersession. That the civilians will give expression to their just resentment at the treatment of one of their most eminent, if too modest, colleagues, cannot be doubted. Mr. Jardine's resignation was a personal sacrifice to his sense of the wrong that had been inflicted on his service by ignoring, in his case, the claims alike of seniority, merit and special fitness and retarding the promotion of others in stopping his own. It is certain that his friends and admirers, native and British, in England and India, will not allow this slight to be passed on a man after a lifetime of the most distinguished services to the Government, to science and to the people of India, any one of which would have entitled him to recommendation for recognition by the Crown. A signal bestowal of its favour can alone undo the gratuitous, if unintended, reproach on an officer of Mr. Jardine's standing and reconcile his friends and colleagues to the severance of his direct connection with India, though it is to be hoped that the Indian Office

may yet benefit by his popularity among natives, his vast erudition, his varied and long experience and his still unimpaired energy and single-minded devotion to duty. The writer of these lines has never known a political officer that displayed such a profound and sympathetic knowledge of what is best in native human nature than Mr. Jardine in his Lectures on chivalrous Kattywar; one who understood educational needs better than in his position of the Educational Syndicate in Burma or in inspiring the Bombay University; whose legal decisions more increased the reputation of a Bench for honesty and thoroughness as those of Mr. Jardine, which so largely contributed to the great prestige of the Bombay High Court. Versatile, learned and practical, he now finds himself after 32 years of the most distinguished service, the victim of precipitation on the part of a timid Governor, who wanted "to do something" for the plague and has only got rid of a mainstay of his Government and Council by this "silencing of law" in a panic, and this utter confusion of political appeals from the native States. The "*Bombay Gazette*" thus sums up Mr. Jardine's career in its Mail of the 13th February last:

**"MR. JUSTICE JARDINE.**

Over thirty-two years ago, on the 30th July, 1864, John Jardine joined the Civil Service after a brilliant University course. Some three months later he arrived in India to begin a distinguished career which closes to-day, to the regret of his colleagues in the High Court, his fellow-civilians, and of the public at large. His first experience was obtained as Assistant to the Collector of Tanna, and he rose rapidly in the Judicial branch of the Service. His talents and versatility procured him opportunities of becoming versed in Political and Secretarial work. The History of Services shows few civilians with a more brilliant record than that of John Jardine. He was Under-Secretary to Government in the Judicial, Political, and Educational Departments, and Secretary to the Council for making Laws and Regulations; then, Political Assistant in Kathiawar; he held charge of the Kathiawar Agency; and after being posted successively to the Navanagar and Dhrol States, became Registrar of the High Court on the Appellate side. He was selected for the arduous post of Secretary to the Baroda Commission for the trial of Mulharao Gaikwar in the early months of 1875, his labours in that capacity eliciting warm approbation. As Under-Secretary, Secretary, and Chief Secretary he showed what he could do as an Executive Official, and never was work better done. The Watan Act is a remarkable example of careful drafting when he was only an



Under-Secretary; Kathiawar recognised his worth as a Political Officer, Executive and Judicial. As Registrar of the High Court; as Secretary to the Delegates of the Government of India in the negotiations for a commercial treaty with Portugal, and subsequently as Judicial Commissioner in Burmah, his services were of very exceptional value. His judgments are of standard authority in Burmah, where his name will not be forgotten. He laboured assiduously and with gratifying success to promote the cause of education in that backward province, while finding time in the midst of his judicial pre-occupations to write copiously on Buddhist Law and its application to Burmah. He translated commentaries of different Burmese, Pali versions of the Manu Shashtra, and edited a translation from the Italian of Father Sangermano's description of the Burman Empire, with much other literary work demanding no little erudition and infinitely patient research. In Bombay he is best known to the public as an able and learned Judge of the High Court and as the accomplished Vice-Chancellor of the University. No doubt as Judge of the High Court, to the astonishment and no small dismay of the Executive, he played the part of Thomas à Becket when promoted from the Chancellorship to the Archbishopric. He set his high office above all considerations of personal friendship for the King, and so jealous was he of the "spotless purity of the Judicial ermine," that he dared at a critical moment to interpose to save it from imminent Executive contamination, and possible public aspersion. That act "inconvenienced" the Executive, and the confusion thus wrought in their Councils has never been forgotten or forgiven. Opinions may differ as to the wisdom or political expediency of the learned Judge's startling intervention. But that it was dictated by the purest and noblest motives, and was in accordance with the best traditions of the Judicial Service no just critic will deny. It was in the very spirit of the stern English Judge who did not hesitate to commit the Heir of England to prison to maintain the dignity of justice. The Honourable Mr. Justice Jardine, as a linguist, as a writer on Law and Customs, and as a profound jurist will long be remembered in this Presidency. He has been throughout his career a true and sincere friend to the people of India, for whom he has entertained and evinced a deep and kindly sympathy. Amongst his colleagues and fellow-workers he was always popular, and his genial presence was welcomed in every social gathering. It is sincerely to be regretted that men of the type of Mr. Justice Jardine should leave India while still in the full vigour of their mature powers."



## THE MADRAS LANDHOLDERS' GRIEVANCES.

By P. P. PILLAI.

THE first permanent footing of the British in India was in the Madras Presidency. At Arumugam or Dugarapatam to the South of Nellore in the territory of the Rajah of Venkatagiri, the East India Company built its factory in 1625. Finding the place unsuitable, the Company acquired the site of Fort St. George by gift from the then Rajah of Kalastri whose territory was then much larger than it is now. The grant of the land to Mr. Day, the chief of the factory at Arumugam by the Rajah of Kalastri, was confirmed by the Rajah of Chandragiri, the lieutenant of the Rajah of Bijanagar, whose tributary was the Rajah of Kalastri. The town granted to the Company has since been called by the Indian name of Chennapatnam after the donor's father's name Damerla Chennappa Naidoo. This fact shows the antiquity and importance of the estates which exist to the present day, though the status of the proprietors and rulers has undergone great changes in their becoming mere landholders. There are several other estates in the Madras Presidency, large and small, which are very ancient and whose proprietors were much more important than now. The proprietors were tributary Rajahs in some instances. The others were military Poligars or those who held their estates under feudal tenure on condition of rendering military service or revenue farmers. By the permanent settlement introduced in the Madras Presidency the proprietors simply became landed proprietors. The anxiety of the Rajahs and zemindars of the Madras Presidency now is that they should be undisturbed in the enjoyment of their property as private citizens. But, unfortunately, their condition has gradually been deteriorating, and during the past few years their grievances have been increasing in number and intensity. The chances of their redress seem still to be remote. It is a pity that the

Rajahs and zemindars who had been so respected and protected in their rights during the Mohammedan and Hindu periods should be allowed to go to ruin under British rule. Wise statesmen like Sir Thomas Munro found in the landed nobility of the Presidency a great source of political strength. There is much truth in the remark of Sir George Clerk, alluded to by Lord George Hamilton at Oxford some time ago, that he governed his District through its "notables" without in any way depending upon the Suez Canal and the British Army. The goodwill of the notables of the District arising from the loyalty and prosperity of our landed nobility is, indeed, a strength to the government. Some short-sighted civilians of the present day, whose knowledge of, and sympathy with, the people are much smaller than in case of officers of the days of Sir Thomas Munro and Sir George Clerk, do not seem to realise the political force that lies in the landed aristocracy and the serious, both negative and positive, dangers that must arise from their ruin or extinction to the popularity and permanence of British rule.

As early as 1821, Sir Thomas Munro wrote to the Honble. George Canning about the "sweeping code" having a disastrous influence upon the condition of the landed aristocracy of the Madras Presidency. The zemindars and Rajahs being owners of large property, and contributing considerable revenue to the Government, are, as a matter of right, entitled to adequate representation in the Legislature of the country. Yet even in the enlarged Legislative Council under the Indian Council Act of 1892 ONLY ONE seat is given to landholders out of 21 seats, and even this solitary seat is filled up by a Government nominee, whose qualification is restricted to a zemindar paying a "peishcush" of not less than 20,000 Rs. Out of 21 seats 10 are filled by Government officials nominated by Government; three are selected by Municipalities; two by District Boards, one by the University and one by the Chamber of Commerce; one is the zemindar nominated

by Government, as are also the three remaining members. Even the so-called seven "elected" members are not direct representatives of the people. Except the Chamber of Commerce, all the bodies or institutions that have the privilege of selecting members are under official influence. While the members of the House of Commons are all elected with property qualification for the electors, and even a movement is set on foot by Sir Charles Dilke's Bill to abolish Universities as constituencies, the Government element is preponderant or rather supreme, directly or indirectly, in the Legislative Councils of Indian Governments. The landholders would be justified in demanding that every one of the 21 members should be elected by property qualification as in England, but they only made a most modest request for at least *two* "elected" seats, as given to the landholders of the Bombay Presidency and the North-west Provinces. This request has been repeatedly refused. The Madras Government replied that it had *no* power to grant it. Yet the Government of India on appeal decided that the matter *was* within the power of the Madras Government, saying that the Landholders' Association could already command influence with the members for Local Boards! Their appeal to the Secretary of State for India was in the same way trifled with by the India Office declining to interfere. It is surprising that the British Government with its Parliamentary traditions, the repeated Corrupt Practices' Acts and the Reform Acts should have failed to recognise the justice of the reasonable request of the zemindars. The Legislative Council has been, indeed, enlarged from 11 members to 21 members. Its power has been increased by the privilege of interpellation, though its exercise cannot do much; but the representation of landholders has not improved. On the contrary, they are now under disadvantage as compared with the previous state of things, as only a single seat is given them. Formerly, officials, with their exclusive responsibility, were more careful in



legislation, but as the non-official element is now nominally in the majority, though the official element really predominates, the officials have become less careful than before, the responsibility to a large extent being shifted on the shoulders of non-officials. The Executive Government has an enormous power in permitting, initiating, and disallowing legislation. Instead of giving the people the benefit of "real and living representation," according to Mr. Gladstone and others who advocated the Council Act of 1892, there has been a material degeneracy in several respects. It is inexplicable that the Madras Landholders should be even deprived of the amount of representation given to the landholders of the sister-presidencies of Bombay and the North-west Provinces. By nominating a zemindar paying a "peishcush" of not less than 20,000 Rupees, the member is not only deprived of his independence, but is also induced to support the Government lest he should suffer *individually* by incurring its displeasure, for, by opposing it, he is not certain of even securing any object for the good of his community. Such a legislative Council is a sham as a representative body. It does not cost most of its members a single inch of ground when disposing of the vast interests of property holders. In describing the Council I wrote in the leading journal of Madras two years ago that "the very constitution of the Legislative Council is a scandal. We might as well have a meeting of two dozen Kaffirs disposing of the Russian Empire to the Chinese by votes." Only *other* people's properties are disposed of, and that is done by mere votes which cost the voters nothing. This is not a prospective or abstract grievance, as in case of the Uitlanders at Johannesburg, that the zemindars should be deprived of their voice in the legislation disposing of their vast properties. It is a positive grievance of the gravest character, and the Madras Landholders' Association have pressed it upon the attention of the Government in view of the two important legislative enactments that were before



the Council which materially affect the welfare of the zemindari estates.

By far the most unpopular and ruinous legislative enactments—the Madras Proprietary Village Service Act of 1894 and the Madras Hereditary Village Offices Act of 1895—are the precious production of the enlarged legislative council. Of these the first is the more important and was noticed and criticised in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of July 1895 by Sir Roper Lethbridge. The Indian Village system is a most comprehensive and admirable institution for the protection of property and agricultural industry. This excellent institution had been protected and had been kept in a state of preservation by the Hindu and Mohammedan rulers for centuries with excellent results. The East India Company as soon as it took charge of the Carnatic with a firm hand and at a great cost of lives in the Polygar war restored the system to its original condition by removing the Desakaval or District police administration which injured the Village Watch system. The Parliamentary Committee in its Fifth Report of the Madras Presidency dated 1813 speaks in the following high terms of the Ancient Village system which had been handed down during the Hindu and Mohammedan periods in a state of preservation :

“Under this simple form of Municipal government, the inhabitants of the country have lived, from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered, and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated, by war, famine, and disease, the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families have continued for ages. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and divisions of kingdoms; while the villages remain entire, they care not to what power it is transferred, and to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged.”

This extract written shortly after the Carnatic came into the possession of the British disproves the allegation made now that the Indian villagers were uniformly miserable and unhappy during the pre-British period. The Village System has been injured or ruined in ryotwari villages with disastrous consequences. Instead of repealing the legis-

lative enactments that injured the system, the Government has extended the legislation to zemindari tracts where the system is in a much better preservation, as a remedy for the evils of the ryotwari villages. In 1887 some ryotwari landholders in Tinnevely complained to the Governor of Madras against certain hardships as regards their village watchmen. The Government thereupon actually proposed *as a remedy to extend* the very Village Service Act, working in ryotwari villages, to proprietary villages, as if poisoning A was an antidote to the poison that afflicts B! It was alleged that it was necessary to secure efficiency in getting agricultural and vital statistics from village accountants. The Government has no more right to interfere with the control of zemindars over their village servants than with the employes of merchants for the sake of commercial statistics. On these pretexts the control of the zemindar over his servants has been taken away and has been given to Revenue officers, who have the power of appointing, dismissing and punishing the servants, though the legitimate work of the servants has nothing to do with the Government. When the servants go wrong or are disobedient, the Rajahs and zemindars have to appear as complainants before the revenue officers. In addition to this preposterous change, the zemindars and their tenants have to pay a new cess in violation of the terms of permanent Sannads, as the salary of the servants will be defrayed by Government. The loss of control of the village servants is, therefore, complete and a grievous burden is imposed in addition to the disaster. By this the very basis of property is destroyed. The District collectors, it must be stated in fairness, were mostly opposed to the legislation. The village servants themselves were as opposed to it as the zemindars. Yet in the face of the protest the Legislative Council rushed the Bill without even waiting for necessary information on fundamental questions without which such legislation cannot be proceeded with; viz. the financial aspects of the Bill and whether the servants are Government servants or the private servants of the zemindars.

There is another serious grievance which is becoming more and more destructive in character. Well said Sir Thomas Munro in his letter to the Right Honourable George Canning in 1821 as follows: "Our sweeping code of 1802 has made the domains of tributary rajahs, which have been in the same families for ages, which all Governments but ours respected, and which no money-lender would touch, all liable to sale. There will be some difficulty in placing these rajahs." Here is another declaration by a well-informed early governor of the Madras Presidency, that the proprietary estates that are ruined under the British Government had been prosperous during the Hindu and Mohammedan periods. The former sovereigns protected the properties and respected the proprietors and their customary laws more than the British Government. The laws concerning the succession of zemindaries being customary laws wanting the definiteness and precision of codified laws, have also been a fruitful source of ruinous litigation. The Madras Landholders' Association six years ago petitioned the Government for a legislative enactment to regulate the succession of zemindaries, and to declare the impartibility and inalienability of ancient zemindaries, on the lines of the Oude Estates Act of 1869. While all the Governors of Madras from Sir Thomas Munro till recently had been feeling the necessity of such a legislation, the Government in reply to the memorial of the zemindars' Association said: "Nor does the proposal, that impartible estates should be declared by legislation to be inalienable, commend itself to Government. . . . If the tenants are protected by the concession to them, in the fullest manner, of occupancy rights and by reasonable restrictions on the landlords' power of enhancing rents, the breaking up of large estates, which it is now desired to check may be contemplated with complacency." The zemindars' memorial was strongly supported by District Collectors and the Madras Board of Revenue, yet the Government of Madras made the reply to which we can find no parallel in all the



annals of the Hindu and Mohammedan periods for its unsympathetic character. According to the report of the Special Commission on the Permanent Settlement of 1802 even the intolerant Mogul despot, Aurungzebe, treated the zemindars with much greater respect. Instead of having the prayed-for legislation, we have, on the contrary, the disastrous judicial legislation newly propounded by the Privy Council as judges of Hindu and Mohammedan Law. One of the extraordinary legal dicta is that a zemindari is "alienable till the custom of inalienability is proved"! Absolute alienability is unknown in Hindu, and even in Mohammedan, law. Yet this has now become the law. Lord Stanley of Alderley in his able article in the last *Asiatic Quarterly Review* strongly condemns the arbitrary way in which the Privy Council "arrogates" legislative functions contrary to the laws of the country. Since coming to England, I have received several letters from Rajahs and zemindars of the Madras Presidency to the effect that the Privy Council decisions are "deathblows" to the ancient zemindaries. Great dissatisfaction prevails in the Presidency on account of the grievances in consequence of bad legislation or of want of good legislation. Every reasonable request of such an influential and respectable body as the Madras Landholders' Association has been curtly refused by the Government and all possible red-tape is invoked to prevent the forwarding of their representations to the proper authorities.



## "CONTROL OF TURKISH REFORMS IN ASIA AND EUROPE."

BY "AN ANATOLIAN PASHA."

As a functionary of the Imperial Ottoman Government, I consider it my duty to set forth what, in my humble opinion, is necessary to ameliorate the situation of these fine and rich countries that have unfortunately been so badly administered for centuries.

Now that Europe sees to what a state we are reduced, I am convinced that the European Concert, already assured in the case of Crete, will not fail to apply the reforms necessary to again raise this vast empire, which, were it well administered, would be the granary of Europe.

I hear it said around me that the popular opinion of Europe does not wish our regeneration and strength; I do not believe in this "on dit," as I am full of confidence in the sincerity of the friendly powers.

At the risk of giving already old ideas I submit a sketch of what my experience of men and things in Turkey teaches me is necessary for the immediate application of reforms:

### 1.

CONTROL is absolutely necessary in all the branches of Administration, to put a stop to the covetousness of officials, who rob beyond measure, knowing that they are backed up by a protector, disregarding the future of the country. This Control, in my mind, in order to avoid frightening our old ideas too much, should be in the hands of natives assisted by agents or delegates of the friendly powers.

### 2.

The population in general is not yet ripe to be given a Constitution, such as exist in Europe and even among our neighbours and ancient vassals, who, though younger than we are in independence, are better guided in political

education and public instruction. Till, therefore, the population is gradually trained to understand the benefits of liberty, wisely applied and wisely followed, it is indispensable to constitute a SENATE, the members of which would be elected by the notables of all the provinces, as was practised in Europe under the ancient régimes. This Senate would have for its duty the nomination of the heads of different departments of State, according to certain principles of nomination and subject to administrative rules, and the Senate would also decide on the retention or retirement of these functionaries, as also, in the last instance, of the promotion or dismissal of their subordinates as a Court of Appeal, in certain cases formulated according to reports drawn up of their official conduct and after due judgment. Permanent functionaries, so long as they behave well, are of the first importance, if the State is to have honest servants. (See Appendix.)

## 3.

The police is to be mixed, and in all outstation guard-houses (koulouks) there must be independent native control to avoid the possibility of illegal arrests being made through caprice, self-interest or ignorance. The Central police of the Capital, even more so than that of the outstations, must be under control and here the supervision of European delegates is essential, so that the swarms of blackguards, who haunt the streets of the city and suburbs, should not be allowed to dispose, as they arbitrarily choose, of respectable citizens and educated youths, who are the ornament of this fine city which was once the envy of the world.

## 4.

Protection must be assured to agriculture, the natural source of every civilized nation's wealth. To arrive at a practical result, in this respect, it is necessary to place an able and disinterested person at the head of the Caisse Agricole, in order to judge in an impartial manner of such measures as are devised in order to aid the peasantry,

ruined by usurers, even in our days, whatever optimists, political economists, shareholders and others may say to the contrary.

5.

A supervision of the application of the Finances is, above all, indispensable so as to put an end to all jobbery and underhand dealings, if not swindling, which can now be practised daily by those in charge of this important and vital Government Department. It is possible even in these latter days to ward off the ruin of the country, if rightminded and able men are placed in charge of these sacred interests of the State.

6.

The Ministry of Mines and Forests, as also that of Commerce and Public Works, should be managed with special care and superintended by controllers, blind to Bakhshish, in order to put an end to the abuses that are daily committed in matters of concessions, authorisations, etc., for working mines, patents, and so forth. The applications for concessions and other grants have hitherto been examined mainly, if not entirely, from the point of view of personal interest. Indeed, concessions have been actually given, to the detriment of the State, and many of great advantage to the country at large have been refused by the advice of the persons interested in our moral and substantial ruin. A "Council of Control," composed of Musulman and non-Musulman natives and of Europeans is absolutely necessary, in order to ascertain the value of applied for concessions in their bearing on the country and in order to discuss general interests in those branches of the Administration.

7.

The Ministries of Marine and of War in Europe are the objects of the closest attention on the part of all patriots. Here, unfortunately, the majority of officials of all ranks speculate with what a man should defend until death, namely, the good organisation of everything that pertains



to the defence of his native land. Our ships, in case of need, could not well leave the Golden Horn, and I greatly doubt if the army, with the exception of the troops who are in barracks in the Capital and its environs, could be of any use to the country, on the slightest hostile movement being made by our neighbours, so terribly is the present disorder manifest. Yet we have a Grand Vizir, a Grand Admiral, a Grand Master of the Artillery, a Grand Equerry, indeed, everybody "grand," except in patriotism and in applying measures dictated by the requirements of the organisation of the country.

## 8.

The Customs, Posts, and Telegraphs should be in the hands of honest and capable men. At present the most crying abuses are the order of the day. Here, also, a real control is absolutely necessary for the reorganisation of the finances, prosperity and true greatness of our extensive and beautiful country.

Reforms in the Customs Department are most urgently needed, for theft is enshrined in it as a permanent institution. The Postal Service, notwithstanding the presence of an European Delegate, works in a most defective manner; robbery exists in all branches of these services, and the Telegraph Service is not better off.

From the Customs, Posts, and Telegraphs, Europe derives considerable revenues; here, on the contrary, we are in full disarray without taking into account the legitimate discontent and animadversions which we thus create against us. How could it be otherwise? Sometimes officials of the greatest incapacity are appointed Directors. I have known one who could not write, and another who could not distinguish a telegraph pole from any other.

## 9.

Public Instruction, like the other Departments, has need to be placed into capable hands, so as to apply to its full extent the principles of the Kuran, because the Kuran,



contrary to the general belief in Europe, is full of wise precepts on public instruction.

The Sovereign, as he is directed to do in the Sacred Book, would only seek the progress of the country, but his surroundings paralyse his good intentions. Under these circumstances, Europe should help us to steer the bark, if she does not wish us to engage in a fatal course and see us founder, whilst herself being thereby hurried into the unknown. Indeed, the sword of Damocles hanging over our heads—the cause of our arrest in progress,—is the envy of Turkey by the various powers.

The liberty of the press is another absolute necessity in order to have abuses pointed out since, as a consequence of this liberty, *follows the impartial administration of justice* without any personal, racial, national or religious bias. We require examining magistrates, public prosecutors versed in our Laws and judges able to expound the Code. Up to the present our tribunals of every class have generally been at the mercy of the most shameless favouritism and hence the criticism against our administration of justice as based on the Kuranic code, which, well-understood, would be the admiration of the civilised world.

It has often happened to me to be consulted regarding our law of succession which is considered perfect by European juriconsults.

The above measures which I have indicated, if applied wisely to our country, would perhaps disconcert the covetous, but would regenerate our noble country, for the grandeur, prosperity and peace of which I would willingly sacrifice my life, *و يد الله مع الجماعة* for the "hand of God is with the community."

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#### APPENDIX.

Without mentioning names I here subjoin one of innumerable cases showing the impossibility, under existing circumstances, of an honest functionary obtaining redress, if placed under an uncontrolled régime. The typical case in question occurs in Anatolia :

## MEMORANDUM.

The despotism of — Pasha, governor of —, and of —, chief of the municipality of —, and that of his relatives the family of the Mufti of N—, has reached its highest point. Amongst numerous other instances I expose the following act of despotism :

The Director of the Telegraphs and Posts of N., — Effendi, a Roman Catholic, liked by successive governors of N., on account of his fidelity to the Government, was much esteemed by his superiors because of his integrity in the discharge of his functions. For this very reason he was 24 years consecutively in employ at the same place, N— itself. This time the present governor of N—, serving the despotic ideas of the above Pasha and of his protégés and accomplices and the family of the Mufti, ordered the Effendi to divulge to him the telegrams of the complainants of the despotism of the Pasha and of his protégés ; the Effendi refused to obey this order, so contrary to his rules and to the Imperial iradés ; he was then deluged with complaints about his own work, but, on inquiries being instituted by his respective superiors, all the complaints were found to be utter calumnies.

Seeing that it was impossible to attack the Effendi, in the discharge of his duties, on account of his integrity, his enemies drew up the following slander, which was sealed by the Governor of N—, and forwarded to the Pasha. It was that the Effendi, being of the Protestant faith, was inclined towards England, with which country he was alleged to be in secret correspondence ; consequently it was urged that his presence in the Service was dangerous to the Government, etc., etc. Although the Pasha knew full well that the complaint was a mere slander, he acted on it, and the Effendi was dismissed from his office without any inquiry being made, and without his 24 years' service being taken into consideration ; he was thrown on to the street, tasting the bitterness of poverty with his children, whom he had to leave in order to go to appeal for justice

at Constantinople, where, however, he found neither mercy nor redress in his attempts to get himself restored to the employment from which he was so unjustly removed.

I had exposed, verbally, all the misery which the population of the Mutesarreflik of N—— had suffered since the appointment of the Pasha in question.

The losses sustained by the inhabitants amounted to more than £T.60,000, given to satisfy the greed of the Pasha, his protégés, the chief of the municipality of —, of his relatives, the family of the Mufti of N——, besides gendarmes, officers of the Reserve Army, and of all the employés in general. It is very easy to verify the sums levied on the population during the mal-administration of the said Pasha, by the registers kept by the sheikhs of the different villages and by those of the merchants, their creditors.

This pitiful state of affairs forced many of the inhabitants of the mountain of — to sell their daughters. In the district of N—— the country-people have become so impoverished that half the lands remain uncultivated.

What I have exposed resembles a fable, but if anyone would give himself the trouble to examine the matter closely, he would see that I have attempted to understate the fact, so as not to appear to be relating improbabilities. Moreover, their Excellencies the Ministers of the Empire are already assured of the ill-omened and bad administration of — Pasha, as their decision for his dismissal proves, given under No. —, of the 16 — 1313=17 — 1895, a copy of which is herewith enclosed. Yet nothing has been done!

As to the employé of 24 years' consecutive service without reproach, a martyr to the despotism of — Pasha and of his protégés, he is still constantly invoking our justice and imploring our assistance to deliver him and his children from the dire want, into which he has been thrown, by being reinstated in the post from which he was so unjustly removed. All in vain! \_\_\_\_\_



*Copy of the order of the Ministers of the Empire.* (We have read this order, which is in Turkish, for the exile of the Pasha, the prosecution of the Mufti, etc., as also for the transfer of others on the ground of the complaints against them being well-founded, but we fail to perceive any allusion to the necessity for the immediate reinstatement of the persecuted Effendi.—ED.)

Our Pasha goes on to say: I am not forgetting that I am addressing an "Asiatic Quarterly Review," and so, as the subject is also of current interest, I beg to submit my proposals for the pacification of the Druses of the Hauran, though I am more concerned with the reforms in Kurdistan, and what is left of the Armenians, who were once called the "millat-us-sâdiqa" or the "loyal nation" in the Ottoman Empire, till the intrigues of two rival foreign nations alienated them from us:

#### PROPOSALS FOR REFORMS AMONG THE HAURAN DRUSES.

[After showing from passages in the Koran and the Hadith (tradition) that justice and kindness to believers as well as non-believers are incumbent on all Mussulmans—states or individuals—and that both religion and wisdom demand the equal treatment of subjects of whatever race, the Pasha goes on to formulate a number of reforms, of which the following is an abstract.]

Although the subjugation of these unruly Druses was effected in the days of the Egyptian Ibrahim Pasha, and, after him, in those of Sultan Abdul Majid Khan by Kiprisli Pasha, still in these present times it is alas! again necessary to suggest the following as essential to the pacification and good government of these people:

1. (Justice being the mainstay of a State) the issue of an Imperial proclamation attaching the Druse Mountain to Syria on bases of justice and equality to its peoples, if obedient, in union with the Empire.
2. An amnesty by Imperial grace to all Druses and to all who have aided the rebellion, on submission.
3. Soveida being the centre of Druse Vice-governorships, Damaz-Zaitun and other places are proposed as centres of neighbouring Districts in connexion therewith.



4. The appointment of all great and small officials on the selection of the Governor (Vali) and with the imperial sanction in the Hauran Sandjak.

5. The re-settlement, in a fitting manner, of all fugitives in their own villages, fields and houses.

6. Registration of the names of all Hauran Druses, establishment of guard-stations along the roads for protection of the quiet, and the repression of the turbulent, by regular patrolling of adjoining parts by horsemen, day and night.

7. Just, patient and careful application of the new principles in all cases of dispute among the inhabitants.

8. The enlistment of the Druses as soldiers and their individual disarmament, as soon as things settle down.

9. The establishment of primary, secondary, agricultural, industrial and other schools, etc., for the benefit of Druse boys.

10. Three years after the exemption from all governmental dues and taxes, their levy in accordance with the requirements at the time, in a just, equitable and wise manner.

11. The *sine qua non* condition of the above, or of any, reforms in the Druse mountains, if they are to bear good fruit, is the absolute abstention of all the military that it may be necessary to locate there, from any interference whatever in the administration.

## MODERN RUSSIA AND ASIATIC TRADITIONS.

BY E. H. PARKER.

IN sanctioning the issue in the English language of a Statesman's Handbook for Russia, the government of that country has taken an important step towards making Russian institutions more widely understood and appreciated in Western Europe. The anonymous work is edited by the Chancery of the Committee of Ministers, but I am not guilty of indiscretion in stating that the author is His Excellency A. N. Kulomzin, Secretary of State. His work supplies a long experienced want, by giving to the world authoritative information upon the political and economical condition of the vast Russian Empire in English, the most cosmopolitan language. What the government of the Czar has now voluntarily accorded has never hitherto been so completely done by any other state, even under the pressure of popular institutions.

The prevailing note throughout the entire work is one of modesty. There is no sign of aggressiveness or self-glorification. The physical character of their country is reflected in the literary style of the Russians, not only in their books but also in their private correspondence. One seems to "realize" the long railway journey or *droschki* drive over the dreary, boundless plains: the towns, with four or five exceptions, wide apart, thinly populated, and poor; the long winter nights and the nine wintry months in the year; the enormous amount of free time upon the peasants' hands. The birth rate is extraordinarily high; and the helpless people, only just awaking under the fostering care of the last two Czars from their long sleep of ignorance; chained as it were by sheer distance each group to its own remote district; increases indefinitely, looking trustfully to its rulers for alimentation. In the old times, famine, pestilence, or war would thin the surplus population. Let us now see what enlightened governments have done in these times of peace to bind together this vast population of 120 millions and 140 different races into one political and economical whole.

In the words of the author, "the first volume contains an account of the principles of Russian State organization; . . . the second a sketch of industry, trade, ways of communication, education, police, justice, and self-government." The style throughout is simple, and exceedingly clear; from one end of the book to the other there is not a single instance where the meaning of the author is open to doubt, which is of itself a great achievement on the part of anyone writing in a foreign language. Of course, it is unavoidable that there should be occasional misspellings; inconsistencies in transliterating foreign sounds; irregularities in diacritical marks, punctuation, and the dividing of words according to English standards of literary propriety; but in most cases these slight blemishes are apparently to be debited to the "printers' readers," rather than to the

author; and this probability is increased by the fact that, whilst whole consecutive chapters are free from error, several pages in succession may bristle with inaccuracies of a trivial order.

Originally, we are told, the Russian sovereigns bore the title of Grand-duke; but, with the uniting of Russia under the dominion of Moscow, the title of Czar (*i.e.* Cæsar) began to be used, and was definitely adopted by Ivan IV. in 1547. After the successful wars of Peter the Great, that monarch was persuaded by the Senate and Synod to accept the title of Emperor, so as to be on a level with the only European Emperor (that of Germany) then existing. This was in 1721; and of course Europe protested; but by 1764 Prussia, Holland, Sweden, and Poland, in the order named, had acknowledged the new title. The imperial eagle, however, dates from 1472, when Ivan III. married Sophia Palæologa of Constantinople. Space will not permit of a detailed examination into prerogatives of, or the succession to, the sovereign power; but it may be stated that the Russian rule of inheritance, dating from 1797, is a cross between the Salic and the English rules: females are not excluded, but the male heirs take precedence in all lines and degrees, the female line inheriting only when the males of all male lines are extinct. The heir can only renounce his right to the succession provided no complications arise, and the renunciation once proclaimed is final. He comes of age at sixteen, and his reign only begins at that age even though he may have ascended the throne, at his predecessor's death, long before. The sections devoted to a description of the sovereign power are very interesting, and a perusal of them will dispel many western misconceptions.

Members of the Imperial House may only marry with the Emperor's consent, and only persons equally high-born. A possible male heir may only marry an unorthodox woman provided she change her religion, and of course the present Czarina is a case in point. The Dowager-Empress takes precedence over the Empress, as in China. The law of treason still embraces a field long since curtailed in England; for offences against the life, liberty, health, and honour of any member of the Imperial House are punished with the same severity as those against the Czar.

As regards ordinary subjects, Russian nationality of course goes and comes with a woman's marriage; but voluntary adoption of foreign nationality is severely punishable unless sanctioned by the Emperor. Russian nationality is not easily regained by Russians who had in any way relinquished it, for I have known of several such waifs in China who applied to become Englishmen. Seventy per cent. of the whole Russian population is pure Russian: but all are natural subjects, except Jews, Finns, and a few Asiatic races: these form a category called *inorodsi*, or "other-racial." The classification of the people is into nobles, clergy, urban, and rural. The early Russians had no fixed abodes; but as the Czars of Moscow found themselves in need of permanent Boyar service and regular taxes, Ivan III. prohibited emigration from one principality to the other. This system gradually led to the excessive taxation of registered owners, coupled with the artificial growth of an untaxed proletariat. To remedy this, Peter the Great introduced the poll-tax, and on this basis the taxable



class was revised in 1719. The idea had, perhaps, been borrowed from China. Nobles became much commoner under Peter, but as their personal service was found to interfere with economic pursuits, they were gradually exempted, and finally altogether so in 1762.

The clergy are divided into the black, or regulars, who monopolise all the higher church dignities; and the white, or married parochial clergy. The revision of 1719 had the effect of amalgamating the untaxed proletariat with the bondsmen into one single serf class, and by degrees the principle gained ground that, as the landowner was responsible for the taxes, he might at his own discretion flog, sell, or deport the serfs, who in 1767 were at last deprived of their last shadow of a right, that of complaining. But a strong reaction set in on the accession of Alexander I., and found expression in the law of 1803, allowing emancipations and allotments of land. The serfs of the Baltic provinces were all emancipated by the Czar himself, but without any allotment of land. It was not until forty years later that the sale of serfs apart from their families, and without land, was forbidden: in 1848 they were even allowed to purchase land with their masters' consent. In 1861 serfdom, which in one form or another had existed ever since 1593, was abolished for ever by Alexander II. But usurious laws for redemption purposes so thwarted the excellent intentions of the Emperor's government that up to 1880 only 15 per cent. of the peasantry had even undertaken to buy out their land. To remedy this, the late Czar Alexander III., whose memory as "Pacifcator" will ever remain tenderly guarded in the Russian heart, considerably reduced the payments due on agrarian loans, and rendered redemption compulsory on all, from 1st January 1883. Of course the whole story of peasant reform is intensely interesting, but it is not possible here to do more than indicate the outlines.

General military conscription was introduced in 1874, and the poll-tax was abolished in 1885. Thus all classes had now to serve the State, and were equally taxable; and on the other hand any one might own land: the only remaining privilege enjoyed by nobles was that of entering the service of the state in other than a soldier capacity; but even that advantage can be enjoyed by all persons who obtain a suitable diploma of education. In 1870 an entirely new principle was also accepted in lieu of Catherine II.'s municipal law governing towns, which are now managed by the body of inhabitants without distinction of class.

There is considerable misapprehension in England upon the subject of religious liberty in Russia. All unorthodox Russian subjects, all foreigners, Jews, Muhammadans, and heathens equally enjoy freedom in celebrating and professing their faith; but only the orthodox may actively propagate their faith to others; and dissent is punishable. The children in mixed marriages must, except in Finland, be brought up in the orthodox faith. Apostasy from any form of Christianity subjects the property of the apostate to a trusteeship, and only Protestants among Christians may marry non-Christians. Unbelievers are free to adopt any form of Christian faith. Although dissent is nominally punishable, yet, as is well known, schisms are tolerated and even recognized in Russia; as to this point the long



chapter on sectarianism is very curious reading. In a word, it may be said that the government practically tolerates everything in the way of dissent except proselytising, and this principle seems to be guiding the administration in its present action towards Count Tolstoï.

"Punishment for crimes and offences is inflicted in exact accordance with the law." This may seem rather a "large order" to those western readers who have read tales of the knout and Siberia; but the author of this book is more remarkable throughout for the frankness and humility with which he admits defects than for any attempt to overpraise his Imperial Masters, or to claim perfection on behalf of Russia. Besides, the above general rule is liable to sweeping exceptions: such are violations of excise, customs, and postal regulations, which are dealt with administratively by fine; "certain offences against public safety, such as violation of sanitary, quarantine regulations, etc.:" for crimes against the State "police surveillance, prohibition to reside in the capital and other places, and the expulsion of foreigners from the country" are provided; and "in exceptional cases certain places are declared to be in a state of enforced defence, during which the local administration is invested with the right of placing private persons under arrest, of imposing fines, of submitting certain cases to the investigation of Courts-martial, etc." As this "state of defence" still extends to the provinces of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kharkoff, Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia; part of Turkestan and the Cossack region; Nijni-Novgorod at fair-time; and seven of the chief sea-ports; it is not easy for non-Russians to form an approximate idea how far the ordinary liberties of the subject are curtailed in these extensive regions.

Except in cases of high treason, participation in revolts, or plotting against government, confiscation of property is not permitted in Russia as a punishment; and compensation is equitably made in cases of expropriation for public purposes. It is remarkable that the Statesman's Handbook says little or nothing of corporal punishments; but, if I am not mistaken, the death penalty is now practically abolished in Russia, except for attempts to murder the sovereign.

Space will not permit of our following the author here into the interesting question of Tartar and Finnish exemptions and privileges, but everyone will be pleased to know exactly how the Jews now stand. In the Moscow period they were not admitted at all; and in 1727 Peter the Great decreed the expulsion of those who had slipped in. But when part of Poland was annexed, Catherine II. had to modify her policy with reference to the numerous Jews settled there by King Casimir the Great. Thence Jews spread into Russia proper. In 1804, in order to make them engage in productive work, all Rabbinical Jews were forced to join one of the unprivileged classes, and certain privileges were accorded to Jewish landowners; but Jews were prohibited from keeping rustic vodka-shops and inns. To prevent their smuggling, Jews may not live within 33 miles of the frontier; and since 1882 they have not been allowed to take leases and mortgages, or to settle outside of towns. Even these limited privileges extend only to Poland and fifteen out of the fifty Russian provinces. Jews may not

enter the service of the state or take part in communal and municipal elections. There are 5,000,000 Rabbinical Jews in Russia, all subject to the above disabilities; but the Karait Jews (who number only a few thousand), forming as they do an industrial element of great value, have, ever since Catherine's time, been treated as Russians proper.

Foreigners, since 1887, have had their capacity to acquire real estate limited to the towns of 21 western provinces. Thus it will be seen that, in his ardent desire to develop the interests of his own people, the Czar Pacificator felt it necessary to considerably curtail the benefits previously extended to foreigners and Jews.

The history, constitution, and functions of the Council of State, Committee of Ministers, Ruling Senate, Holy Synod, Ten Ministries, and Four State Offices form a special series of questions rather too technical to interest the general public of Great Britain; moreover, the subject is one which does not lend itself easily to condensation. The same may be said of the sections upon the Ministry of the Imperial Court and eight Order chanceries. The information about mines, museums, regalia, genealogies, wills, academies, etc., is very curious; but it reads to me more as though based upon the precedents of the Emperors of China than upon the fashions of the Court of Versailles.

As the author says, "to write the history of international relations would necessitate the writing of the greater part of the general history of Russia." Previous to Batu's invasion in the 13th century, there were active relations with both the east and the west at Kiev and Novgorod. Of course the 250 years of Mongol domination threw the Russians back; but it is interesting to find that the Khans treated religion with respect, and even allowed the independent development of church rule. Under Peter the Great, and still more under Catherine II., Russia's international weight became seriously appreciable: the author's modesty may be gauged from the circumstance that the following passage is perhaps the nearest approach to self-glorification in the whole book: "neither shall we do more than mention the fact of all Europe having been freed from the rule of Napoleon with the assistance of Russian forces." Russia is certainly entitled to credit for securing the rights of neutral vessels in 1780 and 1800; the honour of taking the first steps towards softening the customs of war in 1868 also undoubtedly belongs to her: the failure to codify them at the Brussels Conference of 1874 and to limit the violence of reprisals only serves to bring out once more the humanity of Russian theories, which were actually put into practice in the war of 1877. The Commander-in-Chief then declared inviolable all peaceful inhabitants and their property, and denounced under severe penalty every violation of the Geneva convention of 1864. Provisions were paid for, and not a single contribution was levied. Russia may refer with pardonable satisfaction to her efforts in 1774, 1856, 1860, and 1867 on behalf of Christians. Perhaps the single note of a controversial kind is sounded in connection with the war of 1877-8. "Russia once more came forward to defend the Christians in the East. The war concluded by the liberation of Bulgaria. The European Powers, to mar these successes, confirmed the principle of collective pro-

tection, in which Russia had led the way.\* A generation must elapse before men can trust themselves to speak impartially on this point. We can, however, the more heartily agree with the author that "if England took the first steps towards suppressing the slave trade in the west, in the east, that merit is due entirely to Russia." Anyone who has read Vambéry's travels, and the miserable stories of tyranny and wretchedness in the Khanates of Turkestan, must admit that Russia's services to civilisation in this direction are unrivalled. Of course an account of the Chancery and Foreign Office forms an appendage to the chapter on international relations.

The chapter on the army is as may be supposed largely technical: it seems the burden of military service is infinitely lighter than in France. More than half the male population of 21 years of age are exempt on family grounds alone; and only 31% of these enter the service yearly, against 76% in France. On the other hand, the birth-rate is one of the highest in the world; the annual increase is 14.5 per mille, against almost *nil* in France. The cadres of the peace establishment amount to 860,000 men. No attempt is made to conceal Russia's shortcomings: thus 75% of recruits are totally unable to read or write; *i.e.* of 265,000 men drafted annually, 200,000 are in a state of crass ignorance; but, as elementary education is now given in the army to each man, this number is being rescued every year from the slough of despond. The mortality in the army, though greatly reduced within the past fifty years, is still three times as high (9 per mille) as in Germany (3 per mille). The navy is naturally also a technical subject, which, with all the other details about the army, must be here abandoned to specialists. "As regards the Black Sea fleet, in 1871 Russia threw off the restriction imposed upon her by the Paris treaty." This announcement has at least the merit of candour and brevity.

The national income has been (but without satisfactory data) estimated at 10,000,000,000 roubles: the state revenue is 1,362 millions, or about  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the income. The latest estimate for France is 26,500,000,000 francs of income and 3,300 millions of revenue; the latter also about  $\frac{1}{8}$ ; but the local budgets of Russia are only one-seventh the amount of the state budget, whilst in France the local are nearly one third, and in England even seven ninths of the same. Thus the Russian state needs (mostly unproductive) absorb as much as do the French, whilst the local expenses (mostly productive, such as roads, health, charity, education) are disproportionately low. It is unnecessary to wade through the financial chaos of ancient times. As we have seen, the poll-tax was introduced in 1724, and Catherine II. exempted merchants. With the land taxes (really a rent) collected in addition from the state serfs, here begins and ends the tale of direct taxation. After many changes and modifications, Alexander III. repealed the poll-tax for all persons in 1887.

No general cadastral survey of Russia has yet been made, and consequently there is no exact knowledge of the value of estates. The average net revenue which the land yields, and not its actual value, is taken as a

\* It will be seen how aptly these remarks apply to the present concert of the European powers.



basis of taxation under the law of 1893, and the average state burden does not exceed four per cent. of the productive profit. But, though the incidence of state taxes is so light (25,000,000 roubles, about half the corresponding sum levied by the state in China) the redemption payments amount to 14% of the productive profit: peasant and rural taxes again to another 14%; so that the total tax (200,000,000 roubles) upon land and landed property reaches 30% of the income derived from it. The following table for European Russia alone will make things clearer:

Government taxes	...	...	...	25	} million roubles.
Town	...	...	...	8	
Zemsky (= rural)	...	...	...	40	
Nobility	...	...	...	2	
Peasant	...	...	...	40	
Redemption	...	...	...	88	

The operation of redemption will be completed in 1931. The taxation upon trade and industry is now about 40 millions, seven times what it was in 1863. A tax of 5% is levied upon incomes derived from funds, stocks, bonds and obligations. There are insuperable difficulties in the way of an income-tax for Russia, but M. Witte has made a beginning in that direction by introducing a charge on the rental of apartments in towns only: as urban life is insignificant, this tax does not bring in more than three million roubles. Of course the Crimean war and Turkish campaign disorganized for a time the development of Russian finance: notwithstanding those two regrettable episodes, Russia has been able to get rid of the class character of her taxing system, to abolish the poll-tax, to distribute with intelligence the incidence of taxation upon profit, and to bring in sources of revenue which formerly escaped unfairly.

The above account all refers to direct taxation (including redemption payments). But these direct charges only amount to one sixth of the total revenue. Indirect taxes produce three sixths; state property (including railways), one sixth; posts, mines, liquor licences, and "various" the remaining sixth. So early as the time of Alexis (the first Czar to deal with China, and doubtless to borrow thence ideas), the principle "not to tax food" was accepted; but it was reserved for the Czar Alexander II., just before his death, to put the coping stone upon the edifice by sacrificing the excise on native and most of the import duty on foreign salt. Liquor produces 260,000,000 roubles, and the efforts of the government are now being directed towards improving the quality: the monopoly now working on test in four provinces is intended by M. Witte to increase sobriety and consumption at once, a complicated but not impossible task, as a close perusal of the full details of his scheme will show. Within the past twelve years the consumption has fallen by nearly one third: the reasons are too complicated to examine here. It is a singular result of Russian economical conditions that it pays the peasant much better to make *vodka* out of his grain and use the leavings for manure and cattle-fattening than to sell the grain itself. The other articles liable to excise are tobacco, sugar, naphtha products, and matches. The Commercial Treaty with Germany of 1894 secures equality on international markets for Russian agricultural



produce. The paper money and credit question is also too long to discuss here at any length, but it seems paper rose from 76 to 87 copecks between 1866 and 1874; and yet during Alexander II.'s reign the 600 English miles of railway were increased to 14,000, constructed with borrowed money. At the same time "the government began to recognize that with secrecy surrounding the finances it was impossible to secure confidence;" accordingly published budgets have been in vogue since 1862. On three occasions there were even surpluses. The Turkish war threw Russia back once more; paper fell to 63, and in 1880 chronic deficits began to appear. "The Emperor Alexander III. therefore turned all his thoughts towards the attainment of a stable equilibrium in the budget by means of reasonable economy, and his reign effected the realisation of those principles (of a correct system of accounts) which were elaborated in the sixties." But it was only in 1888 that deficits disappeared, and by 1894 the surplus of ordinary revenue over ordinary expenditure reached 158,600,000 roubles. Meanwhile loans are effected at  $3\frac{7}{8}$  per cent. in place of  $6\frac{1}{8}$ , the exchange is firm at 67; the gold reserve has mounted to 685,000,000 roubles; only 1,100,000,000 roubles of paper are in circulation; over 1,000,000,000 roubles of the national debt (5,589,000,000 roubles) have been converted at an annual saving of 23,000,000 roubles; and steps are being taken towards the introduction of a metallic currency. "These are the results of the peaceful policy of the Emperor Alexander III., thus proving the truth of the words: 'Faites moi de la bonne politique, et je vous ferai de bonnes finances.'"

Of the total estimated ordinary and extraordinary expenditure of 1,362,000,000 roubles, as set forth in the budget for 1896, 25 per cent. goes down to War and Marine; 20 per cent. to the Debt; 14 per cent. to Communications; 25 per cent. to the public needs under the Ministries of Finance, Agriculture, Interior, Instruction, and Justice; barely 1 per cent. to the Imperial Court (including Studs);  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to Synods, etc.; 10 per cent. to railway construction; and the rest to Foreign Affairs and State Comptrol.

Russia is essentially an agricultural country; hence, whilst the United States (in a way her rival) produces more than twice as much in manufacture as she does in agriculture, Russia produces in cereals alone one-fifth more than the total value of her manufactures (including metals). Of about 1,200,000,000 acres in landed property,  $\frac{3}{8}$  belong to the Crown;  $\frac{1}{3}$  to the peasants;  $\frac{1}{4}$  to private or corporate owners; and the remaining  $\frac{1}{12}$  to towns, churches, and appanages. Barely 200,000,000 acres are cultivated, and the production is only half that of the same area in France or Germany. Hence, though there are 33 acres of good land allotted to each of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  million families, in effect the result is only 16 or 17 acres, or (counting each family as  $3\frac{3}{4}$  souls), about 4 or 5 acres a soul. But only a bare sixth of the land is cultivated. Hence the net result must be that for each soul in Russia not more than two acres (the equivalent of one in richer states) are cultivated; which is exactly the result which the Emperor of China arrived at when he placed the land-tax on a firm basis nearly two centuries ago.

It will be understood that the last paragraph has been turned into English figures, and that my comparison with China is not that of the author, but is intended to throw additional light upon the question of Chinese cultivation. Of course, as redemption proceeds, more land leaves the hands of the nobility, who in 1861 were almost the sole owners: already  $\frac{1}{2}$  has passed into the possession of other classes. The natural increase of population in European Russia is 1,500,000 a year, but the fluctuations in the prices of wheat and labour have the singular effect that in South Russia "in years of good harvest the losses of proprietors are greater than in the years of the very worst crops." For this and other reasons, 70 % of the estates are mortgaged in those parts. The state owns  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the forests, which in ancient times had no value as property; but now intelligent forest rules safeguard the future, and 10,000 acres of fine forest have even been created as an experiment, despite the ridicule of scientific men, upon the steppe. We have no space here to discuss Siberia, Turkistan, and Finland, nor indeed the many other purely Russian questions connected with agriculture and industry. Suffice it to say that the 200,000,000 acres of cultivated land in European Russia produce 2,400,000,000 poods (half bushels) of grain; or, according to the author's calculations exactly one-third of what English land produces, and one-half that of Germany. Of this quantity about one-sixth is exported; but of wheat and barley one-third of the total crop is exported; only one-twelfth of the rye, which is the chief food of Russia. The strongest point against Russia in her competition with the United States is that the foreign demand is precisely for the lower grades of flour, which the States do not require; whilst the common flours are all needed in Russia, and there is only a limited demand abroad for the fine.

In the matter of village industries Russia occupies a peculiar position: the factory hand does not abandon husbandry in his own village, but, having plenty of free time except at harvest, is in a position to reduce the price of his work almost to that of the material: the most striking success in this *kustar* industry has been achieved at the cutlery centre of Pavlovo. The mining legislation, after many vicissitudes, provides (except in Poland where coal, zinc, lead, and iron mining are free) for a mining tax, the obligatory delivery of gold and silver to the Crown, and restriction to search for ores to state lands. Russia's coal industry is not yet much developed, though there is a supply of 80,000,000,000 tons in the western part of the Donets basin alone; quite as much in the eastern part; and much more in Siberia. The total coal output for 1894 was about 10,000,000 tons, and the import of coal is increasing too: yet the consumption per head is only  $\frac{1}{10}$  of what it is in England. Throughout this book the word "naphtha" seems to be used in the sense of "petroleum." The discovery at Baku of a spring in 1873 sent down the price from 45 to 2 copecks a pood, and in 1894 nearly the whole output of 6,000,000 tons was produced in Baku alone: about 1,000,000 tons were exported. The backwardness of Russia's iron industry is owing to her use of wood fuel; however, since Mr. Hughes (of the Milwall works) gave Russia a start in 1869, several blast furnaces have been opened, and in 1881 these turned out 250,000

tons of steel rails : since that date, too, protective measures have increased the total production of iron and steel from 15,000,000 tons in 1881 to 30,000,000 tons in 1893, whilst the imports of foreign iron and steel have fallen from 400,000 to 300,000. The total value of Russia's oil and mining production for 1893 was as nearly as possible £15,000,000 ; yet this large sum far from corresponds to the natural resources of Russia, or to the demands of the population. In platinum she enjoys a monopoly ; in manganese she provides half of the world's total yield.

Of the total population, 85 per cent. are agricultural and only  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. settled in factories ; but the number of working-days is in Russia only  $\frac{2}{3}$  of what it is in England, and consequently quite half the available time is lost : for that reason the government is now convinced that Russia's future welfare depends upon her becoming "a trading nation only expending labour and floating capital without expending foundation capital in the shape of natural resources." In several branches Russian manufactures are gradually expelling foreign competitors ; "the protective policy has attained its results, has created a free soil for independent enterprise." With the single exception of leather (curiously what the western world always thought peculiarly a Russian strong point) every branch between 1880 and 1892 shows an advance, varying from 18 and 38 per cent. in Pottery and Textiles, to 60, 70, and 80 per cent. in Wood, Paper, Food, Metals ; 130 per cent. in Chemicals ; and 290 per cent. in other branches. We can only glance at the beet sugar industry : between 1885 and 1895 Russia exported 1,000,000 tons ; but foreign competition has compelled the government to regulate the industry so as to be master of stocks and prices. The consumption per inhabitant is only  $\frac{1}{10}$  of what it is in England ; no wonder, seeing that all Europe is competing for the honour of giving us sugar for next to nothing. As to cotton goods, the general demand is now satisfied by home production, yet in fine yarns and sewing cotton the Russian manufacturers recognize the impossibility of competing successfully with England.

The chapters on fairs, home trade, foreign trade, credit, and banking are very long and of course exceptionally interesting. Savings-banks received no real impetus till 1862 ; now there are 3,840, three-fourths of them at post-offices ; and the deposits have gone up from £200,000 in 1852 to £38,000,000 in 1895.

The compulsory allotment law of Alexander III. did not extend to artisans and miners of proprietary works, who are still in some places under obligatory relations. Pay in the modern factories is far below that of Western Europe, but the productiveness of the worker is also less. Recent legislation absolutely forbids underground work for women and children, and work of any kind for children under 12. Night work at cotton mills is prohibited for women and for youths of 15-17. Children of 12-15 may only work in two spells of four hours each. Fines go to a workmen's fund, so as to take away the master's interest in increasing the amount. There is also a sort of Lord Campbell's Act to cover cases of injury to labourers. As to technical and commercial education—a vast question—there is no space for more than the author's concluding words. At the great fair of



last year, Russia placed "before the eyes of the civilised world those important economical results which have been attained by her, thanks to the wise solicitude of the Czar Pacificator."

Russia's traditional ways of communication are rivers, but owing to the frosts, the railways carried during 1888-1893 an annual average of 50,000,000 tons, or actually more than the rivers, whilst four-fifths of the grain goes by rail; there are only 1,200 miles of canals and canalized rivers in the whole of European Russia. In 1842 there were only 15 river steamers; now there are 1,824, of 200,000 tons; besides 22,000 other river craft, with 8,000,000 tons. As for roads, peasants contribute personal service; others timber or money. The real beginning of Russia's railways was, of course, the Moscow line, but "the Crimean War found Russia entirely unprepared for mobilizing the army and the conveyance of war material." Russia next found herself hampered by her obligations to the foreign contractors she had entrusted with extending her system. During Alexander III.'s reign 5,000 miles of railway were taken over by the Government, and 3,600 were newly built (not counting the Siberian line). As the Siberian line, however, now demands such a large expenditure, private companies are again being encouraged, and small lines fused into great undertakings. The expenditure on railways amounted on the 1st January 1894 to 3,200,000,000 paper roubles, the interest on 94 % of which is guaranteed by the State. The average net revenue is 4 %, but of course the interest guarantee runs away with much of this, and on this score the companies on the 1 January 1895 still owed 954,000,000 to the State for advances of interest. In European Russia there are now 24,000 miles of railway, one third worked by private companies: though this approaches the total mileage of other large states, yet the rolling stock is only one absolute third of what it is in England. Hence the lines, which are usually single, cannot do the work offering. In 1895 50,000,000 passengers and about 100,000,000 tons of produce were carried; but a number of light lines are still needed to alleviate agricultural depression. To encourage passenger traffic, a combination of the zone and graduation systems has been adopted in framing a simple tariff. In Turkestan the late Czar created a whole railway system where in 1880 not a verst existed: now all the Central Asian states are united by rail, and Samarcand is the great centre of trade. Besides, as the author dryly adds: "It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the political significance of the Transcaspian line." It is not generally known that Alexander III. autocratically decided for an uninterrupted Siberian line, contrary to the advice of his Governors-General, who preferred sections. The present Czar turned the first sod at Vladivostock in March 1891: temporary traffic is already open over a quarter of it. As it passes mainly over Crown lands, the cost has not anywhere been over £9,000 a mile; often but little more than half that sum.

The feeble diffusion of elementary education in Russia accounts for the fact that postal communications are only four *per capita*, against 77 in England. In absolute length of wires (200,000 miles) Russia is ahead; but there are only 12 telegrams to 100 inhabitants, against 1½ to each single inhabitant in England. Telephones and telegraphs are both State monopolies.

Next comes a characteristic discussion upon "Spiritual Welfare," dealing with the whole theory of the Church government, from the earliest times ; the history of monasteries ; the establishment of sees, struggles between Church and State, organization of parishes, missionary activity, clergy support, theological schools, versions of Scripture, the position of women, and so on. This occupies a great part of the second volume, and is the most peculiarly Russian part of the whole book. After it follows the equally intricate and historical question of "National Education," as to which Russia owes very much to Catherine II. She said : "If you wish your children to learn virtue, you must first make their teachers and trainers virtuous ;" and, again : "No one will ever make me afraid of an educated people." In Russia there are ten universities, besides a series of *facultés*, gymnasiums, and "Courses" : the female medical courses appeared in Russia before they did in any other country. The history of the lower elementary schools is bound up with that of the Russian Church, and cannot be summarized in a few lines. As to the actual condition of affairs, "attendance is not compulsory : considering the great distances and lack of schools, compulsory education would be an intolerable burden, alike for children and parents ; and even for the Government, which would be inevitably compelled to have everywhere boarding-houses attached to the schools. . . . Three-quarters therefore of the children of this age (7-11) attend no school ; and it is to be noted that the percentage of girls attending school is particularly small. This last circumstance is specially important, as the prevailing influence in the education of the family is that of the mother."

The question of people's libraries is not yet placed upon a satisfactory basis ; meanwhile the low intellectual level is being gradually elevated with a suitable stock of political and moral ideas, and a paternal Government furnishes the villages with a wholesome publication called the "Rural Messenger." The illiteracy of Russian recruits was reduced from 79 to 64 per cent. between 1874 and 1893 ; so that some solid progress has been made, after all, towards leavening the ponderous mass of ignorance presented by a fecund population of 120 millions : yet 64 compares very unfavourably even with Italy's 42, not to say France's 9.4 and Germany's 0.6. Little Russia, Poland, and Siberia are the densest haunts of illiteracy : on the other hand, in Esthonia, Livonia, and Finland, the state of education approaches that of Western Europe.

The position of women was greatly modified by Peter the Great, who did away with seclusion. Catherine II. determined to create a new race of fathers and mothers, and in this good work she was ably seconded by the Empress Maria Feodorovna. The history of the labours of successive Empresses, culminating with those of the present Dowager-Czarina, is as touching as it is important, and shows that there is a strong reason for the popular affection in which the simple-minded masses hold the Imperial house.

We must pass rapidly over the chapters on Public Charity and Alimentation. The first workhouse was started by the celebrated Father John of Cronstadt 15 years ago ; there are now 45. Catherine II., who seems to

have had more than masculine vigour and business-like qualities, proclaimed free trade in wheat, and drafted with her own hand a law establishing (perhaps after the Chinese system) granaries in all towns. The recent famine caused deep concern to the late Emperor Alexander III., who took active measures to secure proper guidance and unity of operation in carrying out the relief scheme. Even under normal conditions, the Russian mortality rate is terribly high—33 per thousand, but with an equally abnormal birth-rate of 47, Russia can still afford to “give points” so far as the increase of population is concerned. Only one-eighth of the population resides in towns, but out of 660 towns only 66 enjoy good water, whilst offal and sewage accumulate within them to a terrible extent; in fact, only one third are even provided with so elementary an invention as a cess-pool, and in nine-tenths of them slaughtering takes place in the streets. This unsatisfactory sanitary condition, which, however, has been already effectively dealt with in such large cities as Nijni-Novgorod, Odessa, Warsaw, and Yalta, naturally accounts for the high death-rate besides the supply of medical men is very deficient, there being only one to every 20,000 souls in the country, and one to every 1,500 in the towns.

Russia is perhaps the only country where fire insurance is compulsory upon all peasant buildings, and indeed upon all rural edifices, even those of the privileged classes; the rate is 1% for wood, and  $\frac{1}{2}$ % for stone. In case of fire the peasants are also obliged to muster (with registered appliances) to aid in putting it out, and hamlets are obliged to build in clusters of not more than eight houses in close proximity. In 1893 24 million roubles in compulsory premia were paid on 2.6 milliards in value, whilst the private companies receive 36 millions on a value of 5.6 milliards: eight milliards (paper) mean, roughly, £800,000,000, which large sum, it is presumed, in many cases covers furniture as well as houses. A system of insurance against murrain and blight is also now being tried.

Russian justice was entirely reformed by Alexander II., but that the chief principles of his reform “are in substance universally admitted, and represent the best security that was ever found in the civilized world that the truth in court will be discovered and the exact law applied” is rather sanguine language. There are, indeed, many perfect systems of law, of which the Chinese,—and with some show of reason—consider that they have one; the great difficulty often lies in the application of it, and the character of the men who apply it. The Russian system provides for the public examination of witnesses, litigants, and accused; freedom to publish everything in the press; unlimited counsel on both sides in all cases; irremovability of judges; moral and educational standards for the bar; jury and assessors in certain cases.

The question of local government, and its history, is, as might be imagined, complicated and lengthy, but in effect the institutions of Catherine II. have been hitherto maintained: local economy has since been superadded to the old frame. Until the emancipation of the serfs, the government directed details; but now it is found impossible to do without the direct participation of the public. The divisions into govern-



ments and provinces, the functions of governors-general and governors (having a strong resemblance to those of China), the working of the police, the Zemstvo statute of 1890, the constitution of the electoral bodies, town institutions, mayors, village administrations, *volost* organizations, powers of the *zemski nachalnik*, etc., etc. ;—all these simply go over in another form, or from another point of view, the considerations with which we have already dealt. Of what the author says about Finland no notice is taken in this review, it being beside the main question: the same may be said of Siberia and Turkestan, except as regards the railways there.

Of the 140 races forming the Russian Empire, only the following are counted in millions: Armenians 1, White Russians 5, Finns 2, Germans 2, Jews 5, Kirghiz 3, Letts 1, Lithuanians 2.5, Little Russians 17, Poles 6, Tatars 2.5, Great Russians 58. Miscellaneous 15.

It is impossible to rise from a perusal of this book without a feeling of respect for the labours of the late Czar, and a strong sympathy with the Russian people. Originally an uncouth race, coming no one knows exactly whence, or at what time, for two and a half centuries they bore the brunt of Mongol brutality, and by the sheer dead weight of their numbers and the dismal expanse of their country, interposed an effective barrier between the devastating Tartar and the civilisation of Western Europe. Then one of Nature's lights suddenly shone upon the Russian world in the shape of Peter the Great, who set himself to transform his prolific millions of shaggy, patient subjects into decent members of European society. Catherine the Second, despite her personal foibles, was almost as great a monarch as Peter, and vast work in reform was also undoubtedly accomplished by Alexander the Second. Unfortunately warlike ambitions have thrown Russia back from time to time, just at the moments when the efforts of her Czars in civil polity seemed likely to garner in an abundant harvest. But to the late Czar Alexander III. belongs the chief credit of having steadfastly set his face against a policy of wars, and of having devoted his whole efforts to the peaceful development of the Fatherland. The mighty results which the Siberian Railway have already brought forth, and are certain to bring forth in much greater measure, are the direct outcome of his single overruling will. The much used expression "never-to-be-forgotten" (*nyezaboennii*) is no empty phrase when applied to his memory. The author of this book quotes with pride the generous words of Lord Salisbury: "He has left behind him a record for which all nations are bound to be grateful, and which our future rulers in all lands, whether monarchical or popular, will do well to study and to follow."

Modern Russia is, to sum up, a striking instance of the successful combination of neo-European means and ends with the best old Asiatic traditions and methods. Russia is a thoroughly up-to-date empire, so far as directing brains are concerned. The abolition of capital punishment, and many other evidences of the application of the most advanced modern thought bring out into contrasting relief the quasi-Muhammadan toleration of other religions, which reserves the right of proselytism to the state creed. Without laying undue stress upon the Chinese analogies to which I have

casually alluded, I can see in the paternal, if sometimes severe, treatment of her subjects, and in the filial attitude of their loyalty, one of the many signs that Russia's supremacy in High Asia is based upon something more sympathetic than the shrewd diplomacy and military power which have secured for her a prominent place in European counsels. In addition to this essentially Eastern attitude of the ruling classes towards the ruled, we have the taxation of land (imposed on its revenue now, no longer on its value) as the chief source of state income; and the strong religious sentiment which pervades the whole government machine, both of which are sympathetic factors in the same oriental direction. On the other hand, philanthropic European ideals are being slowly but surely realised in education and local self-government. The abolition of slavery in Central Asia is only one outcome of the many kindred humanitarian impulses which have steadily moved the Russian government, and have secured the enthusiastic sympathy of the Russian people; of these the ready aid offered to the India Famine Fund is a recent instance,

## BIDA AND BENIN.

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THERE is so much difference between Bida and Benin, and the races who inhabit them, that one almost needs to apologise for mentioning them in the same breath. Perhaps however it may serve a useful purpose if we contrast the two districts, as there exists in the minds of many educated people an apparently hopeless confusion between these widely differing towns.

We shall first endeavour to describe in some detail the city of Bida, its inhabitants, their customs, arts and industries, and then briefly indicate the conditions of life in such a heathen town as Benin.

Bida is one of the great cities of the Western Sudan, and the capital of Nupe. The term Sudan, by the way, literally "The Black Races," seems to be applied by the natives to the belt of country stretching across the African continent, which is occupied chiefly by negro Mohammedan states. Some of the newspapers have given an exaggerated idea of the importance of Nupe. It has always been inferior to Sokoto and Gando, though Nupe has come into closer connection with Europeans from its geographical position. There is no question, however, that Nupe did hold an important position, and its capital, Bida, wielded no small influence on the country round.

Why Bida was chosen as a capital it is difficult to say. Certainly not because of any strategic position, for it is situated in a valley, commanded by a ridge, which cannot be more than two miles from its walls. The presence of a stream flowing through the city probably determined its location, as so essential a commodity as water must be one of the first considerations in Africa, where it is often difficult to be obtained.



Viewed from the ridge just mentioned, the town presents a very picturesque appearance. It is oval in shape, and about two miles long by rather more than a mile across, and is surrounded by a low mud wall. Most of the houses are of the usual shape adopted in Africa, namely, with circular mud walls covered with a conical roof of thatch, and very similar to the shape of the common British haystack. About half a dozen or more of these are enclosed in each compound, which is practically the house, the various buildings being regarded as rooms in the house. The compounds of the Princes and of some of the principal men are much more pretentious. That of the late Emir Maliki, when I saw it, was surrounded by a high mud wall at least 10 feet high, and the entrance to it was obtained through a very imposing porch, supported by carved wooden pillars, and surmounted by a partial dome of thatch. The compound must have been nearly a quarter of a mile square, and included a number of buildings, chiefly rectangular in shape, and thatched in the way already described.

Close to this compound was the Emir's mosque, roofed in with corrugated iron, and this is by far the most prominent object in the city, as seen from a distance.

Part of Maliki's great compound was destroyed not long ago by an explosion of gunpowder, and it seems that the rest of it must have been destroyed during the recent bombardment.

As one enters the city, one passes through a curious little porch in the outer wall, in which a sentry is stationed, armed with a very old-fashioned type of gun. The streets merely consist of footpaths, though in some cases these are fairly broad, and owing to the stream flowing through the street, the ground slopes on each side down to it, so that it is in many places rather uneven. Most of the principal men ride upon horses, which are generally rather small, but they seem to thrive in Bida, in contrast to nearer the Coast, where it is almost impossible to rear them.

The inhabitants of Bida are mostly Nupes, though there are large settlements of Hausas, chiefly confined to one quarter of the city. Besides these, there are always a number of Yoruba traders from Ilorin, and the Princes are reputed to be of Fulah extraction, though few, if any, of them are pure Fulahs. The Fulah herdsmen do not reside in Bida itself, but are encamped at a place some little distance off, where they keep their cows and bring in milk and butter for sale in Bida. These speak the Fulah language, but generally understand Hausa. The common language of Bida is Nupe, whilst most of the official transactions are carried on in Hausa, Arabic being of course the religious language, and Yoruba being sometimes employed.

Mohammedanism seems to have gained a greater hold of Nupe than of most parts of the Hausa States, as described by the Rev. Charles Robinson in his book entitled "*Hausaland*," though Islam seems only to have been introduced into Bida by the Fulah invasion at the beginning of the present century. It is therefore improbable, as Mr. Robinson points out, that the state of civilisation which exists in this part of Africa is due directly to Mohammedanism. Still, no doubt most of their literature is of a religious character, and based upon the Koran. There are schools in many parts of the city, taught by Mallams,\* some of whom are possessed of a considerable amount of learning. Arabic and Hausa are the chief languages taught by them, the latter being written in the Arabic character. They have of course no printing, and the form of character employed is much squarer than that in use in Eastern countries. In spite of this however, many of them have been able freely to read the ordinary printed Arabic. Whether any of them are as learned as the Mallams met by Mr. Robinson in Kano, it would be difficult to say, but in this latter place a scholar was found who was able to translate the Gospel of St. John from Arabic into Hausa and present it fully written out in ten days' time.

\* The Hausa pronunciation for the Arabic "*Mua'llim*" = a Teacher.

The boys are taught to write on polished pieces of board, made in the shape of an English schoolboy's slate. They write on these with ink and reed pens.

On one occasion, on going into a house, I found a man discoursing to one or two others on the Laws of Evidence. We may suppose that he was a "Law Coach," as we should style him at an English University.

The chief industry of Bida, as of most other cities in the Western Sudan, is that of weaving and dyeing cloth. The cloth is usually woven in narrow strips of not more than three inches wide : these are carefully sewn together. The dye usually employed is the rich indigo, which is grown in the country, and they have also a beautiful native purple dye, but this is not so commonly used, and is more expensive. The cloth is made up by the men into elaborate gowns, and artistically embroidered. All this work is done by the men, and the gowns or tobes are worn by them, the women only wearing arrangements of native cloths wound round them. Grass mats, tastefully decorated, may be also seen in great abundance.

Another most important industry is the leather work, and gorgeous trappings for horses, sheaths for swords, bags for books, sandals and slippers are largely used by them, and form important articles of trade. Wood-carving, and elaborate iron and brass work are also carried on in Bida, and in many cases most artistic designs are produced.

The currency of the country chiefly consists in cowrie shells, 2,000 of which are generally considered to be equal to a shilling. Salt is also employed for barter, and cloth, but it is sometimes exceedingly hard to use cloth in payment for goods, and it is much more convenient to have a good supply of cowries.

The food of the people chiefly consists of various preparations made of Indian corn or Guinea corn, also rice grown in the country. They also eat meat, chiefly goat's flesh and fowls, but in Bida beef can generally be obtained. As however it has to be eaten, or at any rate cooked, on the



same day on which the animal is killed, it is somewhat tough. The chief vegetables which are employed are yams, though occasionally certain green vegetables are used. The principal cooking material is Palm Oil. Several kinds of Plantains are the only fruit that can readily be obtained though dates can sometimes be purchased from traders coming from the North. The cooking is carried on by the women, who spend the greater part of their day in preparing the food, which includes grinding the corn, pounding the yams in a large wooden mortar, and especially preparing the palm oil. In very few cases is there any attempt to seclude the women, though amongst the higher families they are kept very much to themselves; and in one case when I went to speak to an old lady of very high position, she would only speak from the other end of the apartment in which I was sitting, and she held a cloth in front of her face; though in a moment of idle curiosity I found her peeping round the cloth to have a look at the white man. On another occasion, when asked to prescribe for a princess of high position, my words had to be interpreted to her through a whole series of interpreters, in order, I suppose, to prevent any words of mine from contaminating her. I was of course as a medical man permitted to see more of the inner life of the people than would have been the case under ordinary circumstances; and as I and my companions had adopted the costume of the country, which we considered both graceful and convenient and infinitely preferable to English dress in that climate, we were soon at home with the people amongst whom we were staying.

Polygamy is in vogue, and together with slavery, forms one of the greatest barriers to the happiness and prosperity of the people. In fact, the two systems are closely bound up together, for where a woman is only one of many wives, she is practically a slave. There are those who profess to believe that a relaxation of our marriage laws would be of benefit to the country: they can hardly have had ex-

perience of a country where polygamy is practised. There, the blessings of family life, as we know them, are practically unknown, and the position of the majority of women is an almost intolerable one. It will probably be allowed that one of the truest signs of the superiority of a nation consists in the rightful position accorded to women, and this can never exist side by side with Polygamy.

Reference has already been made to the practice of slavery, but it may be well to further define the system which has been carried on until recently in Bida and its Dependencies. There are in Bida, in every family of importance, domestic slaves. Many of these are more or less well treated, and it is possible for one or other of the confidential slaves of a prince to attain to something of the same sort of position as a butler in a nobleman's family in England. On the other hand, a man who is a slave is always at the disposal of his master, and for a mere whim he may lose all his possessions which he has been allowed to acquire, and may be sold to another, and against this action he would probably have no appeal.

Again, slaves have until recently been practically a form of currency in Bida, and may be employed in the same way as cheques or bank notes would be used by us—I mean, that if any large sum of money has to be paid, slaves would probably be an important part of the transaction. For instance, a large part of the tribute which Bida has paid each year to the superior powers has consisted of slaves.

There has also existed in the great market at Bida a special part reserved as a slave market, and I have seen as many as 200 miserable creatures exhibited there for sale in one day. Slaves are also employed largely in the farms owned by the chief princes, in the neighbourhood of Bida, and it is for this purpose that slave raids have been practised. These have been carried on in the following manner :—

Each Prince in Bida regarded a certain part of the country as his field of action, and at a certain time every year the Princes would go out at the head of their armies

to hunt for slaves, just as an Englishman might for game. They would fall upon some hapless city or village, and demand the payment of a certain number of slaves. If these were not forthcoming, they would very likely set fire to the place, and carry off as many slaves as they required.

This is the intolerable principle which has been the curse of the Nupe country, and which has given rise to the recent expedition.

It may be surprising to some to hear that the Fulah rulers of Bida, who are the most notorious slave raiders of the Sudan, seem to be some of the most religious; and yet it is evident to any student of Islam that both slavery and polygamy are practically encouraged, if not inculcated, by the teaching of their religious system,—in fact, many of them think that in devastating the pagan tribes and forcibly introducing their religion, they are doing God service.

But whether or no this is the case, it is certainly true that Muhammadanism is practised with more rigour in Bida than in some of the chief cities of the Hausa States. Each of the principal houses in Bida has a mosque attached to it, and most of the people are strict in observing the regular hours of prayer, and the resonant voice of the Muezzin, calling people to prayer in the early hours of the morning, is very noticeable. Even in the villages, where they cannot afford to erect a special building for religious purposes, a piece of ground is marked out which can be used instead of a mosque.

The Government up to the present time has been vested in the Emir, who was an absolute Monarch, but at the same time he was surrounded by the representatives of several rival dynasties, all of whom it was necessary in some way to propitiate, and each of whom would have some voice in the affairs of State. The chief adviser of the last few Emirs of Bida has been the old Ndeji, or Prime Minister—or shall we call him the Grand Vizier?—and he has helped to a great extent to frame the policy of the



country. As we have already hinted, the chief Princes are responsible for the government of particular parts of the country, which power they have exercised chiefly by raiding them for slaves.

The power of life and death was vested entirely in the Emir, and one of his principal Officers of State was the Executioner. This individual was one of the most horrible creatures it was ever my misfortune to see. If my memory serves me right, it was this man whose special privilege it was to make away with lepers, and actually to eat them. It is almost incredible that this should have been done, but this was told to me as a positive fact, and it only goes to show the gross and horrible practices that may exist even in a Muhammadan country.

With regard to the relations of Nupe with other States, it may be said that Nupe paid a tribute to Gando and Sokoto, whilst the neighbouring State of Ilorin, of which we have heard recently, seems to have been on much the same footing, being governed by an Emir in the same way as Bida, but no doubt with greatly less power.

We know now that both these towns have been conquered, and treaties made whereby they will be in the future under the general control of the Royal Niger Company, as the representatives of the British Government, the Emirs of Bida and Ilorin being responsible under them for the government of at least part of the country.

We have dwelt at length upon the conditions of life in Bida, as we have presented to us in this place one of the most remarkable instances that can be found anywhere of civilisation which has gained nothing from contact with Europeans, and which may be called indigenous to the country. We may now turn to give in a few words some account of the contrast which would be presented by such a grossly heathen town as Benin.

Instead of civilisation, we find here conditions of the grossest savagery, and this state of things is chiefly the result of the degrading religious superstitions which guide

the actions of the Lower Niger tribes. Without therefore attempting any description of the town itself and the customs of the inhabitants, of which I have no personal knowledge, it may be of interest to give a brief sketch of the government of these tribes as it is related to their religion.

Much has been said about the abominable cruelty of the King of Benin, and one would not attempt to defend his character ; but judging from what has been said about him, and from the analogy of kings of towns in a similar region, it is probably a fact that he had very little influence. When he is appointed King, he goes within his compound, never to issue from it, and thus he is often ignorant of what is going on outside. He is at the mercy of other chiefs, and orders are often given in his name for which he is not responsible.

There exists in these towns a sort of Secret Society, into which all the young men are initiated at a certain age, but of the objects of which the women are supposed to know nothing, and it is in the hands of this Secret Society that most of the power is vested. The objects of the Society are partly religious and partly political. Their religion is a form of fetish worship, or, as it is spoken of in West Africa, Juju worship. A Juju may consist of almost any article, which is held in superstitious veneration, and which is taken to represent the power of some evil spirit or devil, so that Juju worship is practically devil worship.

There is also a great belief in the influence of departed spirits, and many of the actions of the people are dictated, as they say, by what has been told them by the spirit of some great man who is dead.

The way in which they learn the wishes of this departed friend is as follows :—After the death of any important individual, a certain dress is manufactured, into which his spirit is supposed to enter. This is put on by one of the young men composing the Secret Society, who is supposed to be invested with the power of the dead man, and every

enactment which is given forth by this individual, who would be known as the "Juju man," must be carried out by his supporters, under pain of the most fearful consequences.

Thus the King of the country is entirely under the control of this gross superstition. It is by this means that human sacrifices are ordered, no doubt with the idea that the dead man requires slaves to wait upon him in the other world, and there is little doubt that by the order of the Juju leader, the massacre of the Europeans was decreed.

By means of this horrible system, too, all sorts of other heathenish practices are maintained, such as Infanticide, and other customs connected with marriage and funeral ceremonies. We may refer in conclusion to the practice of naming witches.

When a person is taken ill, it is believed that he has been bewitched, and the witch must then be found out. There are various means by which this is done, but in some cases of which I have heard a slave girl is tortured in the most cruel manner until she names some person, who is said to be the witch who has brought on the disease. This person is probably some inoffensive old woman who has never done any harm to anybody, and yet she is henceforth known as a witch, and if she is allowed to live, she is driven from her country, and drags out a most miserable existence.

What greater contrast can we have to the state of things which exists in Bida? It is a happy thing to know that the atrocities, which have been painted in such vivid colours by the newspaper correspondents from Benin, will now be put to an end.

There is however one melancholy fact in connection with the past relations of Europeans with the natives of the Benin district. Two articles have been introduced into the country, and very little more than these two—Gin and Gunpowder. If we are going to raise the conditions of life of the natives of this part, something must be done to



check the importation of these two commodities into this territory.

With regard to the political situation of Bida and Benin respectively, the former is henceforth to be governed by a new Emir, formerly one of the chief princes in Bida, who is to act under the general supervision of the Royal Niger Company. A large part, however, of the country, which used to be governed by Bida, is to be under the direct administration of the Royal Niger Company.

It may also be mentioned that as a result of the present expedition, the Royal Niger Company have issued a decree, abolishing the legal status of slavery throughout the Niger Territories from the date of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee.

Benin, on the other hand, is in the sphere of influence of the Niger Coast Protectorate, and though we have not yet received definite information as to its future, it will no doubt be placed under effective European control.

## THE TREATMENT OF NATIVES OF BRITISH INDIA IN NATAL.\*

BY ROBERT CUST, LL.D.

My only qualification for discussing the above subject is an intimate personal knowledge of British India for a quarter of a century, and a certain acquaintance with Africa, the result of a long study of that continent. I occupy the position of Counsel for the Plaintiff, because all members of the Services in British India take a deep interest in the welfare of the great nation entrusted to their charge. This interest does not cease on the day that India is left by them for the last time, but is part of the nature of the Anglo-Indian in his retirement. He is ready to oppose the benevolent, but injudicious, members of the community who injure the people of India by interference in their commerce, their excise Laws, their marriage-customs, their right to tax imports, and to be tried by the same Courts of Justice and Codes of Law as the British sojourners in India, as they are all, black and white, equally subjects of Her Majesty.

If an injury is inflicted on the Natives of India by the Governments of other countries or of British Colonies, the Anglo-Indian will not remain silent. If any citizen of a Foreign Nation, or any Colonial subject of Her Majesty, chooses to settle in British India, he is not placed before the Law at a disadvantage to the Natives or to the European residents: he possesses all the privileges of Free Trade, Free Agriculture, Free Labour, and equality of Taxation. In such a country as British India constitutional independence does not exist for any portion of the Community, and is not likely to come into existence owing to well understood causes. Why should there not be a reciprocity of rights and privileges, when Natives of British India desire to migrate to a British Colony? The matter is one of vital importance to India: the population in consequence of the long *Pax Britannica*, and the measures taken to counteract

\* For the discussion on this paper see "Proceedings of the East India Association" elsewhere in this Review.—*Ed.*

Famine and Disease is increasing at the rate of three millions per annum, and India is become like a great vessel full to overflowing. Fifty years ago there was abundance of culturable land lying waste, but that is not the case now : the villages have increased by thousands, and the population by tens of millions. Emigration to sparsely occupied regions beyond the sea has become as much a necessity to British India with its 280 millions, as to the British Islands with its 40 millions. How to organize the vast ever-increasing industrial force of British India, and dispose of it so that the very numbers shall not tread each other down, is becoming the supreme problem of British rule. The Native Regiments are welcomed at Suakim in E. Africa, when there is war in Egypt : the Native Military Police from India do our work well on Lake Nyasa in E. Africa : Indian traders conduct a great part of the business of the East African Ports, supplying that amount of capital and that commercial knowledge, which the Native African races do not possess : Indian subjects form the mechanics and coolies for the Mombasa Railway in E. Africa. Is it so surprising, that Indian labourers should cross the sea by thousands to settle in South Africa, considering that there has been a Malay emigration to the Cape Colony time out of mind ?

Indian labour is cheapest, where that of Europeans is dearest, and is effective under circumstances, which would be unendurable to the white man. In many varied undertakings in East Equatorial Africa we have had to seek the aid of Indian clerks, Indian merchants and Indian workmen. And it is precisely this aid, which gives to Great Britain a decisive advantage in the race for Africa over other European States.

When India passed in 1858 from the old East India Company to Her Majesty, it was declared by Proclamation in express terms, that Her Majesty held herself bound to her Indian subjects by the same obligations, which she owes to the rest of her subjects. She offered equal protection,



and has received equal loyalty in return, nor do these assurances of protection thus given cease to exist the moment that the British Indian subject under the emigration arrangements of the Government leaves the Indian shore to do honest labour in other portions of Her Majesty's dominions. That Proclamation, which I myself took part in making public on the 1st October 1858, is the Charter of British India, and justifies the protest, which I am now making.

It is expedient in the present discussion to confine ourselves to the question of the Colonies of S. Africa on the East Coast, and to make no allusion to the independent Republic of the Transvaal and to the German East African Colonies, as both of these are foreign Governments. Nor is it expedient to allude to the position of Indian subjects in other British Colonies except Natal and Capetown. In these last years of the century there are at least 100,000 Indian subjects of Her Majesty in East and South Africa, and that number will certainly increase, in spite of the monster meeting held at Durban on the 5th January last, at which Government was asked to send back to India two shiploads of Indians and the citizens resolved to prevent in future, if necessary, by force, the landing of Indians.

In 1895 a deputation of Indians resident in London, to complain of the treatment of their countrymen by the Natal Colonists, was received by Mr. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary: a printed Memorial was handed in by Mr. Naoroji, M.P., and we thus have a specific statement of the grievances in question. The treatment which they receive is humiliating to their self-respect, and restrictive of their legitimate trade.

Two distinct grievances are brought forward by two distinct classes of the Indian immigrants:

- I. Grievances of the agricultural immigrants from India.
- II. The refusal of constitutional rights to the better class of Indian settlers.

I. For some time past there has been an influx of Indian labourers into Natal, who come over under contract to work for a certain number of years. The expenses of the voyage are supplied by their future employers: their interests are watched during their term of service by an official Protector of Immigrants, and they have a right to a free passage back to India. Many of them however allow their right to the return passage to lapse, and desire to make Natal their home: the number of such is about 25,000: they have found a home in the Colony, and are in the way of earning a sufficient and certain livelihood. Their contract being completed, they can dispose of their labour as they like, and in a sparsely-occupied Region their labour has a value.

The growth of this industrious body of aliens tends to reduce wages, and is opposed by competing labour interests. It must be recollected that Natal was occupied by British Colonists in the reign of Her Majesty Victoria, and is not an old Settlement. The Natal Legislature has passed a Law, which practically deprives the Indian Labourers of their freedom of choice at the end of their contract, and compels them either to return to India, or enter into new indentures, and the free immigrant is thus reduced to what looks very like compulsory service with the alternative of banishment. This Law provides, that every indentured Indian Labourer, who fails to return to India, or take out new indentures shall take out a licence to remain in the Colony, and pay an annual fee of £3, which amounts to a quarter of the year's earnings on the Indenture Scale. The Indian residents in Natal ask the Secretary of State to refuse his sanction to this new Law: it practically destroys the status of free Indian Labour in the Colony and is an unjust treatment of a quiet law-abiding section of the community.

It is urged by the Colonists, that the Indians were brought to supply labour to develop agriculture, and not to form a part of the South African Nation. They contracted to

assist the Colonists at fair wages, not to become competitors in the labour-market against the Colonists. Some take the more moderate view that the Indian labourer having given some of the best years of his life to his new home, it would be unjust to send him back, if desirous to stay. Better by far stop the introduction of Indian labourers : it is inconsistent to desire Indian labour, and yet to try to avoid the consequences of Indian immigration. One of the Commissioners writes : Stop Indian immigration, but do not do the immigrants a great wrong ; it is foreign to justice to take the best out of a labourer, and then get rid of him out of the country, when his best days are passed.

## II. Now as to the refusal of Constitutional Rights.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi published a return of the voters of Natal. There are 9,309 European registered voters against 251 of Indian origin—a proportion of 1-37. We must really be practical, and there seems under these conditions a small chance of the European vote being swamped in the immediate future. The existing franchise law excludes the great mass of Indian immigrants from the vote, as every voter must possess immovable property of the value of £50, or rent property to the yearly value of £10. This excludes all labour-immigrants, but Indians of a better class have votes : the whole Indian population amounts to 51,000, of whom 30,000 are not under contract, 16,000 under contract, and 5,000 are traders with more or less capital. It seems reasonable, that in a country with free institutions so large a number should have some voice at the polls.

There is no desire to obtain new privileges, or to lessen the safeguards, which secure the voting power to the European population : the Indians merely ask not to be deprived of the very limited franchise which they now possess : and those, who do possess the franchise, are not unskilled workmen, but Merchants, Storekeepers, Goldsmiths, Jewellers, Schoolmasters, Photographers, Clerks and Book-keepers : their social position is not inferior to that of the Colonist.



Let me now state the view of the Colonist, remembering that he is himself an intruder and immigrant into Natal during the present reign. He cares not for the thousands of Zulu, Kafir, or Be Chuana aborigines of the Colony: they count for nothing. In British India, laws are passed in the interest of the Native Indians, whose homes and lands have been scrupulously respected by the white rulers. The British Indians are to the governing colonist of Natal somewhat in the same position that the British Uitlanders are to the governing Boers of the Transvaal, with the difference that the two parties are not subjects of the same Sovereign. In both cases, the governing race, themselves intruders in the present reign, fears that it may be swamped by outsiders, and desires at any cost to maintain its supremacy—"first come first served." The Boers and the Natal Colony came into existence about the same time. Here are outspoken assertions of the side of the white Colonist:

"The Colonists will do all that can be done to make Natal pleasant for the Indians, but we are determined on one thing: we will not on any account allow the Indians to govern Natal: there is no room for argument about this. To give the Indians the franchise would imply government by *the lowest class of the Natives of India*, because they are already numerically stronger than the whites: we are actuated by the dominant feeling of self-preservation: the government of Natal must remain in the hands of the white men of Natal, because the coloured population are intellectually unfit for it."

"Some do not stop here: they assert, that the people of India are little, if at all, higher in the scale of civilization than the Natives of South Africa. Are these words uttered in ignorance, or are they intentional divergences from accuracy? I am well acquainted with the Indians of all classes from the great noble, and highly-educated scholar down to the lowest cultivator: is this ancient and illustrious nation, eight or nine times as numerous as our own, which was great and learned and wealthy at a time when our forefathers were savages, to be treated as an outcast race, or a fallen people like the inhabitants of Egypt and Mesopotamia? Individuals among natives hold some of the highest

posts in India, and are worthy of them. I have long experiences of native Councillors, Judges, native Revenue Collectors, native Soldiers, native Professors of Universities, native Merchants, native Landowners, Editors of Newspapers, native Sovereigns of considerable kingdoms, and consider that they are equal, if not superior, to many ordinary Europeans of their respective classes : in fact, the Indian youth proves this by outstripping the English youth in competitive examination. As to their being filthy, as asserted by some Colonists, really in the matter of ablutions the Indians are superior to other races, whilst their religious views, domestic and tribal customs, and great aptitude for commerce and business generally combine to make them valuable additions to a community. It can scarcely be proposed by British settlers in African Colonies to reintroduce against the people of Asia the old laws enforced by our ancestors in their ignorant prejudices against the Jews. It would be interesting to know what proportion of the white Colonists had ever exercised the franchise in Great Britain, or whether they had ever possessed any qualification of property or knowledge. In the United States something of the same kind was heard with regard to the Negro population of the Southern States : it is not heard now.

The Government of India has one simple solution of the difficulty, *viz.* to suspend in future all indentured emigration to South Africa, as it has on former occasions suspended emigration to Foreign States, which would not give proper guarantees for the present well-being, and the future status, of the emigrants. The Government of India is unwilling to act to a British Colony in an unfriendly way until every other remedial expedient has failed, but there is a limit to patience. In the case of Natal the cessation of Indian immigration would be very serious. Numbers of Indians have provided for the failure or absence of white immigrants, and have cultivated lands which would otherwise have remained waste. The mere issue of such an order by the Government of India, as I have suggested, would dis-

organize industry in Natal, depreciate investments, and retard the progress of the Colony. The Government of India cannot be a party to administrative arrangements, which eventuate in the privation of a certain class of British subjects from the rights enjoyed by other classes of British subjects, and, when that Government recollects what Indian soldiers, Indian merchants, Indian labourers, have done for the Eastern Regions of Africa, it will not look on without an expression of its opinion. Englishmen are, as a rule, just, and the observers of the course of human affairs have the conviction forced upon them, that a certain Nemesis follows on injustice of the kind referred to. The cry of the Uitlander is sounding in our ears, and it is difficult to differentiate the enactments of the Natal Legislature in this matter from that of Mr. Kruger and the Volksraad in the Transvaal.



## CANADA IN 1896 AND 1897.

BY J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

THE year 1896 has been as memorable in Canadian annals as that of 1897 will prove to be in the history of the British Empire. During the last year the Canadian Government which, so far as it represented the Conservative Party, had stood the shock of political warfare for over 18 years, reached the crisis of its existence and was defeated at the polls. The Canadian Liberal Party which, during a similar period, had struggled unceasingly and courageously, obtained at last the approval of the electorate and received the reward of persistence and what had seemed for years to be a hopeless contest with entrenched power and popularity. The Canadian people at the same time entered upon what is undoubtedly an important national experiment. During recent years, and especially since the death of Sir John A. Macdonald, politics in Canada have seemed to the close observer to be growing more and more into a struggle between the ins and the outs. Nominally the principles of the two organizations remained the same as they did during the great conflict of 1891, when Sir John Macdonald won the election in part through charges of disloyalty directed against some of the leaders and some of the followers of Canadian Liberalism. Whether rightly or wrongly a sufficient number of people believed these statements and the proof adduced to turn the tide in favour of the Conservatives. It is probable, however, that Sir John Macdonald's own personality had more to do with the result than even this cause.

In the elections of last year there was no such issue nor was there any pronounced suspicion of disloyalty asserted on either side, although the principles of the two parties remained practically the same. The Conservatives were in favour of the maintenance of the protective tariff; of closer

trade relations with Great Britain; of an Imperial preferential system; of cable communication with Australasia; of a fast steamship line to England; and of legislation in favour of the schools of the Roman Catholic minority in the Province of Manitoba. The Liberals on the other hand were avowedly in favour of theoretical free trade principles; of reciprocal trade relations with the United States; and opposed to any policy which should alienate any American sympathies or feelings of friendship which might be supposed to exist. In place of the Imperial Federation which had become the central theme of Conservative oratory and hope they looked to, and frequently spoke of, the co-operation and possible unity of the Anglo-Saxon race. Upon the Manitoba school question they were divided, as indeed was the Conservative party itself, but they had distinctly the advantage in the fact that their leader, Mr. Laurier, was a Roman Catholic and a French-Canadian, and therefore not as susceptible in any compromise which he might effect to the charge of sacrificing the rights of the Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba, as was Sir Charles Tupper. Moreover, their leader was able to obtain the practical sympathy of the Liberal Premier of Manitoba, who was necessarily more or less antagonistic to the Conservative leaders at Ottawa; and in this way people in Protestant Ontario and Manitoba naturally felt that Mr. Laurier could more easily effect an arrangement with Mr. Greenway and more easily obtain the support of French Canada in carrying out the arrangement than Sir Charles Tupper could possibly do. To cap the climax the Orangemen of Ontario, who had hitherto unanimously supported the Conservative policy, refused to follow a platform which involved the restoration, or attempted restoration, of separate Catholic schools in Manitoba.

Mr. Laurier in this peculiar conjunction of affairs, and after prolonged public doubt as to his policy, finally took a manly and honourable stand and declared his intention not to support the Remedial Bill which had been introduced in

the last days of the dying Parliament by Sir Charles Tupper. In taking this step he ran a tremendous risk of alienating the Roman Catholic Liberals of Quebec. In the end, however, by one of those peculiar currents of popular thought which sometimes run through the minds of a people, the electors of his native Province seemed to feel that the time had come for them to have a French-Canadian and Catholic Prime Minister. He accordingly surprised his friends and astonished the country by sweeping Quebec with a majority which placed the Liberal Party in power after 18 years of Opposition. It is impossible in this connection to avoid some feeling of admiration for both of the leaders in this contest. Sir Charles Tupper had fought the battles of Canada for over 40 years and had come out from London during a crisis in the history of his party to try and weld together what looked very much like the shattered remnants of a once great organization. In doing so he not only took his political life in his hand, but commenced a most arduous Parliamentary and national campaign at an age when most men desire a considerable measure of rest. He also assumed the burden of defending what seemed to him, and to a large proportion of his party, to be the rights and privileges which had been guaranteed to the small Catholic minority of the Province of Manitoba by the pact of Confederation. He made a brave fight both to organize his party and to do what he believed to be justice in the vexed and tangled Manitoba School question. Mr. Laurier on the other hand reached at this time the crisis of a career which has been characterized by a great measure of personal popularity and respect, and marked by a very wide appreciation of his powers as an orator in both the French and English languages. Whatever may have been the faults of his party during past years, and in connection with problems of Imperial expansion and Canadian development, it was felt during this election that he now represented a very strong Canadian sentiment as in his speeches he had long indicated an intense admiration for English



Liberalism, and the principles which are understood in that term. Both leaders and both parties were equally and extremely loyal in their declarations during the Venezuelan crisis and were united in their support of the Conservatives' policy of re-arming the Militia.

These events of 1896 have therefore thoroughly paved the way for the union of both parties and all sections of our people in celebrating and loyally appreciating the 60th anniversary of the accession of her Majesty the Queen and Empress. Much will probably be done in this direction by the cities and towns of the dominion in the way of local demonstrations. It is proposed also that the loyal resolutions which will be passed by Parliament and by all the Provincial legislatures should be forwarded and presented simultaneously. In the City of Toronto preparations are being made to lead in the direction of local demonstrations, and there is a wide feeling throughout the country in favour of more or less permanent memorials being raised to mark the event. I have revived the suggestion which I made a couple of years ago and also presented at the Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire in London last June that Her Majesty should be invited by our Parliament to assume the title of *QUEEN OF CANADA*. Without going into the self-evident advantages of such a step, and the equally apparent reasons for it, I can state with perfect confidence that it would be approved by the mass of our people with enthusiasm. Aside from the Queen's personality Canadians are beginning to understand something of the great work which she has performed during her reign in connection with the Government of the Empire and its internal and external development. It is not however understood even yet as fully as ought to be the case.

### CANADA UNDER THE QUEEN.

THE influence of the Queen's name, personality, and position has been very great in the making of Canada and the moulding of its peculiar national sentiment. In earlier

years, before Confederation gave the people of British North America an impetus towards united development, the feeling of loyalty to the Sovereign, and a desire to maintain British institutions—incomplete as they then were—constituted a chief bond of connection between the scattered Provinces, and afforded a powerful protection against the assimilating influences of the preponderating mass of population to the south.

It was fortunate that some such influence permeated Canadian thought in the stormy days when the Queen came to the throne, and during the period in 1849 when a genuine annexation cloud floated over the country. The French-Canadian is naturally monarchical in principle. He is the French peasant of days long prior to the Revolution, transported to Canadian soil and imbedded in the midst of a British community. So, also, in what was then called Upper Canada, the governing classes and a large part of the population were immediate descendants of United Empire Loyalists—men who had lost all for King and country during the revolt of the thirteen colonies. The rebellion of 1837 was therefore a fiasco, so far as it was directed against the Sovereign and in favour of a republic. The mass of the people would have nothing to do with it, even though there were admitted abuses to be rectified and admittedly justifiable demands for self-government still ungranted. And both the omissions of Downing Street and the somewhat high-handed conduct of local governments were remedied or reformed within the following decade under the quiet action of constitutional authority and legal procedure.

The general feeling of sympathetic allegiance, to the Crown does not seem to have been obliterated by the continued opposition of the Governors to popular reform and responsible government, although the general discontent had culminated in a restricted rebellion. Canadians as a rule laid the blame where it was due. Ignorance of local conditions amongst politicians at home, coupled with com-

plications in Imperial politics and changing views upon questions of Colonial policy, were the chief reasons. And since those days we are better able to appreciate the situation. England herself was not enjoying the full measure of popular rule which Canadians in some cases demanded. Ireland was a sore spot in the body politic, and all statesmen were afraid of giving too much freedom to a people who might use it, as the Irish were doing and the Americans had done, against the unity of the Empire. The United States was a living lesson in the possibilities of separation. The French-Canadians were an unknown factor in such a connection, although they had loyally stood by England in defence of their religion and language against possible submersion by the American Colonies. Opinions upon the value of colonies, and upon the proper relationship of a colony to the Crown, were in a state of ebb and flow—a condition of confusion which lasted off and on for more than forty years. And, above all, British America was almost unknown, and its history, people, and resources were as little understood in England as they were in the Colonies themselves.

Plenty of reasons, therefore, existed for caution on the part of Downing Street, and for opposition to hasty change on the part of Her Majesty's earlier representatives. And, moreover, the latter, when they reached Canadian shores, became impressed with the reasonable fear that, as things then were, too great a lessening of their own prestige and authority, or too much approximation to what were called American ideas and American methods, might result in a serious movement for separation. Time has proved the mistake of this view, but it has also caused justice to be done to the motives of men like Sir Charles Metcalfe, who, in one of his last addresses in British North America—spoken in 1843 to the Councillors of the Gore district—urged that every privilege had been granted to the people compatible with the maintenance of British connection; claimed that the Imperial Government had no desire to



interfere unnecessarily in local colonial affairs, and added that "it can never consent to the prostration of the honour and dignity of the Crown, and I cannot be the traitor that would sign the death-warrant of British connection."

There is now no doubt that the Governor-General had studied the question of responsible government very closely, and that he acted honestly and patriotically in periods of intense pain and circumstances of heroic self-sacrifice—he was dying slowly from a cancer in the face. And it appears that his general course commended itself to the Queen. Her Majesty is known to have then and ever since looked earnestly and fully into all matters which came within the wide sphere of her duties, and when Sir Robert Peel wrote in 1844 to advise the conferment of a peerage upon Sir Charles Metcalfe because of his great services, and as "aiding him in the discharge of a most important public trust," and in "giving confidence and animation to his Canadian friends and supporters," the Queen hastened to respond in a letter which declared that "he richly deserves this mark of the Queen's entire approbation and favour." Later on, in November, 1845, when Lord Metcalfe was forced by the progress of his disease to tender a resignation, which was to take effect whenever he found himself unable to further conduct the public administration, Lord Stanley—then Colonial Secretary, and afterwards Earl of Derby and Prime Minister—wrote that

"Her Majesty is aware that your devotion to her services has led you, amidst physical sufferings beneath which ordinary men would have given way, to remain at your post to the last possible moment. The Queen highly estimates this proof of your public spirit; and in accepting your proffered resignation, which in the present circumstances she feels it impossible to decline, has commanded me to express her entire approval of the ability and prudence with which you have conducted the affairs of a very difficult Government, her sense of the loss which the public service is about to sustain by your retirement, and her deep regret for the cause which renders it unavoidable."

Now that the partisan strife of those days is merged in the broader appreciation of historic retrospect, it is probable

that the great majority of Canadians will endorse the Queen's view of Lord Metcalfe's sturdy British pluck and devotion to duty. In details he may have been, and was, mistaken, but in loyalty to the great principle of British union he stands as one of the heroes of Canadian history. Meanwhile party government in England had passed to the Liberals, and Earl Grey came into the Colonial Office with many new ideas and theories. Some were good and some the reverse, but the general principle was one of letting the colonies do pretty much as they liked. This was gradually developed by the teachings of the Manchester school into the cultivation of a popular belief that the colonies were not much good to England, and could leave the Empire at any time without causing it serious injury.

Lord Grey's first step in the appointment of the Earl of Elgin to succeed Lord Metcalfe was a good one. The policy of the new Governor-General also proved to be excellent. It enforced the British principles of his predecessor, conciliated the reforming elements in the country, and made commercial arrangements with the United States which were both beneficial and honourable. But Lord Elgin had much to contend with at home. The utterances of English statesmen looking forward to the eventual independence of the colonies had helped the movement for annexation which arose in Canada in 1849 as the result of the commercial and business troubles following the abrogation of the old-time British preferential arrangements. The Prime Minister—Lord John Russell—had actually himself referred in speeches to the probability of separation, and Lord Elgin's published correspondence with the Colonial Secretary abounds in vigorous protests against this and similar utterances. The narrowness of view which thus stamped the statesmen of the day is shown by a letter from Sir George Cornwall Lewis—September 28th, 1848—in which he speaks of the uselessness of settling, or even retaining, Vancouver Island. "For practically," he observes, "it is in a different world from our provinces on

the western coast of North America. If any people can colonize it with advantage it must be the Americans." Other politicians, such as Cobden and Bright, Lord Ashburton—the hero of the miserable treaty which goes by his name—Lord St. Vincent, Lord Ellenborough, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Lowe, and even Lord Monck himself, were tainted by this weak and wicked principle of disintegration.

They held, in part or in whole, the doctrines of the rising Manchester school, and thought that colonies were of little value to the mother-land—more of a burden than a benefit. To them the United States was a great allied power, without aggressive ambitions, and willing to work in harmony with a glowing future of Anglo-Saxon unity. True, it had purchased Louisiana from France, and obtained Florida from Spain; it had annexed, or was about to annex, Nevada and California, Utah and New Mexico, Arizona and Texas—to say nothing of the future purchase of Alaska, and the extension of the Maine boundary line at the expense of Canada. But it had not yet gone in for high protection, and was not therefore touching the pockets of certain English patriots who were not possessed of sufficient sentiment and national sense to appreciate the fact that trade and territory were ere long to be synonymous terms. This class, however, limited as it was in numbers, had great ability, and was aided by the circumstances of the time in cultivating a wide sweep of anti-colonial thought. What they knew or cared for the early history of Canada and its struggles for British connection, and battles for the British flag, amounted to less than nothing. Commerce and peace at any price was too often their motto, and the time has now come for men to measure the possible disasters around which the glamour of Bright's eloquence and Cobden's high character have thrown a web of admiration.

They argued that the American people were not aggressive and did not want Canada, and if they did want it, and



took it, the loss would only involve a transfer of useless territory to a friendly and brotherly power. Such were the sentiments which Lord Elgin had to controvert, and which in modified and varied forms controlled English politics and colonial policy until the rise of Mr. Disraeli and the steady pressure of the Queen's Imperial sentiments had produced a final and crushing defeat. Her Majesty showed an early, and indeed continuous, interest in Canada. The sending of the 100th Regiment to the Crimea gave her special pleasure, and in December, 1858, it was arranged that the Prince of Wales—then only seventeen years of age—should perform his first military function by a review of the Canadian contingent at Shorncliffe. After the review was over, the Prince presented the troops with a new set of colours, and then addressed Colonel de Rottenburgh and his officers and men, in words illustrative of the Royal idea—antagonistic as it then was to the prevalent Manchester school principle—

"It is," said the youthful heir to the throne, "most gratifying to me that, by the Queen's gracious permission, my first public act since I have had the honour of holding a commission in the British army should be the presentation of the colours to a regiment which is the spontaneous offering of the loyal and spirited Canadian people, and with which at their desire my name has been specially associated. The ceremonial on which we are now engaged possesses a peculiar significance and solemnity, because, in confiding to you for the first time this emblem of military fidelity and valour, I not only recognise emphatically your enrolment into our national force, but celebrate an act which proclaims and strengthens the unity of the various parts of this great Empire under the sway of one common Sovereign."

Two years later arrangements were made by the Queen and Prince Consort for a tour through British America by the Prince of Wales, and a visit to Cape Colony by Prince Alfred. It was a far-sighted policy, and one full of Royal belief in the Colonial future as well as of self-sacrifice in sending their sons upon what seemed, in those days, to be journeys of grave import, if not serious danger.

The Prince of Wales' visit to Canada was not altogether without precedents, though rather distant ones. Prince

William Henry had visited the Provinces in 1787, while Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, and father of Her Majesty, had spent some years in Nova-Scotia as commander of the forces, and had been present at the inauguration of the Constitution of 1791—in which George III. took such an interest, and wherein he had so actively used his influence to promote the liberties and privileges of the French Canadians. Prince Edward in particular had done much to make the British Provinces better known to the authorities in England. His correspondence with De Salaberry during the war of 1812; his efforts to have justice done that distinguished officer after the victory at Chateauguay; his letter upon the proposed new constitution written to Chief Justice Sewell in 1814; all indicate the truth of Lord Durham's statement that "no one better understood the interests and character of the Colonies" than he. But neither of these princes had been heir to the Throne of the Empire, and they had not therefore, at the time, represented the highest elements of monarchy and loyalty as did the Prince of Wales.

Nor did they embody the Imperial spirit in the manner which made Prince Albert exclaim in a letter written on April 27th, 1860: "What a charming picture is here of progress and expansion of the British race, and of the useful co-operation of the Royal family in the civilization which England has developed and advanced. In both these young colonies our children are looked for with great affection and conscious national pride." The immediate occasion of the visit to Canada was an invitation and promise to open the great Victoria Bridge across the St. Lawrence at Montreal. But some kind of an intimation had been made during the Crimean war that as soon as the Prince was old enough a tour of British America might be arranged. The Queen was able to look ahead if her Ministers were not, and she foresaw the desirability of cultivating and strengthening the inherent loyalty of what might some day be a great people. Taking advantage,

therefore, of what seemed propitious circumstances, the Canadian Legislature, on May 4th, 1859, passed a unanimous address, and sent it to London in the care of the Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Smith. In it they invited the Queen herself, accompanied by the Prince Consort, and such members of the Royal family as it might please her to attend upon the occasion, and urged that an opportunity be thus given the inhabitants of Canada to testify their loyalty to the Throne and Empire. Though it was pretty well understood that Her Majesty could not come in person, this was, of course, the best way of presenting the request, and it elicited a most favourable response—received by the Governor-General from the Duke of Newcastle in time for the opening of Parliament in 1860. In the course of the reply it was stated that :

“Her Majesty values deeply the attachment to her person and the loyalty to the Crown which have induced this address, and I am commanded to assure the Legislature, through you, how lively an interest is felt by the Queen in the growing prosperity of Canada, in the welfare and contentment of her subjects in that important province of her Empire, and on the completion of the gigantic work which is the fitting type of the successful industry of the people. It is therefore with sincere regret that Her Majesty is compelled to decline compliance with this loyal invitation. Her Majesty feels that her duties at the seat of the Empire prevent so long an absence, and at so great a distance, as a visit to Canada would necessarily require.

“Impressed, however, with an earnest desire to testify to the utmost of her power her warm appreciation of the affectionate loyalty of her Canadian subjects, the Queen commands me to express her hope that when the time for the opening of the bridge is fixed it may be possible for His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to attend the ceremony in Her Majesty's name, and to witness those gratifying scenes in which the Queen is herself unable to participate. The Queen trusts that nothing may interfere with this arrangement ; for it is her Majesty's sincere desire that the young Prince, on whom the Crown of the Empire will devolve, may have the opportunity of visiting that portion of her dominions from which this address has proceeded, and may become acquainted with a people in whose rapid progress towards greatness Her Majesty, in common with her subjects in Great Britain, feels a lively and enduring sympathy.”

Read between the lines, and in connection with the ignorance and lack of Imperial sentiment then so pronounced, this letter, as well as the policy involved, is seen



to be the product of the Queen's own heart and mind. It was not the kind of an idea or document which the Duke of Newcastle would have at that time initiated, though he afterwards became a warm and sincere friend of Canada, and an active participator in the work of creating a new Dominion which the first of July, 1867, saw completed. Nor was it the sort of policy which Lord Palmerston or Mr. Gladstone, or even the Mr. Disraeli of those days, would have propounded. But it was unquestionably great in its conception and more than successful in its application and results. By the 9th of July, all arrangements had been made, including the acceptance of an invitation from President Buchanan to visit the United States, and on that day the Prince left for his ship, the *Hero*, after being accompanied to Plymouth by the Prince Consort, and to the Royal yacht which was to transfer him aboard, by the Queen, Princess Alice, and Prince Arthur. In replying to a farewell address at Davenport he declared that he went to "the great possessions of the Queen in North America with a lively anticipation of the pleasure which the sight of a noble land, great works of nature and human skill, and a generous and active people, must produce." The voyage to Newfoundland took two weeks, and in that loyal and ancient colony the reception was enthusiastic to the last degree.

Halifax was reached on July 30th, and here His Royal Highness was formally received by Lord Mulgrave, the Lieut.-Governor—afterwards Marquess of Normanby—and by guards of honour and multitudes of people. His suite throughout the ensuing tour consisted of the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of St. Germain, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; General Bruce, the Governor of the youthful Prince; Dr. Auckland, his physician; together with Major Teesdale, v.c., and Captain Grey, two of his Equerries-in-Waiting. A loyal address was presented by the Mayor and City Council of Halifax, which included a reference to "the grandson of that illustrious Duke (of Kent) whose

memory is gratefully cherished as the warm and constant friend of Nova-Scotia." A triumphal procession to the Government House, an address from the two Houses of the Legislature, and a great State dinner in the evening ; a review of the troops next day ; an illumination of the city at night, together with a ball in the Provincial Buildings ; a *levée* during the succeeding day, with an entertainment to the volunteer officers by the Prince ; a grand display of fireworks and an illuminated fleet in the harbour ; filled up and completed the three days' visit.

Of a similar nature was the reception given to the Prince at St. John, New Brunswick. It was, however, specially marked by a most able sermon preached by Bishop Medley, and by words of warm appreciation spoken by the former in reply to an address from the Provincial Government, and in connection with the volunteers. "Every visitor to your shores," remarked the Prince, "but more especially the son of your Queen, must earnestly pray that your peaceful avocations may never be disturbed ; but in case such a misfortune should await the Empire, I rejoice to observe the self-relying spirit of patriotism which prevails ; and I see in the discipline of your volunteers the determination to protect the national honour which is manifested in every portion of the Queen's dominions." At Indiantown, and Truro, and Pictou, his welcome was equally warm, though naturally not as elaborate. In Charlottetown, the capital of Prince Edward Island, the decorations were really beautiful and the reception more than enthusiastic, while everywhere the speeches of the young Prince were characterized by taste, good feeling and royal dignity. On August 13th he arrived at Quebec, and was welcomed in his ship by the Governor-General of the Canadas, Sir Edmund Head ; by royal salutes from many cannon, the sight of gaily decorated houses and crowds of cheering people on the shores ; and by a visit from the members of the Canadian Ministry, of whom George E. Cartier and John A. Macdonald, A. T. Galt and John Rose, were the

chief. Before leaving the ship, however, a trip was taken up the beautiful Saguenay, and, at last, on the 18th of August, the heir to the throne landed below the heights and ramparts of historic Quebec.

He was received by the Governor-General; Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador at Washington; General Sir W. Fenwick Williams, the Commander of the forces; Sir E. P. Tache, and Sir A. N. McNab; the military and civic officials of Quebec, and enthusiastic crowds of people. An address was presented by the Mayor, Mr. Hector L. Langevin, on behalf of the city, in the course of which he declared that in the Province of Lower Canada would be found "a free people, faithful and loyal, attached to the Sovereign and to their country." The Prince would find himself in this most ancient city of Canada amid a population "testifying by the heartiness of their acclamations and good wishes that, though they derive their origin from various races, and may differ in language and religious denominations, yet they have but one voice and one heart in expressing loyalty to their Sovereign, and in welcoming him who represents her on this occasion." Many other addresses were presented during the following days, including one from the Legislative Council, and another from the Assembly—the united Parliament of Upper and Lower Canada having its meeting place in Quebec at this time. The first was presented by Mr. N. F. Belleau and the second by Mr. Henry Smith, both of whom were knighted by the Prince. In replying to the latter address, His Royal Highness declared that Canada might be "proud that within her limits two races of different language and habits are united in the same Legislature by a common loyalty, and are bound to the same constitution by a common patriotism." A visit to the Falls of Montmorency and a splendid ball at the Citadel followed, and then came more addresses and speeches and processions and all the routine of exuberant loyalty. The reply to one of these addresses is interesting :



"I accept with the greatest satisfaction," said the Prince, "the welcome which you offer me in your own name as the Catholic Bishops of the Province of Canada and on behalf of your clergy, and I assure you that I feel deeply the expression of your loyalty and affection for the Queen. I rejoice to think that obedience to the laws and submission to authority, which form the bond of all society and the condition of all civilization, are supported and enforced by your teaching and examples.

"The assurance that you enjoy the free exercise of your religion, and that you partake in the benefits and protection of the British Constitution, is a pledge that your hearts, and those of your fellow-subjects, of whatever origin they may be, will ever be united in the feelings you now express of attachment to the Crown of Great Britain."

Three Rivers was next visited, and then Montreal, where the reception was one long-continued ovation. Here the Crystal Palace was duly inaugurated, and the great Bridge opened with all possible pomp and ceremony. Everything was done as royally as money and taste—though without much local experience in such stately matters—could do, even the carriage conveying the Prince of Wales to the bridge being lined with crimson velvet and beautifully decorated. Many addresses were presented, and the Anglican Cathedral was attended on Sunday as it had also been in Quebec. Fireworks and illuminations in the evenings and the inevitable State ball ensued, and on August 30th the departure was taken for St. Hyacinthe, Sherbrooke, and other places. Ottawa was finally reached, and the usual loyal reception given. Here the Prince laid the corner-stone of the Parliament Buildings of a future united and continental Dominion of Canada. Then came the visit to Kingston and Toronto, and the regrettable incident connected with the Orange Arches. The Duke of Newcastle had heard that some demonstration of this kind was possible, and at once wrote to the Governor-General that it would be his duty to advise the Prince of Wales not to pass under arches of the nature proposed, or to visit the towns where such semi-religious demonstrations were decided upon.

Sir Edmund Head at once, and very properly, wrote to the mayors of Toronto and Kingston that: "You will bear

in mind that his Royal Highness visits this colony on the special invitation of the whole people, as conveyed by both branches of the Legislature, without distinction of creed or party ; and it would be inconsistent with the spirit and object of such an invitation, and such a visit, to thrust on him the exhibitions of banners and other badges of distinction which are known to be offensive to any portion of Her Majesty's subjects." But the religious and party feeling of the day ran high, and the Orangemen getting the erroneous impression that it was Roman Catholic protests which had caused this communication instead of a settled and proper policy of impartial bearing, persisted in their attitude.

A landing was consequently not made at Kingston, although many addresses were received on board ship. At Belleville, and Cobourg, and Port Hope, an enthusiastic welcome was given the Prince, and Toronto fairly outdid anything yet attempted in Canada. There the Mayor, Mr. (afterwards Chief Justice, Sir) Adam Wilson, read an eloquent address, to which the Prince responded in rather striking and impressive terms :

"You will not doubt the readiness with which I undertook the duty entrusted to me by the Queen of visiting, for her, the British North American dominions ; and now that I have arrived at this distant point of my journey, I can say with truth that the expectations which I had formed of the pleasure and instruction to be derived from it have been more than realized. My only regret is that the Queen has been unable herself to receive the manifestations of the generous loyalty with which you have met her representative—a loyalty tempered and yet strengthened by the intelligent independence of the Canadian character.

"You allude to the marvellous progress which a generation has witnessed upon this spot. I have already been struck throughout my rapid journey by the promise of greatness and the results of energy and industry which are everywhere perceptible, and I feel the pride of an Englishman in the masculine qualities of my countrymen ; in the sanguine and hardy enterprise ; in the fertility of conception and boldness of execution which have enabled a youthful country to outstrip many of the ancient nations of the world."

It is impossible here to refer at length to what followed—the addresses and entertainments, the State ball and other events—or to more than mention the visit to London,

Stratford, Woodstock, Sarnia, Paris, Niagara Falls, Queenston, St. Catherine's, and Hamilton—which preceded the partial tour of the United States. Everywhere the reception of the Prince indicated deep popular loyalty, and evidenced a continuous enthusiasm. It was a sincere and spontaneous expression of regard for the Sovereign, the Royal Family, and British connection. Needless to say the visit was keenly watched by the Queen and Prince Consort, and not the least of the Duke of Newcastle's responsibilities had been his honourable task of keeping Her Majesty fully informed of its progress and success. Writing from Halifax early in the tour, he spoke of the probability that newspaper reports and correspondence will have said more than he can possibly write, but expresses the strong belief that "good has been already sown broadcast by the Prince's visit, and he humbly prays that a rich harvest may arise from it to the honour and glory of your Majesty and your family, and the advantage of the mighty Empire committed to your rule." As the Duke passed on through the country he seems to have more and more understood what its possibilities were and what Imperial unity might really mean in the future. After the border had been crossed he wrote from Dwight, in the State of Illinois, on September 23rd, a brief summary of the tour, which must be given here :

"Now the Canadian visit is concluded, he may pronounce it eminently successful, and may venture to offer Her Majesty his humble but very hearty congratulations. He does not doubt that future years will clearly demonstrate the good which has been done. The attachment to the Crown of England has been greatly cemented, and other nations will have learned how useless it will be in case of war to tamper with the allegiance of the North American Provinces or to invade their shores. There is much in the population of all classes to admire and for a good government to work upon, and the very knowledge that the acts of all will henceforth be more watched in England, because more attention has been drawn to the country, will do good. . . . It has done much good to the Prince of Wales himself, and the development of mind and habit of thought is very perceptible."

The Prince of Wales reached England again, after his United States tour, on November 15th, the voyage home



taking twenty-seven days. As was to have been expected at this period, the comments of the English press dwelt more upon the result of the American than the Canadian visit—where, indeed, they were not confused altogether. But some good was done, and the very great advantage was gained of making the Queen more practically and personally interested in her Canadian provinces than was before possible. In the Colonies the visit was of great value, and increased the substantial basis of loyalty which alone enabled their people to resist the unfriendly abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty by the United States in 1866, and the accompanying pressure for annexation. One indirect and partial result of the visit was the confederation of the Dominion, and the Canada of to-day. With this latter great event in the history of British America, the Queen had also a direct, as well as indirect interest. There can be little doubt now that the Royal visits to Canada and South Africa were the first links in the chain of Imperial sentiment which was to eventually consign the disintegrationist school to a dishonoured grave. During the years in which Canadian federation was in a state of ebb and flow, Mr. Cardwell, Lord Carnarvon, and the Duke of Buckingham were successively Secretaries of State for the Colonies. To Lord Carnarvon belongs the most of the credit, so far as English co-operation and impetus went, for its eventual success. Speaking in the House of Commons on February 14th, 1867, he declared that: "We are laying the foundation of a great state—perhaps one which at a future day may even overshadow this country. But come what may, we shall rejoice that we have shown neither indifference to their wishes nor jealousy of their aspirations, but that we honestly and sincerely, to the utmost of our power and knowledge, fostered their growth, recognizing in it the conditions of our own greatness."

Lord Carnarvon, however, had not always been an Imperialist, and, as in the case of the Duke of Newcastle, it seems not improbable that the Queen had exercised an

influence in the moulding of his views. It was far otherwise indeed, with many of his colleagues and contemporaries. On the very day the extract just quoted was spoken, Earl Russell, with all the prestige of an ex-Prime Minister attached to him, declared that confederation "would place the colonies on such a footing that in the event of their ever being desirous of severing the connection, they would be able to choose their future position in the world regardless of any external disturbing influence, and to make their own arrangements in harmony with their own wishes and feelings." This open encouragement of independence was followed by similar speeches in the Commons from Mr. Bright, Mr. Fortescue (afterwards Lord Carlingford), and others. But, fortunately, Canadian loyalty was too well secured for this sort of thing to break or diminish it seriously, and in this condition the personality of the Queen was perhaps the greatest factor, helped as it had been by the visit of the Prince of Wales.

Meantime Confederation had, in the main, been adjusted, and the successful Canadian statesmen—Macdonald, Cartier, Galt, Tupper, and Tilley—who had been in London for some time arranging the details, were received by the Queen just before their departure at a special Court. Sir John (then Mr.) Macdonald, in a letter to his sister, dated March 21st, 1867, describes the event: "I went in first, as head of the Conference. There were only in the room the Queen, Princess Louise, and Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary. On entering the Queen put out her hand, on which I knelt and kissed it. On rising, she said, 'I am very glad to see you on this mission.' I bowed. 'I hope all things are going well with you.' I said I was happy to inform Her Majesty that all things had been prosperous with us, and by the aid of Lord Carnarvon our measure had made great progress, and there had been no delays. Her Majesty said, 'It is a very important measure, and you have all exhibited so much loyalty.' I replied, 'We have desired in this measure to declare in the most

solemn and emphatic manner our resolve to be under the sovereignty of your Majesty and your family for ever.' And so ended the audience. She had kind words for all those who followed me, Cartier, Galt, Tupper, and Tilley." But it had not all been clear sailing, and in the arrangements as a whole Sir John was obviously hampered in his ambitious and Imperialistic designs by the prevalence of the opposite principle. In a letter to Lord Knutsford—published in Mr. Pope's work, and dated July 18th, 1889—he states that a great opportunity was lost in 1867, and proceeds to say that :

"The declaration of the B. N. A. Provinces that they desired as one Dominion to remain a portion of the Empire showed what wise government and generous treatment would do, and should have been marked as an epoch in the history of England. This would probably have been the case had Lord Carnarvon, who as Colonial Minister had sat at the cradle of the new Dominion, remained in office. His ill-omened resignation was followed by the appointment of the Duke of Buckingham, who had as his adviser the then Governor-General, Lord Monck—both good men, certainly, but quite unable from the constitution of their minds to rise to the occasion. The Union was treated by them much as if the B. N. A. Act were a private bill uniting two or three English parishes. Had a different course been pursued—for instance, had united Canada been declared to be an auxiliary Kingdom, as it was in the Canadian draft of the Bill—I feel sure (almost) that the Australians would ere this have been applying to be placed in the same rank as "The Kingdom of Canada."

In a postscript Sir John adds that it was not the Duke of Buckingham himself who caused the change from kingdom to Dominion. "It was made at the instance of Lord Derby, then Foreign Minister, who feared the first name would wound the susceptibilities of the Yankees." To those who know the curious character of the late Earl of Derby, this characteristically timid, if not cowardly, conduct will be easily understood. He was then one of the leading Manchester school disciples, and there is little doubt, from a perusal of modern colonial history and a comprehension of English foreign policy, that he did more harm to the loyalty of the external Empire—and to the Imperial principle at home through his desertion of Lord Beaconsfield



in 1878—than all the others put together. His high position and peculiar qualities contributed to this unfortunate result. Hence the loss of this splendid opportunity of consolidating the Empire by gradually gathering a group of sister kingdoms around the Throne of the motherland. But Sir John Macdonald, as the work of his life proceeded, had the consolation of knowing that public sentiment and the public men of England were forced to grow steadily and surely up to his broad view of the Imperial situation. By the Queen he was always highly appreciated, and her action in calling him to the British Privy Council and making him a G.C.B. indicated this feeling to what was in those days, a remarkable extent. Her Ministers made the formal recommendation and received the popular credit, but it is not improbable that the real initiative came from the Crown.

It certainly did in the peerage conferred upon Lady Macdonald in 1891, and the accompanying letter, in which Her Majesty, without the usual Royal and formal style, declares that "though I have not the pleasure of knowing you personally, I am desirous of writing to express what I have already done (by a cable to the Governor-General), my deep sympathy with you in your present deep affliction for the loss of your dear distinguished husband. I wish also to say how truly and sincerely grateful I am for his devoted and faithful services which he rendered for so many years to his Sovereign and the Dominion. It gives me much pleasure to mark my high sense of Sir John Macdonald's distinguished services by conferring on you a public mark of regard for yourself as well as for him." A few years later Her Majesty was showering every possible token of sympathy upon the family and country of Sir John Thompson. The kindly telegram and personal letter to his widow; the almost Royal honours conferred upon the memory of the Canadian statesman who had thus died so near the Throne of his Empire; the Queen's personal compliment to Canada in sending the stately

"Blenheim" to bear his remains home to their last resting-place; the placing of a wreath by her own hands on his coffin at Windsor; the permission afterwards given to Mr. Bell Smith—a Canadian artist worthy of the honour—to paint the scene and herself as the central figure; illustrated Her Majesty's Imperial sympathies.

But this is anticipating a story which should include many more incidents of Royal interest in Canada than space can possibly permit. Following the Prince of Wales' visit came a brief one from Prince Alfred in 1861, and again in 1878; a longer tour by Prince Arthur in 1869, and as Duke of Connaught in 1890; a hasty visit from Prince Leopold in 1880, and the residence of Princess Louise in the Dominion as the wife of the Governor-General, the Marquess of Lorne. Prince Leopold's tour in 1880 was carried out in strict privacy, owing to the state of his health, and although he visited Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, and other cities, he was unable to participate in public functions or do more than study the country for the noble purposes which he had mapped out for himself. With all possible care, however, he was laid up for a time while fishing on the lower St. Lawrence, and was tended with assiduity by Mrs. Stephen—wife of the future Lord Mount Stephen—at their summer residence. For this personal kindness she afterwards received a charming letter of thanks and appreciation from the Queen. The death of the Prince a few years after this visit adds a most mournful shade to the fact that he desired to be appointed Governor-General in succession to Lord Lorne, and to the knowledge that his lovable character and high gifts would have enabled him to do much good in that important position. The addresses to Her Majesty passed in 1884 by both Houses of Parliament at Ottawa, and the Legislature of Quebec, dwelt with deserved eulogy upon these recognised qualities of the young Prince, and illustrate the influence which he might have so increasingly wielded.

The reception given in Canada to the Marquess of

Lorne and the Princess Louise, when, during 1878, they came to fill the vice-regal position, was warmly enthusiastic. Abundant preparations had been made for the event in all the cities through which they were to pass, and at Halifax they had the Duke of Edinburgh with them during the local ceremonies of welcome. But he could not leave his ship to go further into the country. At various places along the route to Montreal loyal demonstrations were made, and everywhere people showed their pleasure at having a daughter of the Queen in their midst. At the commercial metropolis of the St. Lawrence, amongst many addresses and functions, was one of the former presented by the Ladies' Educational Association to the Princess. To it Her Royal Highness read a reply, in which occur some thoughts well worthy of remembrance and attention to-day. "The fruits of education are so attractive that we are often tempted to force them prematurely, without sufficient tillage, and thus lose sight of the true objects of education, which consist much more in the development of the intellect than in the mere putting in of superficial knowledge, and of cramming. Hence our necessity of grounding in the rudiments of knowledge, and thoroughness in all that is done. Knowledge thus got never dies. Knowledge got otherwise never lives."

At Ottawa a similar reception was given, and Royalty for the first time was duly installed in the local home of Her Majesty's Canadian representative. In reply to one of the addresses presented, Lord Lorne took occasion to pay a most eloquent tribute to the qualities and work of his predecessor. "A thousand memories," he very truly declared, "throughout the length and breadth of the land speak of Lord Dufferin. It needs with you no titular memorials, such as the names of streets and bridges, to commemorate the name of him who not only adorned all he touched, but by his eloquence and wisdom proved of what incalculable advantage to the state it was to have the representative of the Sovereign one in whose nature



judiciousness and impartiality, kindness, grace and excellence were so blended that his advice was a boon equally desired by all, his approbation a prize to be coveted, and the words that came from his silvery tongue, which always charmed and never hurt, were treasures to be cherished." Naturally, the Princess Louise spent a part of her time in England, where she must have been greatly missed by the Queen—whose children had all one by one left their Royal home with the exception of Princess Beatrice. But with certain exceptions, chiefly in connection with an unfortunate accident in Ottawa which caused her some sickness and pain, the Princess seems to have liked Canada, and she certainly left behind her many pleasing memories amongst those who had the privilege of knowing her, to say nothing of the general and personal appreciation of the people at having the cultured and clever daughter of the Queen in their midst. And this feeling was thoroughly voiced in the Parliamentary address presented to Lord Lorne and the Princess on their departure from Ottawa in May, 1883. "The presence of your illustrious Consort in Canada," it was stated, "seems to have drawn us closer to our beloved Sovereign, and in saying farewell to your Excellency and Her Royal Highness, whose kindly and gracious sympathies, manifested upon so many occasions, have endeared her to all hearts, we humbly beg that you will personally convey to Her Majesty the declaration of our loyal attachment, and of our determination to maintain firm and abiding our connection with the great Empire over which she rules."

In 1890 the Duke and Duchess of Connaught returned home from India where His Royal Highness had for some years commanded the forces in one of the presidencies, and received wherever they stopped a thorough Canadian welcome. In Toronto many addresses were presented at the Pavilion, which was beautifully decorated for the purpose, and much respectful enthusiasm was shown by the crowds everywhere. The Prince's reply to an address

from the Imperial Federation League was specially noteworthy. "We can never forget," he said, "that at the time of the Egyptian war we had standing side by side with our troops representatives of the Canadian Militia, and Canadian boatmen. We had representatives of the Australian militia, and we had also representatives of our brave Indian troops. I, for one, hope some day that we may see some sort of federation similar to what you wish, but I believe it can only come at the desire, the expressly desired wish of the Colonies, of which there are many in Her Majesty's Empire, and I am certain that no one will more readily take them into their arms than the Queen and the people of Great Britain."

Coming to other details, it may be said that in 1880 Her Majesty commissioned Mr. L. R. O'Brien, President of the Royal Canadian Academy, to paint her a view of the historic citadel at Quebec, and four years later sent some copies of her work, "More Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands," to Mr. (now Sir) J. A. Chapleau, Secretary of State, for presentation to the principal Canadian libraries. Each book bore the Queen's autograph, and in an accompanying letter it was stated to be her desire to thus show her interest in the literary culture of the Dominion. In 1882 the attack upon the Queen by Roderick Maclean aroused the loyalty and sympathy of Canadians to an unusual degree, and loyal addresses were passed by the Dominion Parliament and the Legislatures of Quebec, Nova-Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, and British Columbia. From the women of Canada an address, signed by 50,000 persons, was sent, through the Governor-General, and obtained from Her Majesty, through Lord Lorne, a personal response. "I have received with feelings of the sincerest gratification," wrote the Queen, "the loyal and affectionate address presented to me by the women of Canada. I wish you would convey to the signers of that address my heartfelt thanks for the cordial and friendly expressions they have used towards me,

and to assure the women of the Dominion of my earnest wish to promote their happiness and welfare."

In November, 1885, when the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed and opened to traffic, the most important and immediate congratulation was from the Queen. Lord Lansdowne wrote at once to his Premier, Sir John Macdonald, announced the receipt of the cabled message, and proceeded: "Her Majesty is pleased to add that she has watched its progress with much interest, and that she hopes for the future success of a work of such value and importance to the Empire." During 1886 the Queen was much pleased with the Canadian section of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, and after the opening ceremonies cabled to Lord Lansdowne at Ottawa as follows:

"London, May 5th, 1886.—Opening of the Exhibition went off splendidly; delighted to see so many of my Canadian subjects.  
"VICTORIA R. I."

During the Colonial Conference of 1887 Her Majesty followed its deliberations with interest, and received many Canadians of prominence at Windsor or Buckingham Palace. The people of Canada, on their part, have never been behindhand in their open, honest loyalty. The celebrations in the Dominion during the Jubilee were ample illustrations of this fact, and the addresses of congratulation from the two Houses of Parliament were representative of the sincere and strong public feeling. One paragraph must be quoted:

"From a few scattered provinces it has become a great Federation, stretching from ocean to ocean, and linking by its iron path the European to the Asiatic portions of your Majesty's domain. It has been the good fortune of the people of Canada to enjoy from time to time the honour of the presence and countenance of several members of the Royal Family, and this relationship not only deepened their loyal devotion to the head of the British Empire, but enhanced their regard for the wife and mother and their veneration for the memory of the husband and father. Our earnest prayer is that He who is the Ruler of all nations and the King of all kings may uphold, direct, and preserve your Majesty for many long years to reign over a prosperous and contented people."



The loyal resolution of 1890 was couched in still stronger terms, and was intended to indicate to the American people the absence of any important annexationist feeling in Canada. But it really required no resolution of stereotyped loyalty to embody the true sentiment of the Dominion. It might have been needed, and is needed, to convince that unreasonable and unreasoning sentiment in the minds of the American people which seems to exist wherever Canada is concerned. The hearts of the Canadians, however, are so closely linked to their Sovereign by ties of sincere affection and profound respect that they themselves require no special assertion of the fact. They believe in the institution of a limited monarchy as the only means of preserving a really dignified democracy, and conserving a permanent British connection and an all-powerful British Empire. They have a land that is "rich in heart, in home, in hope, in liberty," and they have had all these elements of national greatness and individual benefit developed under the rule of their Queen and through the practical working of monarchical institutions—institutions which rest upon the free will of a free people, and interpret the best thoughts and aspirations of modern civilization, while combining the wealth of historic tradition with the impetus and freshness of vast new regions and rising nations all over the world.

## THE EGYPTIAN CHRONICLE OF IBN IYÂS.

BY KARL VOLLERS (CAIRO).

*(Continued from last issue.)*

The language of the original chronicler is best illustrated by a set of *phrases* and *rhetorical figures*, mostly post-classical, and sometimes it seems peculiar to himself. The first stage of an intrigue or a discord is introduced by this phrase: *وَدَبَّ بَيْنَهُمَا حَقَارِبُ التَّشَالُحِ* (or *الْفِتْنِ*) and the scorpions of rancour (or backbitings), crept in between them (147, 22; 171, 22; 176, 19; 194, 24; 209, 6; 246, 5; 278, 8). If a sad event or an abominable action passed quietly over without exciting the sympathy or attention of other people,<sup>1</sup> he says *وَلَمْ تَتَلَعَّ فِي ذَلِكَ شَاتَانِ*, "not even two sheep butted each other for that reason," (138, 24; 307, 10). The phrase is attributed to Ibrahim al Mi'mâr (224, 9), and is only a variation of an older one recorded by al Meidânî,<sup>2</sup> and, with an interesting divergence by the Egyptian poet Ibn al 'Attâr, viz., *وَمَا اتَّطَلَعَا فِي الْكَبْشِ حِزْرَانِ*, "not even two goats butted each other" on account of [the people of] al Kebch (a Cairene quarter), (224, 12). The horror of battles and slaughters is described as an hour in which the forelocks became grey *سَاعَةً تَشْيِبُ فِيهَا الْوُجَاهُ* (86, 11; 97, 7; 187, 16; 326, 25; 334, 3). Weak Sultans, mostly in the grip of strong ministers, are compared with a little bird (178, 1), or with a crank which the keeper turns at will (194, 23; 219, 9). A sudden entire change of power and fortune is described: "so that the formerly wide space became narrow and strait upon him and the bitterness of potash made him forget the sweetness of meat" (152, 9). Three things cannot be trusted: fortune, kings, and wives (172, 21).<sup>3</sup> The proverbial power and glory of the Barmekides is alluded to (162, 10). The phrase *لَمَّا رَأَى مِنْ الْغَلْبَةِ* means, "when he saw himself overpowered" (113, 23; 116, 29; 131, 14; 135, 18; 195, 24, v. *هَمِنْ الْعَصِيَانِ*, 142, 7). The well-known classical phrase, *بُغْيَتِي حَتْمٌ*, meaning "fruitlessness," is quoted (332, 19, v. al Meidânî, s.v. *حَار*). I am unable to explain the words, *وَدَّ رَاحِلَ الْقَلْعَةِ فِي كَيْسِهِ* (261, 16). Another refreshing feature in his chronicle is the large space which he allows to *archæology, topography, and history of civilisation* in general. This does not involve that Ibn Iyâs took a broader view of the scope of historiography, but I am inclined to believe that the distaste at the excess of political ruthlessness and military barbarism impelled him to enliven the dull picture of state affairs by interspersing remarks on the inner life of his countrymen. It may be opportune to mention here a few detached traits of this culture-life. Wine, beer, and similar drinks, never died out in spite of Korân and Hadîth. The more risky the use, the greater the abuse, and it appears to have culminated at the time of the second Eujubide Sultan, Othmân b. Salâdîn, who tried to exact high duties by taxing liquors and bawdy-houses (73). Other Sultans, e.g., Beibers,

<sup>1</sup> In German: "ohne dass ein Hahn darnach kräht."<sup>2</sup> Ed. Bûlâk, v. ii., p. 148.<sup>3</sup> V. the tradition opening his book (p. 2), about the four insatiable things (eye, ear, wife, earth).

in 665, Mohammed b. Kalāūn in 741 and Sha'bān in 778, took steps to check vice and debauchery (105; 175; 230, 21). That unnatural vices prevailed at that time among the upper classes becomes obvious, if the rare exceptions to the rule are emphatically praised, e.g., the Emir Junguz (d. in 740, p. 173, 3), and the Sultan Gakmak (v. ii, p. 34, 27; 273, 15). The Sultan Alāeddin Ismail (from 743-746), was "like some other khalifs" especially fond of Soudanese and Abyssinian slave-girls (183, 7). Some interesting notes are given about *clothes*, and regulations for wearing them. The old, "ugly" uniform of the Mamlukes was reformed by Kalāūn (120, 10), and his son Mohammed (173, 15). There were two classes of robes of honour *متمبرات* and *كوامل* (150, 6; 159, 17), besides them "perpetual robes" (154, 4) and "travelling ones" (154, 7). Special fashions of clothing were introduced by the Emir Sellār (155, 21), and Yelboghā (219, 12, embroideries), and were called after their name. Garments of Baibek are mentioned (306, 28).<sup>1</sup> Female luxury was forbidden by the Sultan al Hasan in 751, especially shirts with long sleeves, silk wrappers and brocade shoes (193). We get a good insight into the richness of domestic furniture if Emirs or high officials died or were killed, and the inventory of their partly hidden treasures is recorded, e.g., Ibn Zambūr (197), Sellār<sup>2</sup> (155) and Mahmūd al Ustādār (305). Among the treasures of Sellār are "European metal-plated trunks" (155, 29). Other notes pointing to Europe are, that the people of Aleppo fortified their town with cannons (*مدافع*) and catapults (*مكامل*), when Timurlen advanced towards them in 803 (326, 22), and perhaps also the watermill, which an Emir built in 784, near the Rodha Nilometer (260, 19).

The *Tatarian* origin of the Mamlukes and their unfamiliarity with Egyptian manners is illustrated by curious instances. The Sultan Kalāūn (d. in 689), never mastered the Arabic language (120, 5).<sup>3</sup> That the liver of an enemy killed was pulled out of his body, and in its crude state eaten by the furious triumpher, was not less loathsome to the Egyptian townspeople of the middle age than to us, and points to the untamed equestrian tribes which roamed over the steppes of Central Asia and Southern Russia (127, 16; 253, 4). The same horsemen nomads betray themselves by drinking kumiss (269, 10), and eating horseflesh (309, 23). The old Turkish magic lantern is alluded to (347, 4; 209, 1). I am unable to say whether the tournament (*لعبة الرمح*), introduced by Barkuk (266, 11), and his wish to be entombed not in a *نسيبة* but in a *لحد*, are also to be traced to Turkish habits.

The *plagues* and calamities which visited the Mamluke Empire in those times are interesting, partly for the economical and partly for medical history. Besides a good number of low Nile floods and starvation years are worth mentioning the great plague of A.H. 749, which swept off many great scholars, e.g., Ibn Fadhllāh and Ibn al Wardi (191, 5), the locust plague, stretching between Mekka and Damascus in 770 (225), the great famine of 775 (229, 10), and the plague of A.H. 807, called after Ibn

<sup>1</sup> V. Dozy, Dictionnaire des Vêtements, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> V. Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen, v. iv., p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> The Sultan Gakmak (from 842-857) is said to have spoken good Arabic (v. ii., p. 34, 29). As for Ahmed ibn Julun v. Fragmente aus dem Mugrib des Ibn Said, ed. Vollers, p. vi., b. 15.



Ghurāb, because this high official supported the poorer population by opening a public washing-place for the corpses (348). This plague is reported to have begun in the coldest season, and to have declared itself by cough and falling down. The death occurred in less than 17 days. Some other scattered data, relating to civilization, are interesting enough to be adduced here. The great Beibars improved the postal communication between Damascus and Cairo so that he received news from Syria, and vice-versā twice every week (108, 4). In 725 the Sultan Mohammad b. Kalāūn abolished all over his sultandom the flogging or *kurbāg* (المربج بالمقارح, 164, 11). In 729 a mischievous woman, called the "strangling woman" (الخنّانة), caused havoc among the population of Cairo by killing and robbing women and children. At last they seized her, and hanged her at the Zuweila-gate, the common place for executions (170, 16).<sup>1</sup> That a Copt of the higher classes went over from Christianity to Islām is recorded as a single case in 766 (214, 17). A refined method of torture is mentioned in 800 of a man who made an attempt at the life of the Sultan Barkūk (309); "they racked him, gave him to drink lime with salt and broke his limbs with special breaking implements." The Sultan Haggi spent his time among his dove-cots (188, 6).<sup>2</sup>

*Ceremonial* forms and high-sounding titles gathered from Old Egyptian, Persian and Byzantine times played an extraordinary part at the court of the Mamlukes. When a new Sultan ascended to the Citadel, the seat of government, the "canopy with bird-figures" (القبة والطير), was borne over his head (128, 22 and *passim*). The same rule was observed by some Sultans when they went out from the palace door to the prayer of the great feast, but Barkūk abolished this custom (260, 11). The higher officials kissed the soil while approaching the new ruler (127, 7 and *passim*). The state robe of the Sultan consisted of a black vest with gilded collar, a black turban with an embroidered fringe, and a kind of sword (سيف بنداوي, v. 139, 15; 154; 259, 8). He rode a mare (149, 16). When he entered victorious into Cairo the soil of the streets, from the "Gate of Victory" up to the Citadel, was littered with pieces of silk cloth (197, 7; v. 289, 14). The Kadhi Kerimeddin is reported to have littered his entire rooms with roses (162, 24). Important letters or Korān copies were put on the head in some ceremonies as a token of humility and submissiveness (20, 5; 39, 19; 109, 26). Uncovering the head or even flinging the cap on the earth means deepest sympathy and reverence (117, 118; 184, 27). A handkerchief or towel seems to have been symbolic of pardon and safety (117, 6). The oath is taken by putting the hands on a copy of the Korān (184, 25; 193, 10; 270, 19), it is strengthened by swearing to dismiss three of his wives (149, 13).

As for *titles*, Mohammad b. Kalāūn introduced the dignity of "Governor of State" (مدير المملكة, 174, 175). The Sultan al Hasan in 755 called his first dignitary "the Lord Chief" (أمير كبير, 202, 20). The common title of

<sup>1</sup> V. the popular tale about the "poisoner," سماوي at Cairo: Zeitschrift of the German Oriental Society, 1891, p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> V. Fragmente aus dem Magrib des Ibn Saïd, ed. Vollers, p. 12, l. 6. Ahmed b-Julan in the columbarry.

a minister was صاحب, i.e., companion (316, 3, 8 and *passim*). A prince, son of the Sultan, is called "Sidi," the Sultan, his wife, mother or daughter are addressed with the Persian term خوند Khawand<sup>1</sup> (320, 15; 227, 26).

We cannot be surprised at finding in a Middle Age chronicle a good deal of *superstition* and the unlimited world of fancy. It is in any case not more than we should meet in a contemporary European chronicle. The Pharaos are said to have found in conquering the Soudân not only cannibals (what is quite credible), but also monkey-shaped and winged people (15, 16). On the authority of ed-Dhehebi, Ibn Iyās tells us that some Mamlukes fleeing from Cairo in 642 and roving in the Tih desert found a great city built of marble and with curious inscriptions. We may believe that they lighted upon Petra, and gave a childish account of its ruins (83, 20). A shrewd Persian pressed the Eiyubide Sultan Aziz to destroy a part of the small pyramid at Ghizeh in quest of hidden treasures. They spent nearly one month in hard work without finding anything (74, 13). A Magrebian juggler, well versed in the art of Simia or magic, produced by witchcraft a beautiful orchard with water-wheels, oxen and gardeners, and extorted in this way a thousand dinars from a good-minded Egyptian fellow (78, v. ii., 30, 18). More interesting are the curious *celestial phenomena* recorded by Ibn Iyās. The great fire which raged in 656 east of al Medina for one month accompanied with earthquake, points to a volcanic eruption in one of the great Harra's of Western Arabia (93, 94).<sup>2</sup> Comets are said to have appeared in Gumâda ii. 789 (June-July, 1387), and in 804 (1401, 2) (267, 3; 341, 18). A north-light, like evening-sky is reported in 811 (352, 20).

The epoch of the Mamlukes was, though teeming with warfare, conquest, rebellion and slaughter, also the flourishing time of the fine arts, deep learning, gay poetry and fancy tales. Arabic *architecture* in Egypt reached its climax in those days. We may be grateful to our author that he mentions nearly no ruler, Emir or any person of high rank, without recording his buildings and pious legacies. Most of these notices are useful as corroborative of the account of al Makrizi; some of them get a higher value as giving new information on Cairene archæology and topography.<sup>3</sup> Makrizi's text in describing the "green mosque" outside Cairo (ii. 304), is mutilated, but supplemented by Ibn Iyās who tells us (224, 20), that the Emir Melik-timur built this fine monument under the reign of Sha'bân. The mausoleum of Eshk-timur al-Mardini, an Emir of the same epoch (226, 17; 265, 10), seems to have been passed over in silence by al Makrizi. The high-school, which the Sultan Sha'bân is said to have built close to the Citadel (230, 18 في بوس الصرة; 231, 9), is, so far as I can see, not mentioned by al Makrizi; its site, as described by Ibn Iyās, is hardly reconcilable with that of a modern chapel (A.M., vi. 35, 36; زاوية عبد العليم),

<sup>1</sup> V. Khalil ed-Dahiry, ed. Ravaisse, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> V. O. Loth, Die Harra's von Arabien nach Iacut: Zeitschrift of the German Or. Soc., 1868, pp. 365-382; Ch. M. Doughty, Travels in Arabia Deserta, Cambridge, 1888, v. I., chapters xii.-xvi.

<sup>3</sup> M. = al Makrizi's كتاب البطول والغاز, Bûlâk, 1270, 2 vols. in fol.; A.M. = Ali Mu-bârak's التوفيقية الجديدة, Bûlâk, 1306, 20 parts, in 4to.

situated in the Azhar quarter, and reported to have been called formerly, School of Sha'bān. "The chapel of Bekkār the Judge," situated at the foot of the Citadel (345, 11; 234, 10), is probably to be traced to the Tulunide Judge Bekkār Abū Bekra. Its site is exactly that of the headquarters of the Tulunide Court, and there on the place of the modern Rumeila or Kara-Meidān, the unlucky judge after having fallen into disgrace was scourged and exposed to the mob.<sup>1</sup> The Emir Naurūz al Hāfizi (d. 817),<sup>2</sup> is said to have restored the cupola of a fountain belonging to the mausoleum of Sheikhū (321, 5; M. ii., 421). The mosque of the Emir Sūdūn (ibn) Zādeh (321, 10; 339, 26), and the life of its founder are a little more elucidated by Ali Mubārak (v. 21; v. M. ii., 106). The high-school of al Farag, erected opposite the Zuweila-gate and called "the Portico" (الدَّيْمَشَة 357), has been preserved up to our times as a chapel and public fountain with elementary school (A.M., vi., 7). The statement of Ibn Iyās (99, 9), that Behāeddin Ibn Hannā built the Chapel of Relics at the time of Beibars I., is at variance with the detailed account of al Makrizi, who ascribes this construction to Tāg, the grandson of Behā.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Arrām, mentioned above as a chronicler,<sup>4</sup> built a high-school in the centre of Cairo (253, 5; M. ii., 394). In connexion with the palace of the Emir Tāz (308, 9; 351, 12; M. ii., 73; A.M. ii., 46), lately fitted up for the "Ecole des filles," Ibn Iyās mentions the bath of Beibars al Farākāni who died in 808. M. ii., 399 records the same bath, but adds to the name "Rukneddin," probably because he confounded him with the Emir and ephemeral Sultan who died in 709 or 725.<sup>5</sup>

Several members of the wealthy family al Kharrūbi, which seems to have immigrated into Egypt from Kanem, near the Tsad lake (الكارمي, 340, 26; v. 302, 10), are reported to have built high schools at Old Cairo; the same family possessed a fine mausoleum at the bank of Ghizeh opposite the Nilometer (M. ii., 427). Three of their schools are mentioned by Makrizi (ii. 368, 369, 370), a fourth one by Ibn Iyās (340, 26). The Emir Akūch al Mausili, surnamed "the Lion-Killer," whose garden is mentioned by Ibn Iyās (148, 2), may be identical with Akūch al Ashrafi, who built a palace and died in 736 (M. ii. 55). The tomb of Kāfir al Hindī ash Shibli (d. in 786), situated at the foot of the Mokattam mountain (262, 8), engages our

<sup>1</sup> V. Ibn Said, ed. Vollers, pp. xviii.; 99 l. 16; v. 3, l. 2.

<sup>2</sup> He played also a part in Egyptian coinage.

<sup>3</sup> The pedigree of this ministerial family is, according to M. ii. 298, 370, 429:

(a) Behā Ali b. Muhammad b. Sellm Ibn Hannā, b. 603, d. 677, built a school at Old Cairo in 654.

(b) His son Fakhreiddin Muhammad, b. in 622. His son

(c) Tāgeddin Muhammad, b. 640, d. 707 or 709. He built the mosque of Deir et-Tin, and the Chapel of Relics.

<sup>4</sup> P. 27-8.

<sup>5</sup> Wüstenfeld *Geschichtschreiber*, No. 390. Even the identity of the Sultan with the chronicler is not at all vouched for; v. Weil, *Geschichte* v. iv., p. 337, No. 2. Ibn Iyās took his information about the builder of the bath from a book called زهر الضمائل, which dealt with the merits of Turks in literature, and was written for the Emir Tunbughā al Gūbāni (d. 792). The text of Ibn Iyās (248 خدائل meadows) seems to be better than that of Hajj Khalifa (iii. 547 خدائل, amulets).



attention on behalf of its builder being renowned as poet and collector of valuable books, which were preserved in his mausoleum after his death. The "Sebīl al Mumīnīn," curiously called after the Emir Bek-timur al Mumīnī (211, 12), was situated between the mausoleum of Sheikhū and the Karāfa gate (261, 21; 338, 24). The "bedaubed corner-stone," dating from times immemorial, had preserved its name at least up to 790, if not to the time of our writer (275, 16).<sup>1</sup> The "Saliba Castle" (313, 2) may be an old Tulunide monument which was fitted up later on for a jail.

Some objects of the *industrial arts* are worth mentioning. The Eiyūbide Sultan al Kāmil was presented by a Yemenite king with a big brass candlestick constructed in the most artistic way, which was a standard work of Yemenite astronomers (78, 16). Three kinds of porcelain (china ware) are mentioned: lapis lazuli, green and transparent (198, 3). The art of illuminating MSS. was confined in the Middle Ages mostly to Korāns. Only a few copies of this art-work have reached Europe, whilst the bulk of what has escaped through the centuries is deposited in the collections of Cairo and Constantinople. The historical data concerning this branch of Oriental art being rare, even the few notes scattered in this chronicle should be looked upon as landmarks in its evolution. Ibn al Wagīl Sherefeddin wrote a Korān-copy in seven parts, which was the wonder of those times for calligraphy and ornaments. Beibar al Gāshenkēr paid for it 1700 dinars, and deposited it in his own mausoleum, built in 705 (147, 12). Other splendid copies are said to have existed in the mausoleum of Seryākūs near Cairo (163, 5), built in 723 by Muhammad b. Kalāūn, and in the mausoleum of Bek-timur, "the butler," at the Keirāfa, the great Cairene cemetery (167, 12), who died in 732. Whilst Ibn Iyās mentions only one part of the Korān belonging to Bektimur, al Makrizi speaks of "books and Korān-parts" (ii. 424, 4), and his account is supported by the fact that in the Khedivial Library at Cairo are now preserved two Korāns, dated 726 and 730, and originating from Bektimur.<sup>2</sup> The Sultan Khalīl (689-693) is said to have had a fine Diwani-writing, and to have practised it in official documents (122, 19-24).

We learn from Ibn Iyās some interesting facts concerning the *finances and coinage* of the Mamluke Empire. In 713, the financial or tax year (خراجي), 712 was changed into the moon-year 713 (159, 8, v. Ibn Doukmāk, Description de l'Egypte v. v., pp. 71, 9: 86, 8). It seems that the financial straits culminated under the reign of the Sultan Barkūk, his attempt at pouncing upon the rich funds of the religious endowments (أوقاف), was only checked by the determined resistance offered by the clergy and high judges (267). Seven years later (in 796) the Sultan asked the merchants of Cairo for a loan of 200,000 dinars (302, 10). His son, al Farag, "the most detestable and execrable Mussalman ruler," according to al Makrizi, was not more scrupulous in this respect than the father, and robbed merchants, mosques and hospitals (330, 24). An example of lynching is recorded among the events of the same time. At Damascus an usurer and buyer-up

<sup>1</sup> Ravaisse in the Mémoires de la Mission Archéol. Franç. au Caire, v. I. (1887), p. 477, No. 2; Ibn Doukmāk, l'Egypte, v., p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Korāns, No. 162 and 501.

of corn was killed and burnt by the furious mob (307, 7). The coins of Selāmish were struck in his own name and in that of the Major-domo Kalāūn el Elī (114, 10). Shihābeddin Ahmed, when dethroned and besieged at al Karak in 745, struck dinars, which were a mixture of gold and copper, so that their value was equal only to five dirhems (182, 16). These coins were issued as pay among the garrison of Karak. In 789 Barkuk struck new copper coins, wherein his name was put on the outer margin. The people augured evil by this innovation,<sup>1</sup> and foretold his imprisonment (266, 14). In the same way the Sultans Othmān, b. Gakmak, who struck gold coins called "Manāsira" (v. ii. 37, 21), and al Muaiyad b. Egnāl, who struck silver coins similar to the copper of Barkūk, were augured with evil, and the latter preferred withdrawing them from circulation. The Ashrafi gold coins, apparently called after Sha'bān (764-778),<sup>2</sup> are mentioned since the time of Barkūk (313, 25; 340, 3). Among the remote mints of Barkūk are mentioned Jebrīz, Mausil, Māredīn, Singār, Erz-er-Rūm, Diwrihi and Erzingiān (315, 9). The cunning Timur-lenk estimated the Persian toman at 10,000,000 dinars, in order to extort the sum, ridiculous by its exorbitance, of 10,000,000,000,000 dinars from the people of Damascus (332, 18).

From time to time the *Bedouins* played a conspicuous part in Egyptian politics, either by infesting the laborious peasantry, or by siding in times of warfare with the government or its enemies. According to the three gates giving entrance to the Nile valley, the Koseir-Keuch road, the Barka-Alexandria road, and the old Isthmus way, the provinces of middle Upper Egypt, of the Beheira and the Sherkiya (Goshen), were above all exposed to their raids (200, 12; 295, 14; 325, 17; 249; 254; 256; 331, 7; 339, 18; 348; 358, 20). The Āl Fadl seem to have been the most powerful tribe of Syria (216, 23; 226, 18; 293, 7; 295, 23; 329, 11; 331, 10; 351, 8).

In *literature* the interest of our author was mostly turned to the poets of the later centuries. Whereas the obituaries of the scholars are arid and untrustworthy, the numerous quotations from contemporary poets give us a good insight into the taste and feelings of their times. We mention here from the epoch of the older Kalaunides Yūsuf b. Lulu ed Dhehebi (d. 681 or 680; 116, 4; Haji Khalfa, iii., 249, s.v. *دعوي*), Sirāgeddin Muhammad b. Omar al Warrāk al Pāzi (b. 615, d. 695; 134, 20; but 995; Haji Khalfa, iii. 284), the author of a voluminous diwan, also engaged upon metrical and philological studies, the above-mentioned Ibn Dāniāl, Mohammad Ibn al 'Alīf (d. 715; 159, 25), Sadreddin Ibn al Wekil (d. 706; 147, 19 or 716; Haji Khalfa, i. 312), the favourite poet about 700, al Widā'i (b. 640, d. 716; 160, 6), and Abuth thanā (d. 719; 161, 11), from the time of al Hasān; Ibn al Lebbāna (d. 752; 195, 12),<sup>3</sup> Ibn Nabāta<sup>4</sup> (162; 165; 183; 187;

<sup>1</sup> R. *فتقول* for *فتقول*.

<sup>2</sup> Not after al Ashraf Barsbāg (825-841), as M. Sauvaire supposes: *Journal Asiatique*, 1880, i., p. 277.

<sup>3</sup> He seems to be different from Ibn al Lebbān al Is'irdi, a learned writer, who died in 749. The rare nisba (from Saīrt, on the Botan Su, Turkish Kurdistan) is attributed to another poet of the same epoch (214, 13), and should not be changed into Ash'ari.

<sup>4</sup> His tribal nisba is here (221, 20) al Gudhāmi, but in "Orientalia," v. ii., p. 419, al Hudhāki, both originating from the same MS. skeleton of pointless consonants.

204; 221), and his rival as-Safadi (d. 764; 183; 186; 189; 191; 221, 294 and *passim*),—from the epoch of Sha'hân: Ibn Abi Hagala, al Kîrâtî, d. 788: 265, 27; 254, 10, or in 781, according to Prof. Ahlwardt), Ibrâhîm al Mi'mâr (d. 781: 254, 9), abundantly quoted by our author and Ahmed Sumeika, apparently a Copt (d. 782; 254, 21)—from the days of Barkûk and al Farag; Ibn Mukânîs<sup>1</sup> of Coptic extraction, who held several high offices, and was renowned for his petulance and debauchery (264; 266; 293; 298; 340), Ibn al Attâr (d. 794: 243; 253; 256; 259; 260), who although quite congenial to Ibn Mukânîs, fiercely attacked his family (Haji Khalfa v. v., p. 355, s.v. المائس), and the Zagal-writer Khalaf al Ghobârî, who died under the reign of al Farag (357, 7). Ibn Hugga (Higga) was from the outset closely attached to the Emir and then Sultan al Muaiyad Sheikh and leads us over to a later epoch (v. ii., p. 36, 22). In tracing this literary framework we should not forget the fact that Ibn Iyās, not aiming at any completeness in this respect, some minor poets, mostly of frolic and cheeriness, play here a prominent part, whereas other writers, who seem to have equal or more claims, are dropped to the background or passed over in silence, e.g., Hibatallâh Ibn Sana-l-mulk (d. 608), Ibn al Fârid (d. 632), Ibn Matrûk (d. 649), Zoheir Behâeddin (d. 656), Ibn al Gezzâr (d. 679), al Bûsirî (d. about 696), and al Bilbeisi (about 746)—not to speak of first rank scholars as Ibn Mâlik, Ibn en Nafîs, Ibn Manzûr, an Nuweiri, Abû Haiyân and Ibn Maktûm.

The results of our researches into the life and works of Ibn Iyās may now be summed up in the following way.

(1) Muhammad b. Ahmed Ibn Iyās, born in 852 A.H., died about 930, is the author of an Egyptian chronicle called *بداية الزهور*, and a cosmography called *نشق الزهور*.

(2) Two other works, both of a popular character, the *مرج الزهور* and the *ترفة الأمم*, are traditionally ascribed to him, but are more or less open to suspicion on several grounds.

(3) The Egyptian chronicle has been handed down in an ampler version originating from the author, and in an Epitome extracted by an anonymous writer, probably about 1115 A.H.

(4) The Cairene printed text contains, broadly speaking, an abridged text of the chronicle.

(5) The work of Ibn Iyās did not cover the epoch of al Ghûrî, but another anonymous reviser filled up this gap.

(6) The fuller text differs from the abridged one in language, accuracy and trustworthiness. There is some evidence that most of the shortcomings of the chronicle as contained in the Cairene edition are to be attributed to the Epitomist, whereas Ibn Iyās may be termed a second-rate historian, whose work deserves praise for its richness and literary qualities.

<sup>1</sup> He died in 794 (298, 6), or less probably in 803 (340, 16), v. the Cairene Arab. Catal. v. iv., p. 313; Ahlwardt, Verzeichniss (1871), No. 643-6; 1013; 1026, 1083.



## THE SEMITIC SERIES OF "THE ANECDOTA OXONIENSIA."

BY THE REV. H. GOLLANCZ, M.A. (PART VII. BY  
M. S. HOWELL, C.I.E., LL.D.).

THE Clarendon Press Series, known under the name of *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, is a publication which, indeed, would do credit to any country. We have before us several parts of the Semitic Series, all dealing more or less with subjects connected with the Bible and its Literature.

The first part we take up (Vol. I., Pt. I.) is a *Commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah* by Rabbi Saadiah, edited by H. J. Mathews, M.A. The Commentary, which is written in Hebrew, is, according to the Editor, found complete or incomplete in thirteen MSS., and he proceeds to investigate the evidence in support of the opinion that Saadiah Gaon is the author of the commentary. He holds that "the external evidence is in favour of Saadiah Gaon being the author of the commentary, but is not supported by the internal evidence, which, however, connects it with, if it does not prove it to be by, the author of the commentary on Daniel, formerly attributed to Saadiah Gaon." "It is certainly singular," he adds, "when we consider that in eleven out of thirteen codices this commentary on Ezra is preceded by the Pseudo-Saadiah's commentary on Daniel, that no scholar should have made remark on the similarity of the tone, phraseology, and explanations of the two commentaries." The result of the investigations, the Editor feels, has been rather to disestablish than to establish conclusions: and it is to be hoped that data still lie undiscovered in manuscripts, which may enable some future writer to give some satisfactory information about our author or authors, and to speak less of what is only possible or probable.

In the MSS. there is no break in the commentary between the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, the Jews counting these two books as one.

*The Book of the Bee* (Vol. I., Pt. II.) is a delightful publication, being edited by Ernest A. W. Budge, M.A. The work contains the Syriac text, extracts from the Arabic Versions, an English Translation, etc., and is a splendid addition to the now growing store of Syriac texts. To explain the title, it may be as well to quote the words of the author of the work, according to Mr. Budge's translation. "We have called this book the 'Book of the Bee,' because we have gathered of the blossoms of the two Testaments and of the flowers of the Holy Books, and have placed them therein for thy benefit. As the common bee with gauzy wings flies about, and flutters over and lights upon flowers of various colours, and upon blossoms of divers odours, selecting and gathering from all of them the materials which are useful for the construction of her handiwork, . . . in like manner, have we, the infirm, hewn the stones of corporeal words from the rocks of the Scriptures which are in the Old Testament, and have laid them down as a foundation for the edifice of the spiritual law," etc.

The Book consists of 60 chapters, the first treating "of God's eternal intention in respect of the creation of the universe": the last speaking "of the demons and sinners in Gehenna, whether after they have been punished and have suffered and received their sentence, they will have mercy shown to them or not; and if mercy be shown to them, when it will be."

Some of the Chapters are of intrinsic interest, reading more like a commentary, and remind us very much of the Midrashic Literature among the Jews. We would draw special attention to such Chapters as Chap. V., on "the Angels"; Chap. IX., Chap. XV., on "Paradise"; Chap. XXII., on "the Generations of Noah"; Chap. XXX., on "Moses' rod"; Chaps. XLVIII., XLIX., on "the Apostles"; Chap. LII., on "the Names of Kings from the Flood."

In some parts there is even a deep religious spirit, and some few quotations from this remarkable book may not be unwelcome to our readers. In Chap. XIII., speaking "of the Formation of Adam," we read as follows:

"On the Friday, after the making of all created things, God said, 'Come, let us make man in our image, and in our likeness.' The Jews have interpreted the expression 'Come, let us make,' as referring to the angels; though God (adored be His glory!) needs not help from His creatures; but the expositors of the Church indicate the Persons of the adorable Trinity. Some say that when God said, 'Come, let us make man in our image and in our likeness,' the angels by the eye of the Spirit saw the right hand (of God) spread out over the whole world, and there were in it parts of all the creatures both spiritual and corporeal. And God took from all these parts, and fashioned Adam with His holy hands, and breathed into him the breath of life, and man became a living soul. Others say that God took earth from the four quarters of the world, and formed Adam outside Paradise." Most beautiful are the thoughts contained in Chap. LVI. "The foundation of all good and precious things," says the author, "of all the greatness of God's gifts, of His true love, and of our arriving in His presence, is Death. . . . This (God's) government is not comprehended in this world, neither by angels nor by men; but in the world which is to come all rational beings will know it. When the soul goes forth from the body, as Abbâ Isaiah says, the angels go with it: then the hosts of darkness go forth to meet it, seeking to seize it and examine it, if there be anything of theirs in it. Then the angels do not fight with them, but those deeds which the soul has wrought protect it and guard it, that they come not near it. If its deeds be victorious, then the angels sing praises before it until it meets God with joy. In that hour the soul forgets every deed of this world. Consequently, no one who does not obtain remission (of sins) in this world can be free from the penalty of examination on that day. Not that there is fortune or pleasure or recompense before the resurrection; but the soul knows everything that it has done whether of good or evil." . . . "That the souls of the righteous pray, and that their prayers assist those who take refuge with them, may be learned from many. . . . Therefore it is right for those who have a holy man for a friend, to rejoice when he goes to our Lord in Paradise, because their friend has the power to help them by his prayers."

There are many other pathetic passages in the book which we might be tempted to quote, but space will not permit it.

We might add that there is somewhat of a break at the end of the 32nd chapter, which concludes with the words: "Here ends the first part of the book of gleanings called 'The Bee,' " etc.

The author of the work is the Bishop Shelemon or Solomon, a native of Khilat or Akhlát in Armenia, who became metropolitan bishop about A.D. 1222.

Of a more critical nature, is the substance of Vol. I., Part III., of the Semitic Series. It contains *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel by Jepheth Ibn Ali the Karaite*, edited and translated by D. S. Margoliouth, M.A. We have here the Arabic text well edited, with the help of MSS. in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg, and the British Museum fragments; and we have an English Translation in which, as the Editor remarks in his short Preface, brevity especially has been studied.

Curious and interesting is the explanation given in the commentary on V. 8 concerning "the writing on the wall." The explanation is "that the letters were not *arranged* in order, but inverted, the letters of נחב being arranged חנ; and similarly all the letters of the four words were transposed. Hence they did not understand them; and when they read them they got no intelligible word, much less its interpretation, etc."

Other interesting passages occur in such parts as Chap. XI. 40 and Chap. XII. 1, where we find references to the Moslem and to Islám.

The Editor states in the Preface, that, according to Pinsker, the Commentary on Daniel was one of the latest of Jepheth's writings, and that it could not have been written before the year 990. The matter of the Commentary—with the exception of the violent polemics against the Christians, Rabbanites, and Muslims—is probably for the most part traditional, derived from the "Doctors of the Captivity."

In Part IV. of Vol. I. we have a collection of *Medieval Jewish Chronicles* and Chronological Notes edited by the well-known Dr. Neubauer of the Bodleian. We have first two Responsa or rather two forms of a Responsum from the pen of Rabbi Sherira Gaon on a question of very great interest. Jacob ben Nissim of Kairowán submitted a question to the Geonim, R. Sherira and R. Hai, bearing upon the composition of the Mishna and the Talmud, and similar works. The real importance of the inquiry turned upon the point, whether the Mishna was orally transmitted to the Doctors of the Talmud, or if it was written down by the compiler himself. According to one version, Rabbi Judah the Prince had written down the Mishna for his own use and that of his immediate followers, and according to another there was no written text of the Mishna at so early a period. The former view is ascribed to the Spanish schools, the latter to the French.

Dr. Neubauer next proceeds to the publication of various chronicles, some of which have their authors' names attached, others being anonymous. The editor himself classifies such chronicles under 3 heads, viz.:—1. Complete chronicles, literary as well as historical, concerning the Jews and the



nations under whose dominions they lived. 2. Literary chronicles, excluding special biographical and bibliographical works. 3. Records of persecutions and martyrologies of general or special character.

The first of the complete chronicles is the *Sepher Hakabala* ("Book of Tradition") by Abraham ben David of Toledo, composed in 1161, beginning with the creation and continuing up to the time of its composition. This chronicle is supplemented by a chronicle written by one Abraham ben Solomon of Tortutiel in Spain, which brings us to the year 1525. There is, further, one by Joseph ben Šaddik of Spain, and excerpts from the one by Joseph ben Isaac Sambari, taking us up to 1672. This last is most interesting, giving details in a rather poetic style and under various headings, as, e.g., "The Rabbins of Aram-Zobah and Damascus," "The Rabbins of Salonica," etc.

To the chronicles, whose authorship is undetermined, belong those numbered VI., VII., and VIII., entitled respectively *Seder Olam* ("Order of the World"), *Seder Olam Zutta ve-Seder Tanaim ve-Amoraim* ("Smaller treatise on Order of the World," and "Order of the Tanaim and Amoraim"), and *Darché Hatalmud ve-Seder Tanaim ve-Amoraim* ("Methods of the Talmud, and Order of the Tanaim and Amoraim").

Here is a rather curious paragraph which occurs towards the beginning of Chronicle VI.:—"In the days of Moses our teacher, books were written in which the historic events of ancient days, even from the time of Adam, were recorded. In the book composed by Adam, hints were contained regarding the *Maasé Bereshith* ("The Work of Creation") and the *Maasé Merkabah* ("The Work of the Chariot")."

Towards the end of this little treatise there is a paragraph in which the order of the 24 Books of the Hebrew Scriptures is expressly set down.

Chronicle VIII. is of interest, among other points, for the concise manner in which it presents to us at a glance the Doctors of the Mishna and the Talmud, giving at the same time—in the event of difference of opinion between the Rabbis—the name of the one according to whom the matter was decided.

Fragments of chronology and other notes are added: and a very readable and explanatory Preface gives a clearer insight into the object which the learned editor had in view in publishing the contents of the volume.

Specialists will be deeply interested in Part V. of Vol. I., containing, as it does, an addition to the Palestinian Version of the Holy Scriptures; Mr. G. H. Gwilliam B.D. has edited, with Introduction and Annotations, five Palimpsest Leaves (fragments of two very ancient MSS.), giving the Syriac Text with an English Translation. The short passages are taken from Numbers iv., Colossians iv., 1 Thessalonians iv., 2 Timothy i., and Titus i. and ii.

In the Introduction, the fragments are described, and the handwriting, date, and dialect commented upon. Mr. Gwilliam has added a most useful List of Palestinian and other words and forms, and given us the advantage of three facsimile plates.

We can quite understand the difficulty which the Editor had to encounter

in deciphering the fragments, and he is to be congratulated upon the successful labour which he brought to bear upon the preparation of the work before us. The Syriac type, too, is a thing of beauty.

In Part VI. of Vol. I. Dr. Neubauer continues his delightful contribution to Semitic Literature in the form of *Medieval Jewish Chronicles* and Chronological Notes. The chief contents of the volume are: the "Scroll of Fasting," "The Order of the World," an Arabic Chronicle, "The Book of Genealogy" (known as "Sepher Juchasin"), "The Diary of the Famous David Reubeni," etc. A useful Index is added, compiled by Dr. W. H. Greenberg.

The work has been carefully collated and edited by the venerable scholar, with the assistance of other eminent scholars, such as Drs. M. Friedländer, Gaster, Büchler and Löw, and Professors Bacher, Goldziher and Margoliouth. To all of these Dr. Neubauer, in his Preface, renders thanks.

Part VII. The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt, attributed to Abū Ṣāliḥ, the Armenian, edited and translated by B. T. A. Evetts, M.A., with Notes by A. J. Butler, M.A., F.S.A. (reviewed by M. S. Howell, C.I.E., LL.D.).

This interesting account of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some neighbouring countries, which "may confidently be assigned to the first years of the thirteenth century of our era" (p. x.), has been edited and translated from a unique MS. transcribed in an abridged form from the original in 1054 A.M. (1348 A.D.), and now preserved in the National Library of Paris. Next to nothing seems to be known about the author, whose very name is in dispute, being given in the MS. only as ابو صالح الرمى, which surname, or prænomen, is rendered by some scholars as Abū Selah, and by our editor as Abū Ṣāliḥ. There is a third possibility, Abū Ṣulḥ (Adh Dhahabī's *Mushtabih*, ed. De Jong, pp. 313, 316), which has the advantage of dispensing with the necessity of supplying an l; but this form is not considered by the editor, probably because Ṣulḥ is not nearly so common as Ṣāliḥ, which is often written صالح, with the l elided. The chief authorities followed by our author, in treating of the general history of Egypt, are Ibn Abd Al Ḥakam and Al Kindī. About the former the editor says (p. xviii) "Abd Ar Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh,"—read Ibn 'Abd Allāh—"Ibn 'Abd Al Ḥakam seems to have written at the end of the second century of the Hegira." But this can hardly be correct, unless Ibn 'Abd Al Ḥakam was unusually precocious, because he died in 257 A.H. at the age of 70, and therefore could only have been 13 years old at the end of the second century. The date 257 is given by Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Hajar (by the latter in an abridged form as 57); and the age is added by Ibn Hajar (*Takrīb al tahdhīb*, p. 154). In a note on p. 54 we are told that Ibn 'Abd Al Ḥakam probably wrote "at the beginning of the 3rd century." As for Al Kindī, the editor remarks that "he is called by Ḥājī Khalfā the first Arab historian of Egypt"; and that he died in A.H. 247 or 350 according to various authorities. Al Kindī, however, is the eighth, not

the first, of the Arab historians of Egypt enumerated by As Suyūṭī in the *Husn al Muḥādara* (vol. I., p. 254), a work known to Ḥajjī Khalīfa (vol. III., p. 69); and what the latter seems to say (vol. III., p. 160) is that Al Kindī was the first who wrote a Gazetteer of Egypt (عظم مصر), and (vol. II., p. 141) the first who compiled a Biographical Dictionary of the Judges of Egypt (تاريخ قضاة مصر). The date of Al Kindī's death, as usually given, is 350 A.H., which is confirmed by As Suyūṭī's statement that he died in the time of Kāfūr, Governor of Egypt, who is said by Ibn Khallikān to have died in 355, 356, or 357, at the age of 65. The notion that Al Kindī died in 247 may perhaps have originated in the circumstance that he did not continue his Biographies of the Judges beyond the year 246. The precise dates, however, of these authors, and their exact positions in the roll of historians of Egypt are not of much moment in connection with this work, the interest of which depends not upon its versions of the general history of Egypt, but upon its treatment of its special subject, the Churches and Monasteries of that land, and of neighbouring countries. Perhaps the most curious of our author's accounts, statistical, historical, and legendary, of these edifices is his description of the places visited by our Lord, when carried into Egypt by His mother, "the Lady, the Pure Virgin," and her husband, "the righteous old man, Joseph, the carpenter," to escape the massacre of the innocents. Among these hallowed sites is Al Ushmūnain, so named after Al Ushmūn, one of the sons of Kīṣ, son of Mīzraim. This town, says our author, "was built by Pharaoh, and after it had fallen into ruin it was rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon. It is said that there was on the highest point of this town a cock, and beneath it a row of dromedaries. When a stranger approached the town, the cock crowed, and the dromedaries came out to destroy that stranger. But, when our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory! came to this town, the cock crowed, and the dromedaries went out according to their custom; and when they saw the Lord Christ and the Lady, and Joseph the carpenter, they worshipped them; and on the spot they were changed into stone; and their number was five. . . . Our Lord Christ entered [the town] by the eastern gate. Here the dromedaries worshipped him." Want of space forbids me to make further extracts from this delightful volume. It only remains to say that the editing and printing of the Arabic text leave nothing to be desired; that the translation is accurate and scholarly, and the notes full and critical; and that the book is furnished with an appendix containing an account of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt extracted from the *Khīṭaṭ* of the later Historian Al Maḥrizī, who died in 1441 A.D. This at least is the date corresponding with 845 A.H., given by Ḥajjī Khalīfa and others; but the date mentioned by As Suyūṭī in the *Husn al Muḥādara* is 840; and there appears to be a similar uncertainty as to the date of Al Maḥrizī's birth, which is variously stated as 760, 766, and 769 A.D. "And God knows best."

*The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* forms the contents of Part VIII. of the Semitic Series. Mr. R. H. Charles, the Editor, has in the work before us, endeavoured to make full use of the materials which



have increased since the publication of Dillmann's text. As he observes, the Book of Jubilees is valuable as a witness to the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch that was current in Palestine in the century immediately preceding the Christian era. It is in reality a haggadic Commentary on Genesis, supposed to be originally written in Hebrew. The present Ethiopic version is edited from four manuscripts and restored by means of the Hebrew Texts and Versions of the Pentateuch, and the Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, and Latin Fragments. The Editor has done well to reprint, in Appendix I, part of the Book of Noah: in Appendix II. the Midrash Wayyisäu, and in Appendix III. the Syriac Fragment, entitled "Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees," derived from a British Museum MS.

The thanks of all students of Oriental, specially Semitic Literature, are due to Mr. Charles for this excellent Edition of the Book of Jubilees.

One portion of Part IX. of Vol. I. may be considered as an appendage to Part V., the whole production comprising *Biblical and Patristic Relics of the Palestinian Syriac Literature*. The sources are derived from MSS. in the Bodleian Library and in the Library of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. The former portion contains, in the same beautiful bold type as Part V., the Syriac texts, with an English translation, of verses from Exod. xxviii., Wisdom ix. and x., 3 Kings ii. and ix., and Job xxii.

The latter portion contains fragments of ancient Homilies in Palestinian Syriac transcribed by Mrs. Bensly, with a translation and notes by Mr. G. H. Gwilliam and Mr. Burkitt. The whole part is produced under the general editorship of these two last-named scholars, together with Mr. John F. Stenning.

Without entering into details as to the value of such fragmentary finds and their publication, it may be safely asserted that great credit is due not only to those who, after patient research, and in the true spirit of the love of ancient literature, make these discoveries, and, by editing and translating, render them accessible to the general public, but no amount of praise can be regarded as excessive, which is bestowed upon the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, for the liberal manner in which they are ever ready to aid scholars in revealing to the world the rich, and as yet unexhausted stores of ancient learning. With such scholars as they encourage, and with continued success in the domain of discovery, it may not be too sanguine to hope that the day is not far off, when Great Britain will not be behind other countries in the department of Semitic, or rather Oriental Literature.

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

AMONG the publications of a general nature concerning the whole, or several branches, of Orientalism, we shall first quote the last fascicule\* of the "Dictionnaire de la Bible," by the Abbé Vigouroux, which contains an interesting article upon the Copt versions of the Bible. It is to the same series of works that belongs the lately published Vol. II. of the "Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique," of Maspero,† to which the author has given the singular title of "Les premières mêlées des peuples." The learned writer therein reviews in succession: the first Chaldean Empire and the Hyksos, Syria at the beginning of the Egyptian conquest, the 18th Theban dynasty, the reaction against Egypt (Hittites, etc.), the end of the Theban Empire, the *débuts* of Assyria, the Hebrews, the Philistines, Damascus, etc. The account extends to the intervention of the Assyrians in the history of the Israelites.

The history of Manicheism has just been enriched by a new edition of the tract of Alexander Lycopolitanus (*Contra Manichæi opiniones disputatio*) by Brinkmann.‡ We still await, with impatience, the second volume of Kessler's remarkable work§ which will conclude the demonstration of the Oriental (not Christian) origin of what is called in the Church, "heresy," and what has been, in fact, the Manichæan Religion.

The history of the origins of Christianity, which is so closely connected with that of Israel and the Oriental Semitic world, has been enriched by some important works. Let us mention first, the grammar of the Greek of the New Testament of Blass.|| One knows how much this Greek dialect has been influenced by the Hebrew and Aramean idioms, written or spoken at the same period.

The most remarkable work, however, which we must point out here, is that of Albert Réville upon "Jésus de Nazareth" (*Études critiques sur les antécédents de l'histoire évangélique et la vie de Jésus*).¶ Written in an altogether impartial and scientific spirit, this work of the eminent professor of the Collège de France, in our opinion, deserves the very greatest attention among the voluminous literature, which the personality of Christ has raised during these last few years. The work is divided into seven parts:—antecedents of the Evangelical history (religious development of Israel);

\* Fasci. XL (*Colosses-Crocodile*), Paris, Letouzey and Ané, gr. in-8° with two plates without text 1897.

† Gr. in-8° Paris, Hachette 1897.

‡ Leipzig Teubner 1896 (*Bibl. Teub. script. græc. et lat.*).

§ *Mani, Forschungen über die Manichäische Religion*, in-8° Berlin Reimer, 1889.

|| *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* in-8°, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1896.

¶ 2 vols. in-8°, Paris, Fischbacher, 1897.

the sources of this history, its preliminaries (nativity, infancy, youth of Jesus, John the Baptist); the Gospel in Galilee; the Messiah; the Passion; the Resurrection. We sincerely hope, on behalf of the British public, to see it translated into English.

#### BIBLICAL HEBREW AND ARAMAIC—OLD TESTAMENT.

We have to notice at the very outset the "study" of Perles on Hebrew poetry\* written in the same spirit as the work of Müller, to which we referred in our *report of April 1896*. We may also mention in connection with the Biblical Aramaean, the Judeo-palestinian Aramaean, the Chrestomathy of Dalman,† which is a very interesting collection and extremely well done.

Among the writings on "the Old Testament," we shall first name, because it does great honour to British learning, the German translation of the fifth English edition, of the "Introduction," (become in some way classical) to Driver's *Literature of the Old Testament*.‡ Deuteronomy has been the object of two new studies, one by Driver§ the other by Steuernagel|| worthy of arresting the attention of specialists. Budde has published a translation and a commentary of the Book of Job¶ in the collection of "Handkommentar zum Alten Testament" of Nowack. Finally, Volz has given to the world a work upon the Prophetism and the idea of the Messiah before the exile\*\* where he maintains that the Messianic notion is foreign to prophetism before the exile; the argument, though not new, is none the less bold and paradoxical.

#### HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.

Several important works have appeared on this branch, one that is always strongly cultivated. First of all the remarkable "Geography of Ancient Palestine" of Buhl,†† then "The History of Israel" of Klosterman's,‡‡ which extends up to the time of Esdras and Nehemiah.

The most original volume in certain respects, but one which will certainly excite most criticism, is that of Marcel Dieulafoy on "King David."§§ The four essential points of this volume are the following (quoting the author himself):

"M. Dieulafoy explique les raisons d'ordre naturel qui préparaient l'avènement d'une dynastie judaïque.

"Il reconstruit l'état de l'art militaire, et met en pleine lumière le génie militaire de David.

\* *Zur althebraischen Strophik*, in-8° (14 pages) Wien, Hölder 1896.

† *Aramäische Dialekt-proben* (Jüdisch-paläst.) *zumeist nach Handschriften des britischen Museums*, in-8°, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1896.

‡ *Einleitung in die Litteratur des Alten Testaments von Rothstein*, in-8° Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1896.

§ *A critical and exegetical commentary on Deuteronomy*, in-8° Edinburgh Clark, 1895.

|| *Die Entstehung des deuteronomischen Gesetzes*, in-8° Halle, Krause 1896.

¶ *Das Buch Hiob*, in 8°, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1896.

\*\* *Die voralexilische Jahwe-prophetie und der Messias*, in-8°, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1897.

†† *Geographie des Alten Palästina*, in-8°, Freiburg und Leipzig, Mohr 1896.

‡‡ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, in-8°, München, Beck, 1896.

§§ In-12, Paris, Hachette, 1897.



"Il analyse les caractères extérieurs du prophétisme en s'aidant des derniers travaux sur les maladies nerveuses.

"Enfin, il renouvelle l'histoire de Bethsabée; il montre le rôle prédominant que joua cette femme; il indique comment elle s'empara de l'esprit et de la volonté de David et dirigea dans son intérêt exclusif, puis au profit de son fils, Salomon, les intrigues de la cour et la politique du jeune royaume."

Mr. Dieulafoy argues that our ideas of David are partly conventional, and that according to the author, David is a sceptic, or a believer; he goes so far as to say that we have Davids who are Catholics, Jews, or Protestants. I do not quite know what science will think of Mr. Dieulafoy's David, but it will not fail to reproach him for knowing very imperfectly the literature on the subject. Why assert, for example, that we are ignorant of the real pronunciation of "Jehova" (p. x) when it has been absolutely established that it is "Jahweh"? Why affirm so lightly that the Epistle to the Hebrews is Paul's (p. 2), when one may seek in vain for a modern theologian to support this view? Whom of those who have scientifically studied the Old Testament and the History of Israel will he convince that the patriarchs adored an immaterial God? (p. 330). The hypotheses of the author on the character of the tribe of Levi (p. 229) show a complete ignorance of the classical works of Wellhausen, etc., and what think of the explanation of prophetism by nervous affection and hysteria? Prophetism is neither a malady nor a nervous disorder, and it is not by medical science that one can account for the essence of religion; this science can only explain the maladies of the religious sentiment. All this has been said long ago, and it is not by this obsolete and condemned method that Kuenen, Wellhausen, Smend, and all the other illustrious savants, have accounted for the Religious history of Israel.

#### ASSYRIOLOGY.

Assyriologists are working much and well. All honor to all Masters! *The Assyrian dictionary of Delitzsch* is at last finished;\* in spite of all the criticism that may be brought to bear upon this work, it is none the less a great monument which the eminent Assyriologist has erected. From the same author has, also, appeared "Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems"† upon the origin of the cuneiform characters. In the collection of the "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek" of Schrader, two volumes of the highest interest have been published; these are the famous tablets of Tell-el-Amarna, issued by Winckler.‡ Lastly Zimmern has given under the title of "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion,"§ a very important contribution to the study of this religion, as yet so little, and so badly known.

\* Assyrisches Handwörterbuch gr. in-8°, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1894-1896.

† Gr. in-8°, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1897.

‡ 2 vol. in-8°, Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1896.

§ Un vol., gr. in-4°, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1896.

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 THE EPISTLES OF MĀNŪSKĪHAR. TRANSLATED  
 BY E. W. WEST.

BY THE REV. L. H. MILLS, D.D.\*

THE term Dādistān-i-dīnīk, religious decisions, is a comparatively modern name for ninety-two questions put to the high-priest Mānūskīhar, including his answers to them. These questions with their answers do not of course give a complete view of the Mazda-worshipping religion of their period, as they deal with subjects of especial interest only to the author and his correspondents; but they give a fair idea of the general tone of Zoroastrianism about a thousand years ago. A few specimens of the contents and style of these compositions are here given:

"When a righteous man is created for the world, what was it for? 'it was for progress'; 'if we promote *His* wish we shall obtain *ours*.'

"The will of God is two things, worship and contention; worship of Himself as the friend of the creatures, contention with the devil as their enemy.

"The animating life which gives us vitality, the guardian spirit who preserves us, the intellect that acquires, the wisdom that decides, the strength which impels the developments in creating, are urged on continually by the worship of the Good Religion; and the means of industry in the original body are likewise arranged with forethought, the eye for what is seen, the ear for what is heard, the nose for what is smelt, the mouth for what is tasted, the heart for thinking, the tongue for speaking, the hand for work, and the foot for walking,—these all which make life comfortable are urged on by Religion and without a break."

"And he who provided these instrumentalities announced patient and virtuous conduct as adorned, declaring recompenses for good thoughts, and words and deeds by his well-adjusted regulation, and, in accordance with this, man became a glorifier and pure praiser of that good friend through the progress which is his wish, because pure friendship is owing to sure meditation on every virtue, and from its existence no harm whatever can arise."—"The righteous man's priest is to keep him informed of the revelation—in a word, a righteous man is a creature who accepts that occupation which is provided for him, and is fully watchful in the world as to

\* In this review I have endeavoured to make the language of these books simpler and easier to read, and although I cite passages between inverted commas, they are not literally taken from the pages as they stand.



his not being deceived by the rapacious (?) fiend [by the fiend of covetousness (?)].—"Sorrows and impediments do but heighten the enjoyments of the perfect state;"—"the good suffer more than the vile, because they (the good) have both the devils and the vile against them; while the vile have the devils alone against them (but the good they have not);"—"the labour and trouble of the good are greater in this world, but their reward is greater in the other; the comfort of the vile is greater here, but their punishment is worse beyond; the good, through fear of the pain of hell, should forsake the comfort and ease of the world which now is, and they should not do anything which is improper whatsoever; the vile enjoy those improprieties for which hell is prepared, and do not trouble themselves with those actions which are a way to heaven."—"The perfection for which men were produced in the world is for the predominance of the Creator and for the non-predominance of the fiend."

"When a man is passing away, the inquirer asks how do other people's good works help him as he proceeds to the 'scales' (to be weighed in its balances)?—they do not help him at all unless he has begun them himself when he was alive, or bequeathed the funds for carrying them out after his departure."

"Who should prepare the account of the soul as to sin and good works?—the Archangel Vohnman should do it, and three times in the day."—"When the punishment of the three nights is undergone, the soul of the righteous attains to heaven and the best existence, and the soul of the wicked reaches hell and the worst existence; and at last by complete purification from every sin they attain to everlasting progress, and the best and undisturbed existence."

"To what place do the righteous and the wicked go?—to the place of account on the mountain called *Álbúrz*; the account being rendered, they go to the Bridge; he who is righteous passes over it to heaven; he who is neither good nor bad goes to the place of the stationaries; and he who is wicked 'falls head-foremost from the Bridge to hell and is precipitated into that grade which is suitable to his wickedness.'" "This Bridge over which the souls must pass to heaven or hell became as wide as nine javelins to the righteous, but to the wicked it is like 'the edge of a razor' (on which he must walk)," etc.

As to whether the righteous can see God,—“He is a Spirit among spirits and yet He is to be heard (at least) by those who are material and by those also who are spiritual; but His form is not visible except to the wise.”

So the treatise goes on dealing, among other things, with such questions as the “paths of departed souls,” “ceremonies after a death,” “who are they who help on the renovation of the Universe?” “the battle of spirits good and evil from the creation to the resurrection,” “works of supererogation,” “the sacred shirt and girdle,” “apostacy and its prevention,” “fire at festivals and how to use it,” “duties of priests, their pay and position,” “dealings in corn, lawful and unlawful,” so in “wine and cattle,” with a definition of drunkenness, adoption, guardianship, and inheritance; explanations as to foreigner's rites and those of infidels, as to the origin of men, next-of-kin-marriage, the cost of religious rites, the causes of the rain-

bow, the phases of the moon and eclipses, as to destiny or exertion as the means of acquirement, prayer before drinking and when it is imperfect, the seven immortals before Zarathushtra came, the source of pure water, and the cause of storms.

The three Epistles of Mânûşkîhar were documents penned by an elder brother, who was the supreme high priest of the Mazda-worshippers in Pârs and Kirmân, to his junior high priest of Sirkân, to the south-west of Kirmân. This latter had grievously scandalised his community by issuing an obnoxious decree touching seriously upon matters of purification. His community were not only offended, but they revolted and dispatched an epistle to the elder functionary making their complaints and calling upon him for his interference. The matter was far more important than it would seem to us at this distance of time and in our widely differing circumstances. We indeed are ourselves familiar with the vast practical interests which are habitually involved in certain legal ceremonies which the authority of a bishop may impose or forbid; extensive pecuniary interests may depend upon the exact nature of his instalment. We also hear of great inconvenience, not to say of the calamities, which may be occasioned by the rigid rules of Indian caste, fettering as they often do our most necessary attempts at sanitation as well as evangelisation; but the mention of ceremonial impurity or purity among the Parsis at the early period here referred to must have been one which brought into conflict the actual employments of business as well as ordinary social intercourse. Nothing could touch more nearly the immediate interests of individuals or families than the questions involved.

Mânûşkîhar, having weighed the matter, faithfully decides in favour of the community; and his junior seems to have yielded to his persuasions, for he is mentioned as retaining his office. The superior officer shows tact and moderation in dealing with the matter, which was probably one reason why he succeeded. The epistles throw light upon the condition of Mazda-worshippers after more than two centuries of ceaseless struggle with the ever-advancing flood of Muhammadanism, which at last submerged them. It is interesting to notice that Shirâz, Sirkân, Kirmân, Râi and Sarakhs were still headquarters of the old faith, the high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân being recognised as the religious leader. We are surprised to learn that the leaders of the Mazda-worshippers still maintained troops, not of course that they were in any sense independent of their Arabian sovereigns.

Another item was that the number of suffragans assisting a superannuated high priest was four, and that they had full authority in all the extensive worldly interests which came under their supervision. Mânûşkîhar was so annoyed, if not indeed oppressed, by these temporalities that he speaks with grim humour of emigrating to China, and this in spite of the sea (which would be difficult for a high-priest to cross on account of contaminations which would result to the water), or, as he more seriously puts it, he would fly by land to Asia Minor.

But the item of most importance, says West, is the well-assured date attached to the third epistle, corresponding as it does to A.D. 881, and the mention of Nishahpûhar in the first as the councillor of King Khûsrô

Nôshirvân (A.D. 531-579), who seems to have been engaged in writing commentaries upon the Avesta. The date of the epistles not only fixes that of the *Dâdistân-i-Dînik*, but that of the larger recension of the *Bundahish* and of the latest revision of the *Dinkard*, for in *Bundahish* XXXIII., 10, 11, it is stated that the writer of that chapter was a contemporary of *Zaḍ-sparam*, son of *Yūdân-Yim*, and of *Âtūr-pād*, son of *Hēmid*, the former of whom was evidently the brother of *Mânûskihar*, and the latter is mentioned in *Dinkard* III., ccccxiii., as the latest editor of that work. The actual compiler of a great part of the *Dinkard* (especially of the fourth and fifth books was, however, the somewhat earlier writer, *Âtūr-frōbag*, son of *Farukhūzād*; see *Dâdistân-i-Dînik* LXXXVIII. 8, and Ep. I., iii. 9). The name of *Nishahpûhar* is also mentioned as that of a commentator in the *Palavi Vendîdâd* and *Nirangistân*, which works must therefore (continues West) have been revised since the middle of the sixth century. And, as we are informed in the book of the *Arḍâ Virâf* (i. 35) that "there are *some* who call *him* by the name of *Nikhshahpûr*," we ought probably to refer that book to the same age. These epistles enable us, for the first time, to fix the probable dates of the latest extensive revisions of six of the most important Pahlavi works that are still extant, and from the relationship of these to others we can readily arrive at safer conclusions regarding the age of Pahlavi literature in general than have hitherto been possible. As to the epistles themselves considered as literature, the very care which Dr. West has taken to make them valuable to a specialist deprives them of all attractiveness to the general reader. If the texts were only at hand transcribed and printed with little trouble (as it could yet be and at trifling cost), what a treasure the literal renderings would be to a person seeking to learn Pahlavi! Perhaps the learned author might yet be induced to rapidly transcribe all such of the texts of his translations as are still unpublished; by so doing all this Pahlavi work in this series would gain indefinitely in value. As it is, I must confess, and no one will suspect me of being other than a most reluctant critic, these epistles are very difficult to read, and, compared with the lucid virility of Dr. West's original prose, they are painful compositions. Should not translation be such as to read like a translator's natural style, so far as that may be possible? Here, of course, this would not be fully possible; but should it not be at least attempted? To these most valuable translations the author has added an important appendix.

For the sake of elucidating certain matters mentioned in the writings of *Mânûskihar*, further information than could be given in the footnotes has been added; and we have a brief summary of the *Keresâsp* legends, with a Pahlavi legend as to the fate of his (*Keresâspa's*) soul. This legend is found in the Pahlavi *Rivâyat* preceding the *Dâdistân-i-Dînik* in the MSS. BK and J, and in other *Rivâyats*; and West's version of it is a most palatable morsel. The late-Avesta record of these legends in the XIVth Argard of the *Sūdkar Nask* is alluded to and briefly summarised in the ninth book of the *Dinkard*; but in the Pahlavi the legend of *Keresâspa* is extended to pleasing dimensions, and is racy to a high degree.

As the soul of this *Keresâsp* (the Iranian Hercules) presents itself to



God, He says, "Stand off, thou soul of Keresâsp! for thou shouldest be hideous in My eyes, because the fire, which is My Son, was put out by thee, and no care of it was taken." And the soul of Keresâspa answered, "Forgive me, O Aûharmazd, and grant me heaven; nay, grant Garôdman the highest heaven; the serpent Srobar is slain outright (so he goes on); it was swallowing men and swallowing horses; its teeth were as long as my arm; its ear was as fourteen blankets; its eye was as large as a wheel; and its horn was a Dahâk (eighty cubits) high. I was running as much as half a day on its back, till its head was smitten; at the neck I smote with a club made for my hand, and it was slain outright by me; and if I had not slain that snake all Thy creatures would have been annihilated, and a remedy against Aharman (Satan) Thou wouldst have never found." Aûharmazd answers, "Stand off! for the fire, which is My Son, was put out by thee."

Keresâsp speaks again, "Grant me, O Aûharmazd, heaven, yea, Garôdman, for I slew Gandarep outright; he devoured twelve provinces all at once; dead men were sticking in his teeth; I saw them; he seized my beard; but I dragged him out of the sea; nine days and nine nights the battle raged between us, and then I got the better. The sole of Gandarep's foot I seized, and flayed the skin off to his head, and bound his hands and feet with it; I dragged him to the shore, and gave him to my wife (?); he killed and ate my fifteen horses; I fell in a thicket dense, and he took off my wife, my father, and my nurse (!)—I raised the people, and at every tread I sprang a thousand steps; I went into the sea, brought back those that Gandarep had taken, and I slew him; and if I had not slain him, the Devil would sure have got the upper hand of Thee." "Stand off," said God, "stand off, thou art hideous in My eyes, for the fire, who is My Son, was put out by thee."

Keresâsp begins once more, and is again refused. At last the angels weep for him; but the fire springs up upon its feet, and is relentless: "I shall *not* let him into heaven"; whereupon the Herd's soul rises to *her* feet and cries, "And I shall not let me into hell!" And Zoroaster rises too to help the hero. Here, unhappily, the legend abruptly stops; but we may hope for the best, since we soon find Aûharmazd saying, and to Zoroaster himself, "Yes, if Keresâspa had never been, and had not done this work, there would have been nothing left of *you*, nor of any whom I made; and even the Mainyô! Khîrad says he (Keresâspa) kept back much disturbance from the world; and if one of these particular disturbances had lasted, resurrection and the future life could not have been."

The Nirang-t-Kustî is a religious right which a Parsi man or woman ought to perform every time the hands have been washed, whether for the sake of cleanliness or in preparation for prayer. The Kustî is a thread girdle, and the "formula" is of such a simple and pure character that this alone must account for much of the excellence of the Parsis. The comparatively subordinate interest of this piece forms a fitting introduction, by way of contrast, to West's valuable discussion of the Khvêtûk-dâs, which was "marriage among kin." Was this marriage-relation ever so close as to invade those precincts of consanguinity which modern civilised nations

have established as inviolable by the sexual compact? It is indeed a delicate question to discuss in the presence, so to speak, of the most refined and highly-toned people of Asia, as it touches the opinions and practices of their ancestors, however remote. It is the opinion of Dr. West that at one time some persons in authority endeavoured to force such connections as we should term "incest" upon the reluctant people. If this was indeed the fact, was not some royal sinner at the bottom of it? We all remember the Parthian queen whose son became her husband some two hundred years before our Lord; her nominal religion (or, as we might more exactly say, one of her nominal religions) was Mazda-worship. At all events, we have here a most masterly discussion, and scientific historians would do well to examine it.

But perhaps the most valuable parts of this whole book are the specimens of translations from the Pahlavi of the Vendidad. We may differ from an author, and we may criticise his procedure as to its plan in dealing with certain serious particulars, but when that author is Dr. West and he handles such a difficult matter as the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta, no one who knows the subject can fail to thank him.

## GEMS AND SPOTS IN LORD ROBERTS' "FORTY-ONE YEARS IN INDIA."

BY EX-FRONTIER OFFICIAL.

THE charming simplicity and *bonhomie* of our second "only General" and his deserved popularity among his officers and men and, indeed, among all who know him, make one all the more regret that the spots in the glorious sun of his "reminiscences" render it imperative that a full and faithful account of the period and of the campaigns referred to in his work should at last be published by an independent contemporaneous authority. No such work exists and, —we state it with bated breath,—it would be a misfortune from a strictly historical standpoint if Lord Roberts' "Forty-one Years in India" remained the only guide, say, to the last Afghan War. The present Frontier policy and the Frontier Defence Scheme also, touched upon with a self-congratulating *naïveté* that disarms criticism, require a far more exhaustive and impartial treatment than their part-originator has given them. Indeed, a war with Afghanistan was probably averted in 1893 when the Amir wisely avoided meeting a British Commander-in-Chief with the sentiments and objects that animated Lord Roberts, though we believe that he would not have made the mistake of surrendering Kafiristan, as was, practically, done by Sir Henry M. Durand.

What we are, however, immediately concerned with are not so much matters of opinion, about which experts may differ, but questions of fact that ought to be indisputable. For instance, what can we say to a Commander-in-Chief who on page 432 of vol. i. asserts that flogging was abolished in the native army whereas it was retained among British troops, but does not add that, as a matter of fact, although flogging was abolished in the native army in 1845, it was again revived in 1855 and is still in force!

Again, when a man has been 41 years in India in responsible positions, in the Panjab during the mutiny and ever since occupied with that Frontier province, constantly meeting its Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh Chiefs in ever-recurring Durbars, it is simply astounding to find such a mistake as the following on page 103, vol. i.:

"There was, therefore, much anxiety at Umballa as to the course Patiala, Nabha and Malehr Kotla (another member of the great Phulkian family) would elect to take during the mutiny."

Now the Nawab of Malehr Kotla is a Muhammadan Prince in whose territory the memorable Kuka rising was suppressed, and who was a man of such an extraordinary size, that he could not have escaped the notice of Lord Roberts, yet he is confounded with the great Sikh Phulkian family, which consists of the Chiefs of Patiala, Nabha and Jhind, a fact that every reader of Panjab history knows and that Lord Roberts's Publishers ought to have been able themselves to point out.

The lamentable truth of all this is that the most amiable, and, superficially, most sympathetic official may live all his life in India and yet be so engrossed with his promotion and the discharge of such duties as may



secure it, as to be utterly ignorant or careless of all men or facts that have no bearing on that, to him, absorbingly desirable consummation.

Yet in his opinions as to the causes of the Indian mutiny; in his warning against any future disaffection; and in his advocacy of a better understanding of the natives, Lord Roberts drops gems of well-founded and invaluable advice, which, like the prize-poems at the Kaaba of Mecca, might be inscribed in letters of gold round the houses of Viceroys and Lieutenant-Governors. The advice, moreover, is a strong corroboration from Lord Roberts' own experience, of what almost every official of the older school has been repeating for the last 30 years to a Government or Parliament moved mainly by faddists.

What, however, surpasses all belief, is that a Frontier officer engaged in political work in Afghanistan where a knowledge of Persian is indispensable, who has been in Kashmir and who publishes a book containing a stereotype Oriental quotation and names should either not know them accurately or should not take the trouble to verify them, or that his Publishers should not do so through expert subordinates as, for instance, is done by the careful editors and even "proof-readers" of the Clarendon Press, Longmans, Macmillan, and, indeed, of every leading Publisher we know, when undertaking a book dealing with the East. E.g. on page 40 we find the hackneyed quotation regarding Kashmir mutilated as follows:

*"Agar fardos baru-i zamīn ast, hamīn ast, hamīn ast."*  
(If there be an Elysium on earth, it is this, it is this.)

What is "baru"? Is it not *two* words "bar" and "rue" or "on the face"? and why is the metre spoilt by the omission of the conjunction "and"? Since when also is "Fardos" or "Paradise" identical with "Elysium," and that too with an "Elysium on Earth"? The sentence should run as follows:

*Agar Firdaus bar-rue Zamīn ast  
Hamīn ast-u-Hamīn ast-u-Hamīn ast.*

"If there be a Paradise on the face of the Earth

It is here, and—it is **HERE**, and—it is **HERE** !!!"

No wonder that "Nagyr" is called "Naga" in numerous places, although we should have thought that Lord Roberts had seen "Naga" Brahmins in Kattywar, that he knew of "Nagar" as the Hindi equivalent for "town" and that he would not confound even the latter with the "Nagyr" opposite to Hunza. As it is to British military officers of the East India Company that we owe some of the very best contributions to Indian Oriental learning, and as their generally frank and sympathetic demeanour towards the natives has so often proved a key to valuable information and confidence, we do not consider it to be an excuse, in the case of Lord Roberts, to say that he is too much of a soldier to be a scholar. Then why write a book or not get it corrected? As a soldier he must often have heard of "Jihād," the Muhammadan "religious war"; but he speaks of it as "Jahad" (page 99). Again, referring to his generous intervention in preventing the followers of the Viceroy's Camp from levying blackmail on the country because they were "Servants of the *Lord of the*

\* "Hamīn" is ordinarily used as "this," though it is really "only, solely, even this." The context, however, in the above passage clearly shows that "Hamīn" stands for "Hamīn-jā" or "in this very place" = "here, even here."

country," he ought to have known that "Mulki Lord Sahib" does not really mean "Lord of the country," but simply the "Civil Head of India" as opposed to *his own* title of "Jangi Lord Sahib" or "Military Head."

As for such mistakes as "Tisakh" for "Jazakh" and such spellings as "Telagus" or, from Russian maps, "Chimkent," Tashkent, etc., all we can say is, that when a Publisher has the honour of bringing out a work by Lord Roberts he ought to be more up to his task as regards Oriental spelling.

These may be trifles, but they show that the book is not written with perfect care. It is also news to us that the Sitána settlement of Hindustani fanatics still exists. Then again "Kizzilbashes are Persians by nationality and Shiahhs by religion." The latter is true, but would follow almost, as a matter of course, if they were Persians, but those who are so-called in Afghanistan are not Persians. They are Andijáni Turks by descent, and still speak Andijáni Turki. "Panj-rôz" is also not "a short time" for which respite poor Yakub Khan asked, but "five days." Indeed, we think that Yakub Khan's character and proverbial trustfulness, which led him—a conqueror—to surrender himself to his defeated father only to be made a prisoner, and, again, brought him to the British Camp, to be deported to India, are not correctly represented by Lord Roberts, whose "native information" was either poor or misleading, and, in our humble opinion, was one of the causes of the Sherpur disaster, of the execution of innocent men supposed to be implicated in the Cavagnari massacre, and other stains on our occupation of Kabul. At any rate, Yakub Khan was always, and is, known as the "Sâhib Imân" or "the man of good faith" throughout Afghanistan, and is so celebrated in many popular songs.

Nor is a fully satisfactory account given of the shooting of Waziri prisoners whose ransom had not yet been paid (page 161, vol. ii.).\* Lord Roberts of Kandahar justly esteems that his march from Kabul to Kandahar has been over-estimated by the public in comparison with his other exploits, but he neither originated the proposal nor did he carry it out by his unaided genius, for the road had already been fought over and cleared of Gházis by Sir Donald Stewart marching, shortly before, from Kandahar to Kabul and Sirdar [now the Amir] Abdurrahman, at the instance of Sir Lepel Griffin, had conciliated the tribal chiefs *en route* to the British return-progress. Nor in the negotiations preceding the last Afghan War is Dr. W. H. Bellew mentioned as the right-hand man of Sir Lewis Pelly, who could not have conducted them without that eminent Pakhtu scholar. This is all the more curious as Lord Roberts generally goes out of his way to mention in the most graceful manner the services of men and officers who have contributed to his success.

Madras and Bombay officers will scarcely agree with the unwise disparagement apparently cast on their armies, nor is it altogether correct to affirm that "no comparison can be made between the ambitious races of the North and the effeminate peoples of the South." The bravery unto death of the Moplas of Malabar is alone a contradiction of the statement, though Southern and Western Indian chivalry has an immemorial record in its complete refutation and has nothing to fear from com-

\* This accident is too summarily dismissed by the remark that "it could hardly have been foreseen" or that "however lamentable, no one was to blame."

parison with the North. As for the statesmanship shown by General Nicholson, and apparently approved by Lord Roberts, in making General Mehtab Singh of Kapurthala "walk out with the shoes in his hands" when he could simply have been made to send them out by a servant, we look upon it as one of the instances of brutality which only a superficial knowledge of the native character can construe into an act of consummate wisdom. Lord Roberts, however, also refers approvingly to Sleeman and Henry Lawrence, though he can scarcely be said to follow their example: "Sleeman's advice was to assume the administration but not to grasp the revenues of the country" (Oudh), and as to Lawrence, in the *Calcutta Review*, "Let the administration of Oudh be *native*; let not one Rupee come into the Company's coffers."

It would be difficult to know with what General of ancient or modern times to compare Lord Roberts. His "facilitated" march from Kabul to Kandahar has been called Xenophontian, but Xenophon had to fight every inch of his ground through hostile tribes back to his own country, whereas Lord Roberts only joined another British force at Kandahar, which was by no means so dismayed or discouraged as might appear from the book. Lord Roberts is an instance of a military man, who succeeded because, like St. Paul, in another direction, he "was all things to all men." He had a kindly disposition, could pull the strings of his own promotion, had great dash and not too many scruples, has no "side" whatever, makes no man jealous by any aggressive intellectuality or independence, and writes with such charming unaffectedness that his book can be read with interest over and over again. The public have certainly shown their appreciation of it by already calling for a 16th edition.

We now turn to the more grateful task of reproducing those views and maxims of Lord Roberts which, as we said before, should be hung round the Ka'aba of the Indian Government. We will refer to what Lord Roberts considers as the causes of the Mutiny. Immediately after our conquest of India, Hindus and Muhammadans agreed. Moulvis taught submission so long as there was no possibility of successful revolt, whilst the Hindus remembered that they had ousted Muhammadans and hoped to do so somehow and some day with the British. When, however, *Suttee* was prohibited and female infanticide stopped (in this latter point we do not agree with Lord Roberts); when Brahmins were executed, missionaries became active, widows were allowed to remarry, Western and secular education, especially that of females, spread, the Hindus became alarmed. High and low travelling together in railways (where caste carriages might as easily have been provided, as our smoking, or reserved compartments, for there is no objection to certain castes sitting together)—the reports of the contamination of the food of prisoners so entirely at our mercy; the new settlements, which made mistakes in the valuation of land; the lapse of property in the absence of direct heirs and our consequent appropriation of certain native states and the resumption of certain political pensions by the Government of India [especially that of the Nana], caused discontent and shook native confidence. Then came the annexation of Oudh and the announcement that the title of the "King of Delhi" would cease with



Bahadur Shah's life. The intrigues of the Napa Sahib and Azimullah Khan, his agent, who had been in Europe and got spoilt there, as nearly all natives are, and, above all, the undoubted fact that the lubricated mixture of the cartridges, was, as a manufacture, actually composed of cows' fat and lard (thus spoiling the religion of alike Hindus and Muhammadans), and, above all, we think, the incurable distrust created by the officers solemnly assuring them that this was *not* the case, when the sepoys had direct information from the low-caste workmen manufacturing the cartridges at Fort William, were the immediate causes of the Mutiny. Lord Roberts thinks that another mutiny can be avoided by a strong, but tolerant and sympathetic, administration that shall gain the confidence of the various races; that shall give promotion to its officers by merit and to men who know the people and by, finally, maintaining a proper proportion of British and Native soldiers. Nevertheless, he thinks that there are signs of discontent in consequence of our being less cautious and conciliatory in administrative and legislative matters than we were a considerable time after the Mutiny, when, after the lesson received, we did all we could in keeping the Chiefs satisfied and the masses contented, rather than carry out our own ideas. Gradually, Lord Roberts says, this wholesome caution is being disregarded. Government has become more centralized; the number of Departments, each pushing for progress, but all interfering with the natives, is being increased; the administration is falling into the hands of *doctrinaire* officials, who work hard and give logical and statistical reasons for their proposals, but who lack the knowledge of human nature and the sympathy with Asiatics that is required. Among other causes of discontent are "our forest laws and sanitary regulations, our legislative and fiscal systems." Further converting the young princes of India into English gentlemen, by means of English tutors, "who are too often of the lowest class of European adventurers." We know this to be only too true, with striking exceptions, such as that of the late Mr. C. Macnaghten, whilst, knowing the Punjab, both before and after the introduction of the legislative system of the regulation provinces, we have, no doubt, that, along with secular education, it has been *the* cause of the present ever-growing alienation of a once most loyal population. The license also of the blackmailing native press, of the interference of faddists in native customs, such as the consumption of a *modicum* of opium, (contrasting very favourably with our consumption of alcohol) and other "meddling and muddling" are among the causes of a discontent which is silent but deep and general, whereas the noisy clamour of the anglicized natives is a mere seeking for office and employment on a scale more suited to the expensive tastes that we have created. They alone among the natives are in favour of our legislative systems, which give a considerable number of them occupation as pleaders by stimulating litigation. In conclusion, there may have been many more profound and more accurate books than the two volumes which we are now discussing; there has never been a work more modestly conceived and more lovingly written.

Extract from a Map  
*published*  
 by Shanghai Catholic Mission  
 for a book, "The Kingdom of Wu."

..... Indique les limites des provinces adjacentes  
 --- Changement de frontiers des provinces adjacentes  
 Les points indiqués indiquent les localités principales.



## A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE, LABOURS AND DOCTRINES OF CONFUCIUS.

BY E. H. PARKER.

IN order to obtain a clear notion of our subject, it is desirable to explain who Confucius was, and the condition of the social life amid which he lived.

If the reader will look at the map, he will be surprised to see that the China of those days was practically confined to the valley of the Hwang Ho, (which means "Yellow-River"), taken in its broadest sense. I mean that the river which is commonly spoken of as "China's Sorrow," has at different periods entered the sea through channels both north and south of its present course; has, in fact, taken temporary possession of other river valleys and channels. The China of Confucius' time was, then, confined to the tract of country east of the Great Bend, where the river leaves Tartary for good; and was enclosed or bounded north and south by the most outerly of those streams which have at any time been connected with the Yellow River system.

We know very little of China previous to Confucius' time (sixth century before Christ), but what little we do know was sifted for us and transmitted by Confucius. We may sum it up in a few words. The written character in an antique form had certainly existed for several thousand years, but it is quite uncertain how many: the best authorities say 3,000, that is 5,000 from now. Very recent discoveries in Babylonia have revealed to us original Sumerian cuneiform records on a wholesale scale, written in clay, and dating at least 5,000 years back; but there are no such original ancient records in China, nor is there any trace of the Chinese ever having written in clay, still less of there being any connection between Chinese and those western hieroglyphs which preceded cuneiform. Several dynasties had existed, and the rulers of these had shifted their capitals from time to time according to the vagaries of the Yellow River. One of their chief cares was to deal with the havoc wrought or threatened by the floods which resulted from these fluvial irregularities. But although the earliest Chinese literature reaches back 4,000 years, the older records are so brief and laconic that we derive no satisfactory mental picture from them.

In the time of Confucius the imperial power had dwindled down almost to nothing, and the appanage States of the vassal princes, most of which had been conferred originally upon kinsmen of the King (for the more modern title of *hwang-ti* or "Emperor," which in those days applied to the Supreme God, and thence only by extension to past Emperors, had not yet assumed its present definite form), were almost independent. The condition of China was, in fact, almost exactly like that of France before Louis the Eleventh broke the power of the vassal dukes and counts; and the position of the Chinese King, as a moral head over all men, was not unlike the present position of the Pope as the moral head of Christendom:



he was towards the end as much a prisoner as a monarch; his temporal sway was almost reduced to his immediate surroundings, and the whims of feudatories, coupled with the infiltration of barbarian customs, were gradually corrupting the old polity. Not only were the vassal principalities, dukedoms, and counties insubordinate in relation to the King, but their own counts, barons, and squires were equally presumptuous towards themselves; and it was into this chaotic condition of society and policy, where each clever man was fighting for his own hand alone, that Confucius was ushered at his birth.

The ancestors of Confucius could, at the time of his birth in the year 551 before Christ, be traced back in a way for over two thousand years; but, as we know next to nothing of practical history previous to his time, it is futile to pursue enquiry into remote family matters. Where nothing is known of an extinct *genus*, it is vain to enquire into its *species*. The royal dynasty nominally ruling in Confucius' time began 671 years before his birth, and one of Confucius' ancestors, who was a half-brother of the last monarch of the dethroned dynasty, was enfeoffed in a State called Sung, the capital of which I mark in the map with a cross. About 250 years before Confucius' birth, the reigning duke of this state resigned his rights of succession to a younger brother. The elder brother and his heirs were thus for ever cut off from the ducal succession, and the customary law of China then was that, after five generations, a branch of the reigning family must found a new *gens* or clan of his own. So, then, it came to pass that K'ung-fu-kia, fifth in descent from the abdicating duke, gave the first syllable of his name as a clan name to his heirs. The great-grandson of the man who thus founded in its strict or narrower sense the family of K'ung was the great-grandfather of the philosopher. In Chinese the word *fu-tsz* has very much the same meaning, by extension, as the Latin word *prudens*; and the *responsa prudentum*, or "legal dicta" of such Roman teachers as Paul, Papinian, Ulpian, and others, were very like the wise sayings of such *fu-tsz* as Confucius and Mencius. *K'ung-fu-tsz*, or "the learned K'ung," was too difficult a polysyllable for the Portuguese Jesuits who first came to China to pronounce accurately, and accordingly they latinised it into Confucius, or, as most Europeans would still pronounce it, *Confutius*.

*K'ung* means a "hole," and, by extension, "a peacock," apparently because that bird has a number of eyes or holes in its tail. *Fu* means *vir*, i.e. a man or husband; and *sz*, meaning "a child," is simply a diminutive, just as *homunculus* is the diminutive of *homo*, "a human being," in Latin; or as *Männchen* is a diminutive of *Mann*, "a man or husband," in German. Peacocks were most probably unknown in North China when Confucius lived, hence his name must be translated "Mr. Hole," and not "Mr. Peacock"; and Confucius was the seventh of the Hole family counting from the time when that name was assumed; or the twelfth of the family counting from the time when the reigning duke resigned his rights to a younger brother.

The great-grandfather of Confucius was obliged to fly from the duchy on account of some political trouble, and he became a citizen of a neigh-

bouring state called Lu. His grandson, the father of Confucius, became an officer of state, and distinguished himself by proficiency in the warlike arts. He was ten feet in height; but the learned are still disputing the question of ancient feet: probably a foot was then 8 inches, as now measured, and Confucius' father would thus be six feet eight inches in height, by no means a very rare thing even with modern Chinamen of the north. This promising soldier had nine daughters borne to him in succession by his wife. In China there can, except under very special circumstances, only be one strictly legal wife, but should this wife fail to present her lord with a son, it was and is still permissible to take a wife of the second class, or, in Scriptural language, a handmaid, who may in certain eventualities hope for future promotion to the full rank of wife. The present Empress-Dowager of China is a case in point. She was originally a handmaid, but after giving birth to the last Emperor, she was promoted in 1858 to the rank of Empress, and for many years acted as joint regent with the Empress-Dowager her senior, who had no children, and died in 1881. It cannot be denied that Confucius' father was very patient with his wife, for it seems he gave her nine chances before he took a handmaid in his despair. This handmaid gave birth to a son, who was a cripple. The gallant soldier was now seventy years of age. In China daughters do not count for so much as sons, and are often killed as useless incumbrances, the great object being to have at least one son to perform religious rites,—those rights which the Romans used to call *sacra privata*. Confucius' father appears to have resolved therefore in his old age to stake everything upon a supreme effort, and he married a mere girl. Either he or she, or both of them, went to pray for a son at a temple on Mount *Ni-k'iu*, a spot which I mark on the map with a circle. The offspring of the union was Confucius, whose personal name was *K'iu*, and whose second name was *Chung-ni* or "*Ni the Second*" (his crippled brother having been the First). The chief feature in Confucius, as a baby, was that the crown of his head was concave instead of being convex, a peculiarity which must have given him a singular appearance. *K'iu* means "a mound," and some say he was so called because his forehead protruded. In China personal names of great folk are tabued, sometimes in writing as well as speech. Hence, if it is ever found absolutely necessary to use the word *K'iu*, the difficulty is surmounted by omitting one stroke, and thus making it a little different. In speech the word "So-and-so" is substituted: thus instead of saying "Mr. Mound Hole," the Chinese say "Mr. So-and-so Hole." There is no tabu to the *cognomen* or second name, and so we have the characters *chung-ni* in daily use. Owing to one historian having used the expression "wild union" in connection with Confucius' mother, some authors have supposed that the soldier "kept company in the wilderness"; but judicious commentators explain that a man is not supposed to go a-courting after 64, nor a woman to begin it before 14; and that the "wild union" in question did not refer to the absence of due ceremony in the marriage, but to the fact that the husband was unusually spry and the wife unusually precocious for their respective ages. This interesting event took place in the year 551 before Christ;

and two or three years later the father died. He was buried at a spot eight miles east of Confucius' own grave, as will shortly be explained in full.

We may pass rapidly over the events which took place during Confucius' youth. They are of slender importance, and, such as they are, we know but little of them. At the age of six he was observed to take pleasure in playing with sacrificial vessels and in imitating ceremonial movements, much as English children of the same age sometimes play at holding church services. He is supposed to have gone to school at the age of seven, but the best authorities, Chinese and European, are not satisfied upon this point, which in any case is just what a Chinese boy would do, and still usually does. Confucius himself informs us that, at fifteen, his whole mind was devoted to study. What is certain is that his mother removed with him to the town where his descendants now live: this town is marked on the map with a star, and is eight miles west of the spot where his father was buried. In Chinese it is called *K'ü-h-fu*, or, "Crooked Hill," on account of the winding eminence, a mile long, which runs through the city. About 600 years before Confucius' birth, the first Emperor of the imperial dynasty of Chow enfeoffed the regent, his uncle, Duke of Chow, as feudal prince at Crooked Hill, styling this feudal State Lu. It had an area, or perhaps circuit, of 330 English miles. As we shall soon see, the Duke of Chow's tomb is still there and Confucius always took him as a model. Amongst other things Duke Chow invented the compass or "South-pointing cart." The circumstance of our hero's widowed mother being a mere girl, and consequently unable, through maidenly modesty, to follow her venerable husband to the grave, led to Confucius' remaining for some years in ignorance of a fact so transcendently important from a Chinese point of view—the exact position of his father's grave: perhaps matters were made worse by the name of his father's village being transferred to the new residence, just as with us Ann Hathaway's cottage might have been called Stratford if Shakespeare's mother had taken him to live there. This circumstance may also account for the conflicting statements of European visitors as to the exact sites of the existing house and temple of the Confucius family.

All authorities clearly agree that Confucius married at the age of 19, that is, after passing 18 new year's days subsequently to his birth; for in China, a man born on the 31st December is considered to be two years old on the following day, whilst a man born on the 2nd of January would still be two years old on the 31st of December in the following year: so that there may be 700 days difference between the ages of two people both nominally in their 19th year. Thus we find, as we go along, that the simplest Chinese facts have to be tested before we can nail them down fairly before our eyes and understandings. In Confucius' case the birth really did take place in the 11th moon, but the next dynasty made some alterations in the calendar, and what was the 11th moon in Confucius' time became the 1st moon of the following year a few centuries later: moreover, although we are told the exact day, the accounts disagree in such a way that there is a discrepancy of some days to account for. All that we



can say for certain, therefore, is that according to our way of reckoning, Confucius was about eighteen when he married.

The next year a son was born, and received the name of "Fish No. 1," with the cognomen of "Carp." This apparently singular choice of names was made in consequence of the reigning duke having sent a congratulatory present of a couple of carp to the young pair. The carp is the king of fish, and no doubt the duke's action had some hidden meaning; just as, in modern marriages, the Chinese often send a couple of geese as a present to wedded couples: the goose is supposed to be the only creature which does not marry again when its spouse dies. Nothing is known of this son except that on two occasions he is recorded to have suddenly come across his father, and to have been severely questioned as to his studies: he seems to have given his father as wide a berth as possible. The fact of the duke having deigned to congratulate a poor man like Confucius is accounted for by the latter having held, at the age of 20, the post of grain distributor: but here, again, we are confronted with a difficulty; it is not known whether this means a post in the public granaries, and, if so, central or local; or whether it means a relief officer. The philosopher Mencius, in alluding to this episode, says that "a superior man may occasionally accept office purely for the relief of his poverty." We may therefore fairly conclude that the duke gave the carp because Confucius was a ducal officer, and that Confucius accepted office, as people do in modern times, to relieve his own poverty.

It is incidentally mentioned in the "Conversations of Confucius" with his disciples that he gave a daughter in marriage. Nothing more. We may therefore once more safely conclude that he had at least one daughter, who, on her marriage, would in accordance with custom cease to belong to his family.

In his 21st year Confucius was promoted or transferred to a post resembling that of estate-agent or watcher over farms; and a year later he collected round him a number of disciples, much after the fashion of the peripatetic philosophers of Greece. He was six inches taller than his father; but, if we are to judge of his personal appearance by the pictures and effigies of him still exhibited in his old house, he was far from being a beautiful man, even though he may have been a commanding one. He was strong and well-built, with a large singularly shaped head, full red face, and contemplative, heavy expression. He had a long sparse beard, ill-shaped ears, a thick round-tipped nose, but flat and shovel-like; two projecting lower teeth, gaping nostrils, and eyes which showed more white than is usual. His back was described by an admirer as being like that of a tortoise. Confucius accepted fees for his instruction, but was more particular about the diligence of the student than the amount of his present. Even at the present day teachers' fees are invariably called "dried meat," or "fuel and water," and schoolboys always make periodical presents of food to their masters.

His mother died when he was in his 24th year. Confucius seems to have buried her temporarily whilst he made inquiry touching the exact spot where his father's body lay: he then opened his father's grave, and trans-

ferred to it the coffin of his mother. Both native and foreign commentators have somewhat confused the facts connected with this event. None of the Europeans who have visited Confucius' tomb seem to have taken the trouble to pass on to the parents' grave: even the Emperor of China, who went carefully over all the chief show-places in 1684, contented himself with sending an officer to sacrifice for him at the paternal shrine: but the position is quite certain; it is at Mount Fang, marked on the map with a black circle. Confucius had to retire from office for 27 months in order to mourn, as the modern Chinese still do, for his mother. He did this so effectively that it took him five days to recover his natural voice after the 27 months had expired. During the next seven years he continued his teachings, besides himself studying music, official formalities, and archæology. His position was much strengthened when one of the leading men in the state commanded, on his death-bed, that his own son and another relative should join the rising philosopher's school. The duke liberally placed a carriage and pair at the disposal of Confucius, who proceeded in it to the imperial capital in order to make further learned research. The springless, covered, two-wheeled carts (not unlike a Liverpool market-cart on a small scale), which still ply for hire in the streets of Peking, are exactly the style of vehicle in which Confucius rode 2,400 years ago. At the imperial capital Confucius had interviews with the keeper of the imperial archives, a semi-mythical philosopher named Lao-tsr, who founded a rival doctrine or system of mystics called Taoism; but as Confucius himself said that he was unable to comprehend those misty teachings, and the very existence of the Taoist philosopher is largely a matter of conjecture, we need not dwell further upon this incident.\* Eighteen years ago I met the individual usually known as the Pope of the Taoist creed, who also enjoys a certain amount of imperial favour. Of course this visit to the capital enhanced the fame of Confucius, who, on his return the same year, was regarded in much the same light as the Mussulmans regard a pilgrim to Mecca, that is, as a *haji*. He had also taken the opportunity to improve his knowledge of music.

When Confucius was in his 36th year, a civil war broke out in the ducal dominions of Lu, owing to factional disputes with the three leading families; the ruler was obliged to fly for refuge to the dominions of a neighbour to his north, and Confucius soon followed. According to China's greatest historian, the origin of the civil war was a disagreement connected with cock-fighting, and it is incidentally mentioned that metal spurs were used by one of the factions. This political quarrelling about cock-fighting has its counterpart in Europe, for it will be remembered that in Justinian's time the Byzantine court at Constantinople was shaken to its foundations by the faction fights between the red and white, the blue and green parties of the race-course and circus.

Confucius became so enamoured of the music he heard in the country of his temporary adoption that for three months he lost all zest for savoury meats. After he had been six years in the land of Ts'i, the duke of that

\* One of his European expositors however styles Lao-tsr "a prophet of the gentiles," because "five centuries before Christ he preached Christian doctrines."

country expressed a wish to confer a feudal estate upon him ; but one of the local statesmen—and one, too, who has left behind him a high reputation for economy and sagacity—objected, on the ground that “these learned fellows are too glib and intractable, too proud and insubmissive, too fond of showy funerals and exaggerated lamentations, too persuasive and fond of borrowing to govern a kingdom.” In truth, the duke seems to have gradually become rather tired of Confucius, who accordingly betook himself once more to his native land. His disciples were now more numerous than ever. It is interesting to notice that the term which I have here translated “learned fellows” is that which is now applied to Confucianists as distinguished from Taoists and Buddhists : the term is thus older than Confucius, and seems to mean “men of parts.”

It was not until his 47th year that Confucius again obtained office ; this was under a new duke, the legitimate ruler, his brother, having four years previously died in the country to which he had fled for asylum. It must be here stated that the dukes of Lu were the direct descendants of Confucius' great model, Duke Chow. A brother or a nephew had occasionally succeeded in the absence of a son ; but, with the exception of an unexplained hiatus between B.C. 920 and 855, the twenty-five dukes had regularly succeeded ever since B.C. 1122, and the reigns of the last eleven of them formed part of Confucius' own original work on history. This fact explains Confucius' great loyalty to his master, who was, in fact, a member of the imperial house, and whose ancestors were tutelary spirits on a subordinate scale. Confucius so reformed the manners of the people in the district entrusted to him that in two years he was promoted to the ministry of public works, and two years later again to that of justice. In this latter capacity he succeeded in crushing several of the haughty mesne-lords, and dismantling their castles. He even went so far as to arrest and order the execution of a rich and dangerous intriguer. At the age of 52 he accompanied his master in the capacity of prime minister to a spot near the borders of the two states, and took part in an interview between his own ruler and the one who had given him hospitality for so many years. On this occasion he succeeded in defeating the insidious diplomacy of the rival state, and in forcing the surrender of disputed territory. But, though Confucius considered that a display of force should accompany diplomatic action, he took the general view that good example was more efficacious than might. Honesty, morality, and funeral etiquette advanced with such strides under the premiership of Confucius that neighbouring states began to grow uneasy. It was first thought advisable to conciliate the rising power by a cession of territory ; but wiser counsels prevailed, and a successful effort was made to corrupt the new duke's heart with presents of beautiful singing girls and fine horses. This moral collapse so distressed the philosopher that he left the country.

Now commences the period of Confucius' travels through the various feudal states, which covered a period of thirteen years. He and his disciples met with various adventures. On several occasions they were menaced by suspicious or hostile bands. On one occasion Confucius incurred the censure of a disciple by accepting (although he tried to escape



it) an invitation to pay his respects to a divorced or adulterous duchess. On another he was annoyed at a local duke's relegating him to the second carriage whilst the duchess seated herself along with her husband in the first. One instance is recorded in which he distinctly broke his pledged word; but he defended himself on the ground that promises extorted by force are not binding. This saying was advanced by Chinese statesmen 17 years ago as an excuse and a precedent for repudiating the treaty made by a Chinese envoy with Russia.

Time, however, will not permit of our dwelling further upon this period of wanderings: suffice it to say that the philosopher had as many rebuffs as he had successes, and that most of the rulers, whilst willing to listen to his counsels, seemed to consider that they possessed more of an academic than a practical value. At the age of 66 Confucius heard of the death of his wife, and that his son continued weeping for her notwithstanding the lapse of the regulation period of one year. He took the view that, so long as the father was alive, crying more than twelve months for a mother was excessive. This fact, coupled with the circumstance that Confucius' grandson divorced his wife, and would not permit her son to mourn, has given rise to suspicions, owing to certain references to an ancestor made by the grandson, that Confucius must have divorced his wife. The learning upon this point is very intricate, but the best opinion appears to be that the ancestor referred to was not Confucius but Confucius' father, who had divorced, not the young girl, but the lady who gave him nine daughters; and that the philosopher was thus, not only the offspring of a strictly legal union, but true to his wife until her death.

When Confucius was 68 years of age, his own duke, son of the man who had sacrificed his reputation to horses and singing girls, sent a messenger with presents to invite the philosopher back. He went; but he neither asked for nor was offered any official post. He spent his time in composing the history of his own state, beginning with the year B.C. 722, and thus extending over about 250 years. Confucius desired posterity to judge him by this work, which, though not equal to Sz-ma Ts'ien's Book of History, published three centuries later, was in its human interest far ahead of the dry records of the then past. All Chinese history previous to this date is as vague and unsatisfactory as our own European history previous to the founding of Rome in B.C. 753. The Twelve Tables, which are the foundation of Roman jurisprudence and administrative civilisation, date from 20 years after Confucius' death; during the half century following the death of Confucius and the publication of the Twelve Tables, Herodotus went upon his travels and wrote his history. So far as my own humble researches go, I incline to compare Confucius in some respects with Herodotus, and to place exact Chinese history on a level in point of antiquity with that of Greece and Rome, and no more. Previous to the eighth century before Christ, we have skeleton annals, lists of kings, accounts of floods, and narratives of wars in the Chinese world, just as we have in the Babylonian or Egyptian world; with this important difference that, whereas in China there are no antiquities to speak of which corroborate tradition, in Egypt and Mesopotamia we have innumerable remains in the

shape of buildings, mummies, and documentary evidences. Confucius attached no credence to the very ancient traditions. He used, indeed, to speak of the Emperors Yao and Shun, who lived 2,000 years before his time; and, as we shall see, there are antiquities of that date in his temple. Then came three hereditary dynasties which lasted 1,100 years: then the imperial dynasty of which his ducal master was a scion. But, though there is no reason to question the existence of these ancient dynasties, the whole of the information amounts to very little of a practical kind.

Confucius spent the few remaining years of his life in collecting the old songs and traditions, the best specimens of which he has transmitted to us; in fixing the principles of music, and in establishing forms, ceremonies, and etiquette. His son died four years before him, and this son's relict committed the crime of marrying again. The grandson, then 17 years of age, was carefully educated by Confucius himself, and subsequently published a system of ethics called the "Doctrine of the Mean," or Moderate, which embodies his grandfather's teachings. Confucius' declining years had already been cheered by a promise from his grandson to this effect. This grandson seems to have been a man of strong, touchy, and obstinate character; in fact, an unpolished counterpart of Confucius himself.

One day in his 73rd year Confucius felt exhausted, and had a presentiment that death was near. His last words were the expression of regret that no intelligent rulers existed who could appreciate and utilise his services. He died a week later, and was buried just outside the ducal capital, on the River Sz, the beauty of which river had for generations been sung in the Book of Odes or Songs transmitted by him to us.

The first regular and general history of China, written by Sz-ma Ts'ien 2,000 years ago, and which in the original forms the basis of my present sketch, gives a list of Confucius' descendants down to the time when the book was completed. The great-grandson above mentioned who was not allowed to mourn for his mother died at the age of 47; his son died at 45; his son at 46; his son at 51; his son, a minister of state under the Wei kings, at 57; his son,—the man who hid the books in the wall when a tyrant attempted to destroy Chinese literature,—at 57. There seems to be a slight break now, for we are told that the last named had as successor a nephew almost as tall as Confucius; this nephew, and also his son, died at 57. The son of this last was the father of K'ung An-kwoh, the man who found and deciphered the concealed books in B.C. 150, or, as the old contemporary historian says, "under his present Majesty; and died young, leaving a son and a grandson."

We must go to other histories for facts concerning later descendants: confusion is sometimes caused by the use of such a term as 28th descendant, without specifying whether it means inclusive or exclusive of Confucius and the subject. Several served Turkish and Tartar dynasties. The 45th went as ambassador to the Kitai Tartars or Cathayans. It was the 47th who first bore a temporal or ducal title. The present duke, the 76th in descent, has just officially written to thank the Emperor for restoring to him 2,200 acres of land in Kiang Su province, granted to the family 500 years ago by Kublai Khan. It is said that one of the southern branch

is about to start a daily newspaper at Hangchow, the Kinsai of Marco Polo.

The reader has now before him an outline of Confucius' life. Whilst admitting that he was a very worthy man, one fails to discover any symptoms of extraordinary genius, or any reason for the unlimited admiration in which the Chinese hold him. In his *Miscellaneous Conversations*, a book compiled by disciples, and in those later parts of the royal *Record of Rites* emanating from Confucius and his disciples, we get more precise ideas touching his character. He was a moderate eater, but very particular and nice. He was not a teetotaler, but he never got tipsy. When the mysterious forces of nature manifested themselves in the shape of storms or thunder, he considered it his duty to sit up with respect; but he declined to enlarge upon his reasons for so doing. He always said a kind of grace before his frugal meals by offering an oblation. The oriental custom of pouring out a drop of liquor, or scattering a few grains of food before partaking of it, is still in popular vogue. Confucius' own deportment was in consonance with his teachings. He used, giving them a negative turn, almost the exact words so familiar to all Christians: he said: "What you do not wish others to do to you, do not to them." Self-control, modesty, forbearance, patience, kindness, orderliness, absence of effusiveness and passion, studiousness, industry, mildness, dutifulness, neighbourliness, fidelity, uprightness, moderation, politeness, ceremoniousness;—these were the qualities which Confucius consistently practised and taught. He laid special stress upon the necessity of cultivating intelligence and alertness. He abominated extremes, and preached the doctrine of the *happy mean* in everything;—in short, the doctrine of the Peripatetics; a sort of machine-like smoothness, with no jerks or surprises, either on the side of virtue or on that of vice. Gloomy asceticism and passionate militancy were alike foreign to his taste. He was neither a theologian nor a metaphysician. He simply saw and understood his countrymen, and went to history for the means of governing them. There was nothing of the fanatic in his composition. If I wished to picture to you in life-like modern form the sort of man Confucius was, I should select an old-fashioned Quaker, such as we used to see up to 30 years ago, with broad back, bulky form; rubicund, solid features; ponderous gait; and calm, gentle, peaceful, kind, but not unmanly demeanour. Yet this external or social resemblance is defective if we go below the surface: for Confucius took his liquor; he despised women except as mothers; that is, he granted them no such equality as do the Quakers, and he would have nothing to do with flirtations, dances, singing, sky-larking, or it may be presumed those harmless kissing amenities so popular with non-Quakers. Mencius, 200 years later, was the first to qualify him as "holy." But Confucius declined for himself the right to be called a saint, or even a good man. He said: "I am never tired of learning myself, and never weary of teaching others." He did not wish to appear censorious. Though tolerant of old religious or superstitious notions, he did not care to go into questions of future life, extraordinary things, spirits, devils, anarchy, revolution, and mystic doctrines. In the presence of the forces of nature he was, as we have seen, awed but silent; he declined to



discuss what he did not understand: he said: "Heaven does not talk, and yet the four seasons come with regularity." Some writers have gone so far as to say that pure Confucianism is no religion at all. Others describe the ancient notions, which Confucius confined himself to criticising and transmitting, as spirit-worship tending towards fetichism. What Confucius really did was to arrange ancient ideas in orderly form, and revivify them with notions of his own, just as the old Jewish teachings received fresh inspiration in the form of Christianity. The ancient idea was that there existed a Supreme Power, and that the King or Emperor, as a sort of vicegerent, was the only channel of communication with that power. In this capacity the Son of Heaven was a Mediator for his people. The worship of private families and individuals was confined to the spirits of deceased ancestors. The adorning of graves by the French on All Souls' Day is perhaps a survival of a once more universal custom. "To sacrifice to spirits not belonging to a man," says Confucius, "is mere flattery." It has always appeared to me, in short, that the Chinese regarded and still regard the next world as being a mere repetition of this, each person in this world addressing himself to those of his own rank and kind in the next. Dr. Legge is of opinion, however, that the Lordship of Heaven was, to the Chinese fathers, exactly what the notion of God was to our fathers. Confucius, like everyone else, grew up totally ignorant of any world except that in which he found himself. His prudent attitude has led some European divines to brand him outright as a sceptic, who only veiled his disbelief out of deference for antiquity. But that is going too far. He noticed that the imaginations of his fellow men led them to express belief in much that was not evident to him, so he adopted the safe course of admitting nothing but the possible existence, in a form not quite apparent to him, of sentient beings that had already lived in this world. He did not care much about the constituent elements of emotion or intellect. What is popularly known as "German philosophy" had no charms for him. It cannot even be made out whether he thought man's nature good or evil in its origin. He admits that men are naturally born different, but the effects of such initial differences are as nothing compared with the levelling effects of education and training.

Nor was Confucius inclined to split hairs upon the vexed question of sin, or even to speak of sin except in connection with the practical affairs of life. On one occasion he said that, setting aside theft and robbery, there were five capital sins,—malignancy, perverseness, mendacity, and two others not very clearly defined, but which look like vindictiveness and vacillating weakness. Confucius was a believer in the three ancient forms of divination, and an ardent student of certain mystic diagrams dating from 600 years previous to his own birth. I have never been satisfied that these diagrams had any practical meaning; or, if they had, that the meaning now given to them by curious students expresses what Confucius really had in his mind. Confucius, in short, consulted the popular oracles, as did the Greeks and the Romans. We may disapprove, but if it was foolish to consult oracles of which he knew nothing, why should it be wiser to make requests to spiritual beings of which he also knew nothing? The

government of China still publishes a list of *dies fasti* and *nefasti*, and orders prayers to "save the moon" at an eclipse, although its officers are capable of foretelling the eclipse. Probably Confucius fell in with popular views. One thing is quite certain: whatever Confucius believed in a vague way as to the spiritual form which man took after death, he certainly never conceived any such idea as the doctrine of rewards and punishments. His view, concisely expressed, was that "life and death are a matter of destiny: wealth and honours are disposed by Heaven." In other words, whilst approving individual effort, he counselled patient submission. As he lived 500 years before our era, it is evident that he could not have believed any of our modern dogmas, unless the mystic Lao-tsz be accepted as a Christian prophet, which is absurd. To this extent, therefore, it may be said that Confucius had no religion, and preached no religion. Like the Persians and Chaldeans, the Chinese and the Tartars had a sort of Sabæan religion, in which worship was offered to the Sun, Moon, and Stars: at times also to other forces of nature, such as wind, the forests, and the rivers. But these beliefs, as also that in divination, may be popular excrescences which have been superadded at a later date upon the more ancient monotheism. Dr. Legge considers that even now this basis of monotheism is no more destroyed by popular additions than is our own monotheism by the worship of saints by large numbers of Christians. Of all the things which we, as Christians, profess to believe, there are only two things which it was reasonably possible for Confucius to believe. He might have believed in a Maker of Heaven and Earth, in the Resurrection of the Body, and in Life Everlasting; but that scarcely amounts to a religion, as nearly all primitive men have had beliefs of this kind. He probably did, in common with the received traditions, more or less vaguely believe in a Supreme Maker, but he did not attempt to define or dogmatise as to what that Maker was, or how he created. He preferred to discuss the practical character of things before his eyes, and was indifferent to the causes of those things. He says nothing about the future state, but holds that man continues, after what we call death, to live on. The Chinese idea of death differs from ours: thus, a man may die and come to life again; that is, may lose consciousness and revive: their ignorance of physiology precludes our absolute notion of death. In the same way with the ghost which takes its departure on death: there is always an idea that it is hovering near the body, and may give trouble at any time if not propitiated. There have been endless discussions amongst missionaries as to why Confucius preferred to speak impersonally of Heaven, avoiding the personal form God, and as to whether he believed in the efficacy of prayer. In most cases the arguments appear to me somewhat biased by the personal preconceptions of the polemic; that is to say, he wishes to prove that, if Confucius was good, it was because he believed what the controversialist believes; if evil, because he failed to believe what the controversialist believes; and so on. This is, in fact, the course which the rival schools of Chinese philosophy themselves adopt. Where Confucius is silent, they claim that he expressed in general terms the sentiments expanded by themselves. In other words, they dogmatise. Thus Mencius

insists that man's nature is evil, Cincius that it is good, in its origin. One philosophy pleads for universal love ; another for pure selfishness. As a matter of fact, Confucius steered clear of all positivism ; he said, in fact, that even his "medium policy" was a shifting medium, according to time and circumstances : in short, he was in some respects an opportunist. He objected to commit himself so far as to say the dead were conscious, lest rash sons should waste their substance in sacrifices ; he equally declined to assert that they were unconscious, lest careless sons should not sacrifice at all. At the same time he himself always sacrificed as though the spirits were present.

Some blame Confucius because he was unable to grasp the full nobility of the Taoist maxim : "Return good for evil." Confucius took time to consider, and finally decided that evil should be repaid by justice, and good reserved for the recompense of good. His own countrymen find fault with him for glossing over, in his history, the failings of men of rank, worth, or his own family connection ; and Dr. Legge, the distinguished Oxford professor, shows in detail that this is true. It is not for me to sit in judgment upon the judges ; but I would suggest that, however noble the precept enjoining good for evil may be when cherished in the hearts of individuals, a government which should attempt to practise it would soon put the business of state in a sorry condition. Confucius was above all things practical, and considered that confidence in the stability of the state was more important than the adequate alimentation of the people, which again was more vital than the possession of military strength or learning. He said : First enrich your people, and then instruct them. As to the concealing of historical truths, it is hopeless to get men to agree upon this point. Take the modern instances of Carlyle and Cardinal Manning : their biographers, Mr. Froude and Mr. Purcell, for telling too much truth have received as much censure as praise. Confucius' frame of mind may be judged from his reply to a disciple, who was in doubt how to act when his master, a feudal prince, was bent on a foolish act. "Oppose him, but deceive him not." That is do not offend by showing your hand, but do not conceal your hand. What is the use of exposing the weaknesses of those in power ? Is it of real advantage to us that Bacon should be proved to have been the meanest as well as the wisest of mankind ? The Chinese idea that rulers are the vicegerents of God is tempered by the conviction that bad rulers may be dethroned. Perhaps Confucius thought it better not to rake up slumbering guilt unless it were possible to punish at the same time. At all events Confucius was loyal to the princely houses, and had no axe of his own to grind : the utmost that can be charged against him is a certain canniness which prefers to be on the safe side, and, if it must err, then to err on the side of cold prudence rather than on that of warm impulse. As to mere personal defects, perhaps a testiness of temper can be not unfairly charged against him.

It is a little difficult for us, even after stringing together such a galaxy of virtues as we have shown Confucius to have really possessed, to understand the Chinese enthusiasm for his memory. Our own history teaches us to admire manly grace and beauty ; bodily activity and love of nature ;



romantic and tender attachment to the gentler sex. Whether we take military heroes such as Cæsar, Napoleon, Cromwell, Genghis Khan, Gustavus Adolphus; ecclesiastical heroes such as Thomas à Becket, Luther, Wolsey; lay heroes of statecraft such as Cicero, Sully, Talleyrand, Bismarck; philosophers such as Socrates, Marcus Aurelius, Seneca, Locke, Newton, Darwin; lawyers such as Papinian, Tribonian, Cujas, Coke; or poets such as Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe; we find no complete character in any way resembling that of Confucius: perhaps the nearest approach is Socrates. Even the founders of our principal religions, including those of Buddhism and Muhammadanism, have very little of Confucius in their attitude; notwithstanding that in the two instances of Christianity and Buddhism the qualities which have secured the reverence of hundreds of millions are in many respects precisely the qualities possessed by Confucius. Confucius commands the regard of the European critics; but somehow it always seems that he does not secure a full measure of respect. He certainly was not a handsome man; his heavy round back, long ears, projecting teeth, and misshapen head were scarcely heroic; he disliked to discuss athletic sports; his habit of moving about in a springless ox-cart, or when on foot with his arms extended like wings, scarcely suggests perfect dignity to us; his skill as a musician would perhaps appeal more strongly to our sympathy if we were ignorant of modern Chinese music. At the same time, there is reason to believe that much of the ancient theory and science of music has been lost. It is certain that a custom existed of collecting popular ballads for purposes of government record. Many of the ancient ballads are very beautiful and simple, besides being perfectly comprehensible to the modern ear. We may therefore assume that Confucius possessed genuine bardic feeling. His treatment of women was rather contemptuous, and he says almost nothing about marriage; his love for truth was, as we have seen, occasionally tempered by prudence. His fondness for forms, ceremonies, and, above all, for funerals and mourning is not at all in our line. But here, again, a due show of grief at the loss of a parent only forms a continuous chain with the filial obedience required during life, and solemn sacrifices after death. In short, we can only account for the unmeasured reverence which Confucius has secured in the hearts of his countrymen by slightly modifying the words of Lord Beaconsfield, who remarked that "every country possessed the government it deserves," and by suggesting that China possesses the teacher she deserves; or, to put the matter into a more subjective light, by suggesting that, when a great teacher or prophet appears, the mere fact that he is recognized as a prophet or as an instrument of Heaven connotes the circumstance that he is suitable to the people who believe in him and recognize him. If we have a difficulty in appreciating Confucianism to the full, the Chinese have a similar difficulty with our beliefs, which often appear to them somewhat absurd. An able Chinese Jesuit who a few years ago published a very learned critical work upon comparative religions, thus sums up in his native tongue the attributes of Confucius: "Although Confucius taught the necessity of reverence and disinterested charity, he had no true belief in a self-existing Creator of an organized universe; no faith in promised

grace to come, or in eternal life; no true love of God as a Perfect Being above and superior to all things; no true fear of God as the Supreme and Sole Ruler of the universe; and no true obedience to His commandments." Professor Tiele of Leyden treats the worship of spirits and nature as though the ancient religion were not monotheistic; but Dr. Legge, in criticising this view, defends Confucius from the charge of animism and fetishism in their most unfavourable sense.

Others again have charged Confucius with cold-blooded eudæmonism, that is with only insisting upon virtue because it leads to temporal happiness. What Confucius said was "He who heaps up goodness shall have much happiness," and *vice-versâ*. I must confess I do not see anything very terrible in this; but it is evident that argument upon so abstract a point might last for ever. He declined to pray for recovery when he was sick, but he did this in such a dubious way that the commentators and the missionaries have not yet come to an understanding upon what he really thought on the subject of prayer. Dr. Edkins considers that, in the absence of Christian revelation to serve him as a guide to belief in the doctrine of rewards and punishments, Confucius did the next best and noblest thing, by maintaining the impartiality of moral retribution and the immortality of good fame. In this view he seems to be supported by Dr. Legge.

We will now quit this misty region of metaphysics, and transfer ourselves to the town and home of the Chinese philosopher, the residences of the dukes of Confucius.

The Rev. Alexander Williamson visited the spot in 1865, having first paid his respects to the home of the philosopher Mencius, who lived two centuries after Confucius, and whose descendant in the 70th generation received the traveller courteously. Dr. Williamson was less fortunate with the descendant of Confucius, who was then a youth of 16. But he saw the temple and the cemetery; and, as he passed up the River Sz, discerned about seven miles to the south-east from the city the Ni mountains, in a cave of one of which Confucius was born, and where there is a temple in honour of his mother. It is curious that Dr. Williamson should tell us that the modern house is west of the temple, whilst Dr. Edkins calls it east.

In 1873 Dr. Legge and the Rev. Joseph Edkins approached the cemetery (which the latter estimates at 66 acres in extent) from the north, and afterwards visited the city and temple; but they also were unsuccessful in their attempts to obtain an interview with the duke. They noticed that the poppy was cultivated even up to the birth-place of Confucius, and were disappointed to find that the wealthy duke, who increased his already large income by extensive trading, seemed to do nothing in the way of charity for his clan, not even to the extent of a university or a school. Many of the family were very ignorant and poor, and two of them actually wheeled Dr. Edkins in a barrow to the next town. But, on the other hand, the dukes have to support a large number of officers, musicians, and dancers; in fact, a petty court of their own.

Dr. Edkins published one account of the temple 13 years before his

visit, and strange to say he is as self-contradictory as other visitors upon the question whether it is the palace or the temple which stands on the site of the original house. He even says the family residence was at Mount Ni, which he places north of the tomb.

When I landed at Chefoo on the 16th May, 1869, I found that Her Majesty's Consul, Mr. Markham, had just returned from a visit to Confucius, town, and had been received by the 75th descendant, who was then 22 years of age,—evidently the same one whom Mr. Williamson described in 1865 as being a lad of 16. The duke was diminutive in stature, and slightly deformed, but as intellectual in appearance as he was attractive in manner. The consul was agreeably surprised at the cordiality of his reception, for even viceroys have to knock their heads nine times on the ground when admitted to an audience. The duke's relatives were all tall fine men, and were exceedingly eager to learn what they could about Europe. The interview took place in a small study, the walls of which were lined with book-shelves: there were besides ancient manuscripts, urns, and various relics of the Sage. Mr. Markham also visited the cemetery, a mile or so outside the city wall, and thence proceeded to the town of Mencius.

In 1893 the Rev. J. H. Laughlin visited the temple and cemetery of Confucius, but failed to obtain an interview with the present duke, the 76th in descent, who was then 21 years of age.

The city which contains the dwelling of Confucius is now called in the northern dialects K'ü-fu Hien, which, as we have said, means "Crooked Mound City." It is stated to lie a mile and a half to the west of the ancient capital of the ducal state of Lu, whose rulers Confucius served. It is described by those who have seen it as being a small neat city, surrounded, as is customary in China, by high walls; like the walls of Chester, but more solid; and pierced by four gates, with broad towers and guard-houses above them. The eastern part of the city contains the temple erected to Confucius' chief disciple by the Mongols, 500 years ago. The south gate is double, which really makes up a total of five gates; but the westernmost of the two south gates is reserved for the visits of imperial personages, and this gate leads straight up to the temple and palace, which together occupy half the city area; that is, the northern and western quarters: the palace, which adjoins the temple, includes the site of Confucius' old house, in the hollow walls of which were concealed, in the year B.C. 212, when the so-called "First Emperor" of united China ordered the destruction of all the works on history and philosophy, a number of manuscripts and classical works. During the Taiping rebellion of forty years ago the city was threatened, but only because the rebels wished in a general way to put all mandarins to death: hearing that the local mandarin was of the Confucian family, they did no harm to the town beyond massacring a number of people who had taken refuge in the cemetery. The majority of the inhabitants of the city, including the executive and educational mandarins, bear the family name of Confucius, or K'ung, and there would seem to be about 20,000 of them in or near the ancestral city, and perhaps 10,000 scattered about elsewhere, chiefly



in the province of Chêh Kiang, south of the Great River, whither during a period of schism the chief representative once migrated: the Golden Tartars appointed a northern duke of their own, but the Mongols put an end to this duality.

The ducal palace, which Mr. Markham states is actually on the site of Confucius' house, is on the east side of the temple, of which the duke is always *ex officio* guardian: it and the palace together cover about 55 acres of magnificently wooded grounds. The temple is open to the public, except on the anniversaries of ducal deaths, which are locally observed as *dies nefasti*. A public thoroughfare divides the temple into northern and southern halves, most of the objects of interest being in the northern division. The palace has its own separate enclosure of high walls, and in accordance with Chinese custom is divided into courts or squares. The duke, who was surrounded by a staff of tall and exceedingly well-clad retainers, admitted Mr. Markham through the grand central gate, and in company with his guardian, lay steward, and relatives stood awaiting him in the third court: this is the way foreign officials are commonly received by Chinese mandarins; but at one time it was difficult to make the higher ranks of them open the central gate. The dukes have estates in several of the prefectures of Shan Tung province, amounting in all to about 60,000 English acres. Besides this landed wealth, they receive a large pension from the government.

The grounds of the temple alone cover 35 acres, and are remarkable for their splendid avenues of cedar, fir, cypress, and yew trees. The southern half consists of parks or gardens, and contains many pavilions, tablets, bridges, etc.; it has four gates. The main temple, in the northern division, is somewhat inconsistently stated by Mr. Markham to be built upon the spot where Confucius actually lived, and is composed of twelve squares, each shut off by its own massive gate and containing its own hall. The grand hall is in the third court, and stands behind a gorgeous red-roofed pavilion, open at the four sides, called the "Apricot Altar," in commemoration of a place where Confucius used to teach: twelve stone steps lead up to the platform upon which the hall is built, which measures about 100 feet deep by 150 broad, and which surrounds the hall like a verandah, leaving a margin on each side under the eaves of 15 feet: the verandah itself is surrounded by a beautifully carved railing. Eighteen white monolith marble pillars, deeply carved with dragons, twenty-five feet high, and each three feet in diameter, support the front of the great hall, which is also surrounded by a deep verandah. The total height from the ground is as nearly as possible 80 feet. Eighteen alternately black and white marble pillars support the after part, and eighteen variegated black and white marble pillars, nine on each side, make up the circuit. The hall is divided into nine compartments. The roof is of green and yellow-glazed porcelain tiles, green being used in Peking for the palaces of princes, and yellow for that of the Emperor: in the case of Confucius' temple the green predominates, although on several occasions imperial honours have been for a short period conferred upon the sage by over-enthusiastic emperors: the eaves are beautifully carved and painted, being protected

by wire netting from birds; but by ancient custom the enormous number of bats which congregate in the roofs are left undisturbed. The roof is supported inside by twenty uncarved pillars of teak, each four feet in diameter, and thickly painted a bright vermilion colour. The ceiling is panelled in 400 squares, gilded and ornamented with dragons. Innumerable wooden tablets in honour of the sage adorn the roof. On a raised throne, enclosed by richly-embroidered yellow satin curtains, facing the spacious door, sits the enormous effigy of Confucius, over fifteen feet high, holding a bamboo scroll in his hand; for in his time paper had not yet been invented. On the table in front of the image are placed some of the gifts made by Emperors of successive dynasties, together with relics of the Sage. Several of the bronzes and clay dishes are over a thousand, indeed over two thousand years old; and many of the urns, enamels, and tripods are exceedingly fine. The rose-wood table actually used by Confucius is amongst the relics, together with two bronze elephants of the royal dynasty under which his ducal master nominally ruled. I must mention here that images are as foreign to true Confucianism as they are to Muhammadanism, and the interior ought in strict right to be as simple as that of a mosque; the chief Arabic inscription, in fact, occupying much the same place that the ancient Chinese name tablet does. The introduction of images into Confucian temples is a Buddhistic innovation, and simply marks one of the numerous compromises between the two cults; but it is not permitted to place images of the Sage in Buddhist or Taoist temples: in the case of Confucius the regulation tablet is placed above the image, and is marked "the resting-place of the Holy Sage Confucius' spirit." Most of the carved black marble slabs which panel the hall are in imitation of the Buddhist style, and represent scenes in the philosopher's career. One of the slabs, however, contains a portrait said to have been taken during Confucius' life, but it is now very indistinct. In this same hall are statues of Confucius' son, grandson, twelve favourite disciples, and Mencius; and at each of the two sides of it, in the courtyard, are rooms, seventy-two in all, in honour of each disciple. Each of these persons has a history, some Emperors adding to, others reducing, the numbers of those qualified to share in the worship rendered to Confucius, or to his system of philosophy.

The other halls in the temple precincts are in honour of Confucius' father, of whom there is an image; his mother and wife, to whose memory there are tablets; his son and grandson; Mencius; and the four leading disciples, all with tablets only, in orthodox style. The remains of an old cypress or juniper-tree, planted by Confucius himself, are shown; also the well out of which he drank, and a very much worn slab of black marble giving a genealogical tree for the 77 generations. The temple was built over a thousand years ago, but has of course been frequently repaired, the last time according to Mr. Markham in 1864, or since that date. However, I have in my possession an official letter from the Governor of Shan Tung to the Emperor, stating that it had been repaired in 1869, the very year of Mr. Markham's visit. About ten years ago part of the palace was burnt down, but the officials and gentry of China soon subscribed a sum to

rebuild it. In the correspondence upon the subject it is stated that the buildings destroyed were built about 1550, and repaired about 1840.

I have tried my best to give an intelligible description of the great Confucian temple. For the information of those who have been in China, I may add that it is like any other large temple, especially like those of the Ming Dynasty Tombs near Peking, but on a vaster and more magnificent scale. There is almost no architectural variety in China. There are innumerable other antiquities and objects of historical interest, not only within the precincts of the temple and palace, in the city, and in the immediate neighbourhood, but in neighbouring cities, and all over the province, which of all Chinese provinces, is perhaps archaeologically the most interesting; but I have only undertaken to write 'a paper upon Confucius, and space compels me to narrow and confine myself to that one subject.

There still remains the cemetery, which is on the banks of the River Sz, a good mile to the north of the city, from the gate of which runs for 2,600 yards a noble avenue of two thousand old cypress or cedar and yew-trees, planted at intervals, about 500 years ago, by the Ming dynasty. Of course these trees are emblematic of immortality or imperishability. The road is beautified by numerous bridges and honorary portals, more, however, for ornament than to serve any useful purpose. Half-way up the avenue are two handsome pavilions, erected 300 years ago by the last Chinese dynasty. The cemetery, described 1,000 years ago as lying between the Rivers Sz and Chu,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a mile from the older city, is a densely-wooded enclosure of 50 acres, surrounded by high walls: the only gate is on the south side. A writer of the 5th century gives the then area as 16 English acres. For some unexplained reason the avenue of pines which runs north towards the tomb does not run directly from the gate, but turns round at a point a hundred yards or so from the gate to the west. This second avenue is lined on each side by stone figures of lions, elephants, leopards, unicorns, camels, and two human figures. At the north end of the pine-tree avenue the road turns west, and the second avenue begins where the road divides, at a small historical stream called the Chu, or Red River, into two bridges. Ordinary visitors are directed to dismount here, as they would do in approaching an imperial edifice. The easternmost bridge leads to the modern cemetery, in which each member of the six or seven thousand existing Confucian families has a right to be buried. The heads of the clan alone have mounds and stone figures: the others mere slabs. The western bridge leads to a large hall, without image or tablet, in which the family offer sacrifices twice a year, and the back door of which faces the tomb. The tomb enclosure is walled off from the general cemetery above mentioned, and contains only the graves of Confucius, his son, and his grandson. These are simply three mounds covered with brushwood, those of the son and grandson being west and east in front, and that of the philosopher occupying the further or north-west corner. The Sage's mound was described 1,400 years ago, as being 50 feet by 75, and 12 feet high. It is now about thirty-five feet in diameter and twenty feet high; in front of it are a carved stone table, a stone urn, and a stone tablet 25 feet



high, the last inscribed in ancient character with the words "the most holy sage and princely disseminator of literature." To the west is a neat but modest little house built to commemorate the reed hut in which Confucius' most faithful disciple (the one who painted his portrait, as will appear later on) mourned for his master six years.

Readers of Marco Polo will remember that he often speaks of burning the dead in China. Buddhist priests are still cremated, but Confucius was properly buried, in accordance with the patriarchal customs then prevalent over the greater part of north and west Asia.

Confucius' own reigning duke set up a great lamentation for him when he died, and it is (somewhat doubtfully) said erected a temple to his memory for quarterly sacrifices of a bullock; but no word of panegyric beyond the bald expression "Father Ni" was conferred upon his memory. The royal or imperial dynasty took no notice whatever of his death. The people of the ducal state, who came from time to time to pay their respects to his memory, gradually formed a village round the tomb, and such relics as the Sage's hat, clothes, cart, lute, and books were preserved in what seems to have been the shrine, or, if there was no temple, then in a museum or other commemorative building. During the disturbed period B.C. 225-200, when the old royal house gave place to usurping emperors, and the feudal system was practically abolished, Confucius' memory naturally grew dim; but the founder of the celebrated Han dynasty, which was the first truly historical dynasty to really rule over a united China and to open up political relations with Western Asia, personally visited Confucius' grave in B.C. 195, and offered an ox, a hog, and a sheep to his memory; this is exactly the *suovetaurilia* of the Romans; that is, a sacrifice of a *sus*, *ovis*, and *taurus* at what were called lustrations. About B.C. 145 a regularly constituted temple was erected at the Sage's village, but apparently not by an Emperor. Several other emperors of this dynasty and of the subsequent branch known as the Later Han, took part in honouring Confucius, either by building temples, or by personally sacrificing to him and his disciples at the village or the tomb; or, again, by conferring titles upon him. It is curious to notice that his first official posthumous title dates from the year A.D. 1, when the Emperor added the word "Disseminating" to "Father Ni"; this was changed by the founder of the Wei dynasty in A.D. 242 to the word "Holy." In the last quarter of the first century of our era music was introduced at the worship, and a century later, after the introduction of Buddhism, an image of the Sage was added. During the first half of the third century the temple underwent extensive repair at the hands of the local ruler, acting under imperial commands issued by the northern dynasty of Wei. China had now been split up into three separate empires, but was reunited towards the close of the third century: the founder of this new unifying Tsin dynasty ordered quarterly *suovetaurilia*, both at the imperial capital and at the village. In the fifth century China was again divided into northern and southern empires. Though the northerners were Tartars of nomadic origin, they it was who first erected a Confucian temple in their capital, which was near the Tenduc of Marco Polo's time; and they also conferred a new title upon the philosopher.

It had now become the custom of women to visit the tomb in order to pray for children, but the Tartar rulers prohibited this vulgar practice. Confucius' birthplace seems to have been in the dominions of the southerners, for the Nanking emperors rebuilt the temple, and added six bands of musicians, thus placing the sage on a footing with his prototype the Duke of Chow, to whom Confucius was so fond of pointing as a model, and whose grave lies near his own. About the middle of the sixth century there were rapid changes of dynasty in the north, and the founder of the Ts'i house of Tartars, who owed his empire partly to his obsequiousness towards the rising Turkish power, ordered Confucian temples to be erected in every first-class city, with monthly sacrifices. The great conquering Chinese dynasty of T'ang in the seventh century once more reunited the empire, and drove out the Tartars. After being degraded to a rank below that of Duke Chow, Confucius was confirmed by the T'ang dynasty in his title of "Holy Man," both words, "Holy" and "Disseminating," being added to "Father Ni" in A.D. 637. Temples were now ordered in all towns even of the second and third classes. The third emperor of this dynasty meddled a great deal with Confucius' titles and privileges, amongst other things depriving him of his *taurus*, and leaving him only *suovilla*: after this monarch's death, his usurping wife, the Chinese Catherine II., also conferred a separate title of her own upon the philosopher. Early in the eighth century Confucius was promoted to the rank of "Literature Disseminating Prince or King"; provided with a robe and crown; made to face south like a royal personage, instead of east as hitherto; and given precedence over the Duke of Chow.

A number of ephemeral Turkish or Tartar dynasties intervened between the fall of the Chinese T'ang house and the rise of that of the Chinese Sung. As may well be imagined, the Turks did nothing at all for Confucius. In A.D. 960 the founder of the Sung dynasty, the southern branch of which ruled over the so-called Manzi empire of Marco Polo, substituted clay figures for the wooden ones which had hitherto been used. About fifty years later the Emperor once more changed the title of Confucius, besides conferring high posthumous rank upon his father (who was given a special shrine), his mother, and his wife: in A.D. 1012 the same Emperor once more modified the title to what it long remained, *i.e.*, "Most Holy Literature Disseminating Prince." In 1083 Mencius was associated with the Confucian worship: but we are not treating of him now. In the year 1102 the son and grandson of Confucius were made posthumous marquesses, taking their titles from the Rivers Sz and I. The idea was that the Marquess of the Sz should protect the cemetery from the inundations of that river.

The Cathayan Tartars ruled over Mongolia, Manchuria, and part of Peking province, but they are not recorded to have noticed Confucius in any way;—although, after his raid upon the Turko-Chinese capital in 946, the second Cathayan Emperor died, on his way home, at a place not very far to the west of Confucius' village. In 1031 Confucius of the 45th generation was sent as envoy to the Cathayans, who had the bad taste to invite him to a theatrical farce in which the sage came on the boards in

a comic character. Confucius the 45th very properly left the theatre. Soon after this the Tungusic ancestors of the Manchus, known as the Golden Tartars, overcame the Cathayans and conquered North China; the Sung or Manzi were driven across the River Yangtze. The term *maniss* means "uncouth ones"; it was and still is given by the northerners in retaliation for the contemptuous term *tatss*, or Tartars. Both northern and southern emperors made changes in the temple ritual. The true duke seems to have followed the fortunes of the Chinese or southern emperor, who quartered him in the city of K'ü-chou Fu in Chêh Kiang province, where to this day a number of the family remain. In 1103 the purely temporal ducal title now borne by Confucius' lineal representatives was finally confirmed: it had been first conferred in 1055, but was slightly modified in 1086. Thus the ducal title may be said to date from our William the Conqueror.

The Golden Tartars were displaced by the Mongols, who soon absorbed the Manzi empire as well, besides Persia and Russia. In 1220 Genghiz Khan sent all the way from Afghanistan to fetch a Chinese Taoist philosopher from his native village, which lay to the east of Confucius' town; but he does not seem to have been at any time struck with the Confucian sentiments. In 1281 Kublai Khan even deprived Confucius of his title of "holy," and reduced it to that of "mediocre sage"; but, immediately after Kublai's death, his grandson and successor Timur ordered that Confucius should be once more universally worshipped. He built a Confucian temple at Peking in 1306, and his successor Hayshan renewed the "Most Holy" and "Princely Disseminator" titles, with the addition of the words "Very Perfect." In 1330 the Emperor Jagatu or Tu Timur conferred upon Confucius' father and mother the title of "Prince and Lady Introducers of Holiness"; a year or two later his wife also received a high posthumous rank.

A Buddhist priest founded a new Chinese dynasty in 1368, and ordered half-yearly sacrifices to Confucius: in 1382 he further ordered the orthodox wooden tablet to take the place of earthen images; but painted clay images, clothed and hatted, seem to have been decreed once more in 1410. In 1476 eight bands of musicians and other additions were made to the ritual. In 1499 a fire partially destroyed the temple. In 1530 it was decided that to place Confucius on a level with Heaven was a mistake. His royal title was taken away, and that of "Most Holy Former Master" substituted. It was argued that, Confucius never having been a prince when alive, it was absurd to make him one posthumously; moreover, that "Disseminator of Literature" was inadequate to express the sage's qualities. The term "temple" was ordained in place of "palace hall," and clay images were once more abolished in favour of the simple tablet. The bands were reduced to six, and other technical modifications instituted. Notwithstanding these alterations, no great change has been made in the ceremonial arrangements at the tomb, which, as we have seen, are of semi-imperial nature; as, for instance, in the case of the 25 foot column marked "Disseminating King."

The first Emperor of the reigning Manchu dynasty in 1644 confirmed



Confucius the 65th in descent in all his family privileges and titles: the tablet was inscribed "Very Perfect Most Holy Literature Diffusing Former Master Confucius," that is, it renewed Hayshan's precedent minus the word "prince" or "king." Every city and town was commanded to possess a temple, and the highest civil official was enjoined to conduct the worship. However, the Sage's family were ordered under pain of death to wear the Manchu pigtail and official costume, like any other mortals. A Confucian temple was established at Moukden, the capital of Manchuria. In 1651 an officer was sent to sacrifice at the Confucian village, and in 1652 the Emperor himself sacrificed at the Peking Academy. In 1657 it was decided to omit the words "Very Perfect" and "Literature Diffusing," these terms being as vain an effort to qualify Confucius as it would be to limit the universe or measure the light of the sun and moon; thus reverting to the precedent of 1530, which still holds good. The youthful Emperor reported to the *manes* of Confucius the date of his entrance upon the higher classical studies, and gave the equivalent of £10,000 sterling towards the repair of the family temple. The work was duly announced to the spirits as having been completed in 1660.

In the seventh year of his reign the second Emperor sacrificed to Confucius at the Academy. On this occasion the military officials were for the first time made to take part. In 1684, acting under the suggestion of the Board of Rites, his Majesty called in person at the village on his way back from Nanking. He dismounted from his chair at the temple gate of the inner court, proceeded on foot up to the image, and *kotowed* nine times. An officer was despatched also to sacrifice to Confucius' father and canonised ancestors. The hereditary Duke K'ung Yü-k'ü showed the Emperor about, and explained that the existing image was ascribed by tradition to the date A.D. 541: the name of the artist was Li Yen, [and I may add the then reigning Tartar Emperor Gholugun was father of the founder of the Ts'ü dynasty above alluded to]. The Duke showed some sacrificial objects actually deposited by one of the Han Emperors in A.D. 85; also the lithograph of Confucius as Chancellor, from the drawing of the celebrated artist Wu Tao-tsz of the 8th century; the sage's table, his seal, and several other images or lithographs. The portrait most like Confucius was declared by the Duke to be the small picture of the sage followed by one of his disciples: this was actually sketched by another disciple, Tsz Kung, from life; but it was redrawn or retouched by the famous draughtsman Ku K'ai about the fourth century of our era. The Emperor left his yellow umbrella with a crooked handle to be placed amongst the imperial relics. It was explained to his Majesty that Confucius actually taught where the Apricot Altar stood, and that the two ancient characters there were written by one Tang Hwai-ying of the Golden Tartar dynasty. Many other historical calligraphies were exhibited. The old juniper-tree planted by Confucius himself was stripped of its branches and leaves at the fire of 1499; but the trunk looks like and is as tough as iron, whence it is popularly known as the "iron tree." After visiting the library, containing all the books given by successive dynasties, the Emperor inquired if there were any vestiges of the old house, and was

informed that part of the old wall was still in existence, just behind where the Emperor was then standing: the exact place where Confucius' son was twice stopped by his father to answer questions about his studies was also indicated by the Duke. The Emperor tasted some water from the old well, and, asking for further information touching the old hollow wall, was informed as follows: When the First Emperor was burning all the books in B.C. 213-212, the ninth descendant concealed copies of the chief canonical works in the wall. About B.C. 150 the feudal duke of the old state undertook some repairs, and whilst engaged in extending the temple, or palace as it was then called, the workmen heard the tinkling of musical instruments inside the wall. Search was made, and a number of bamboo books were found. Although there is still some vagueness in the Duke's words, it would thus seem that the old house was east of or behind the hall containing the statue, and that the well belonged to the house.

After explaining all this to the Emperor, the Duke accompanied his Majesty to the cemetery, the latter descending from his horse at the bridge we have mentioned, and walking up to the grave, before which he *kettowed* thrice. The pines, acacias, and "quartz-crystal" trees growing upon the mound were explained to have been brought by the disciples from their own districts, and the names of them were mostly unknown. The Duke said the total area of the cemetery was from 270 to 300 acres, and that there was now insufficient space for interments. When the Emperor got back to Peking, he wrote a wooden tablet and also a poem on the old juniper tree, to be engraved on stone and placed in the temple. The latter seems to have been actually sent in 1687. In 1686 a decree announced that 160 acres of land should be added to the cemetery, and that it should be freed from taxation: this gift partly explains the discrepancy between the 16 acres of the 5th century and the 50 acres of Mr. Markham. Confucius the 66th, or whatever his number was, would probably not waste the land given to him, but, like any other Chinaman, make it pay until required for use as a burial ground. The Emperor commanded that in future military mandarins should always assist at the half-yearly worship: censors were ordered to watch the ceremony, and to call anyone, the Emperor included, to book if inattention were shown. For several years after that the Emperor showed in various ways his interest in the village temple worship, and in 1693 entirely renovated the shrine.

The third Emperor rebuilt the temple much as we now see it, a fire having again destroyed it in 1724. A new image was made and clothed in garments sent by the Emperor himself. The name of the Five Ancestors' Temple was modified.

It has been the practice ever since for each Manchu Emperor on his accession to write a few complimentary words to be transferred to a wooden tablet, the Duke keeping the original manuscript. In 1857 the seventh Emperor placed Confucius' half brother among the honoured ones. The present Emperor on his accession 22 years ago sent the four written words "Truth is lodged here," referring to an utterance of the philosopher when threatened by a hostile mob. The Duke sent up an obsequious memorial

offering to come to Peking to offer his congratulations, and his offer was accepted.

In addition to the chief temple at the village of the sage, there are, apart from the 1,500 city temples attached to the district examination halls, five others of a higher order. These are at the seat of the schism or emigration in Chêh Kiang; at a place a day's journey from Shanghai in Kiang Su; in the Peking Palace; in the old Tartar capital of Shan Si; and in the western province of Sz Ch'wan.

Some of the Europeans who have visited the temple at Confucius' village have described the ceremonies and the worship, but it does not appear that any have actually seen them performed: at Shanghai, and perhaps at other of the treaty ports, foreigners have witnessed the local sacrifices, which are of course on a smaller scale; but in every instance the chief civil authority, accompanied by the military subordinates as well as his own, acts as a sort of high priest; but this term is not approved by Dr. Legge, whether applied to the Emperor or to others. A slow time dance, something after the fashion of our minuets, is performed by fifty youths, and meanwhile the six bands, each of six players, discourse shrill music. The airs are the same as those played in Confucius' time. The *suovetaurilia* and other symbolical offerings stand on tables between the incense vase flanked by two candles upon the altar and a roll of spotless white silk spread out upon the floor, the last ready for burning before the Sage's tablets, after the departure of the spirit. But the offerings are mere expressions of devotion, in no way intended as expiations of sin. The high priest arrives at dawn, and is supposed, as in ancestor worship, to have fasted and contemplated for three days. The adoration which I saw offered to the Emperor of Annam in the spring of 1893, with its hymns, kneelings, and knockings, seems to correspond in most particulars, with the exception of the dance, to the worship of Confucius. Accordingly, the fact that in China, and the states of her subordinate neighbours, the so-called worship is offered to the living as well as the dead points to a radical divergence of idea, and exemplifies once more that these ceremonies approach rather the Byzantine idea of lay adoration than the Christian sentiment of religious worship. Confucius was as far as possible from regarding himself as a prophet, not to say a god. In using the expression "Heaven gave birth to what virtue is in me," he distinctly recognises himself as a created being, and owing duty as such to a higher than himself. To a certain extent he considered himself to be an instrument or expounder of this higher being. No prayer is offered to Confucius, nor is his assistance sought in any way; and, as we have already shown, a Tartar dynasty 1,400 years ago prohibited the vulgar innovation, then being introduced by barren women, of seeking his mediation in their favour. Confucius is simply worshipped as one who codified learning; as a sort of re-embodiment of the Duke of Chow, civil founder of the first truly historical imperial dynasty, whose memory was worshipped in Confucius' time both at the imperial and ducal capitals, and whose tomb still lies near to that of Confucius. The worship offered to the Duke of Chow was simply a repetition of that which had always been offered to the *manes* of China's



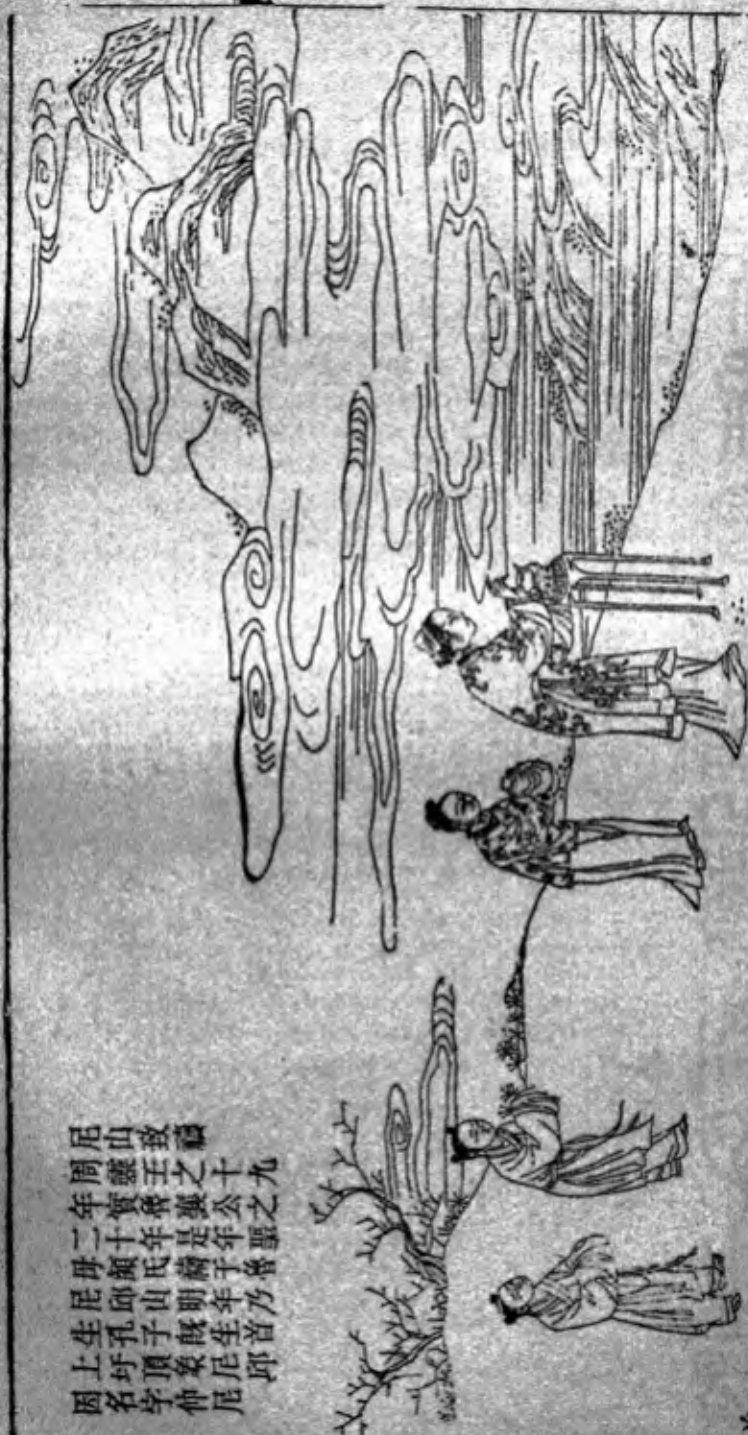
best Emperors, who were what Sir Henry Maine describes in ancient western history and law as simply the *Themistes* or Assessors of the Deity, whether called Zeus or Ti. Or the sacrifices may be regarded as being made to them as earliest inventors or founders. Thus, one is worshipped as the founder of agriculture, another as the discoverer of the silk-worm, and so on. When we come to think of the importance of writing in the world, we have less difficulty in revering Confucius as a discoverer of records and history.

Specimen of Confucius' Handwriting.

In the margin is a specimen of the handwriting of Confucius that has been retraced in later times. The following photo-lithographed facsimiles of eight pictures (out of 105) are taken from a quaint and rare Chinese book on Confucius, which belongs to Dr. G. W. Leitner, who has contributed them in illustration of this paper.

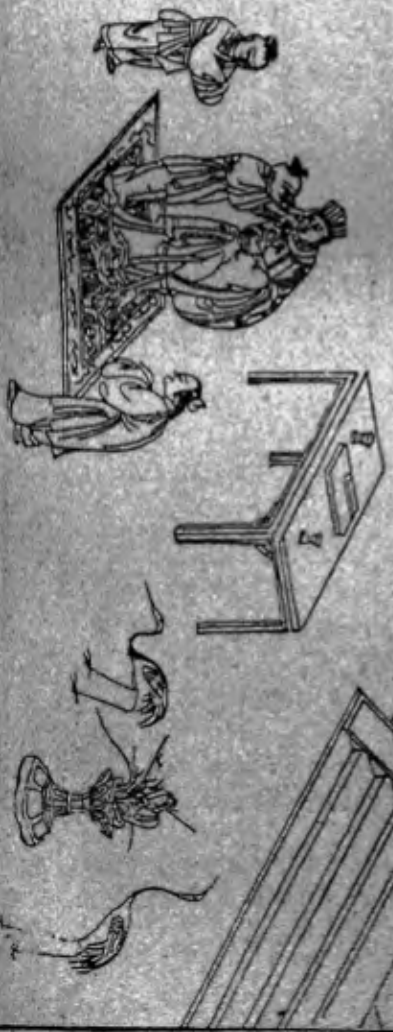
#### LIST OF SUBJOINED PICTURES.

1. The mother of Confucius prays at Mount Ni for a son. Confucius' forehead was like Mount Ni. Hence his name Ni, the Second.
2. Confucius as a lad playing at sacrificial services, and imbuing other boys with his spirit.
3. The Duke sends two carp as a present when Confucius' son (hence named "Carp") is born.
4. Confucius, accompanied by two young pupils of rank, visits the imperial capital, and seeks instruction on points of form from the mystic philosopher Lao-tsz (Lao-tsé).
5. Confucius orders the execution of a rich scoundrel.
6. The Duke of Ts'i sends a present of dancing-girls to the Duke of Lu, who falls into the trap and neglects duty.
7. A messenger from Lu statesmen induces Confucius to hasten back to his native land.
8. Confucius staggers to the door. Presentiment of death.



尼山致禱  
 周靈王之十  
 年實魯襄公之  
 母顏氏禱于魯  
 尼邱山明年乃  
 生孔子既生首  
 上圩頂象尼邱  
 因名字仲尼

祖豆禮容  
 孔于五六歲時  
 冠緇裳或常陳迎豆  
 設禮容與同獻豆  
 兒迺異蓋天植其  
 性不學而能也由  
 是嬰兒化效相與  
 掛號名聞列國





命孔子生於  
魯昭公十四  
年春西狩於  
野而作春秋  
故曰春秋  
字伯魚



敬



義誅正邪  
 晉定公十二年孔子  
 由大司寇攝行相事  
 七日誅亂政大夫少  
 正邪于兩楹之下于  
 賈問其故于曰天下  
 有大惡五竊盜不與  
 焉心逆而僥行僻而  
 堅言僞而辨記亂而  
 博顧非而澤五者有  
 一不免君子之誅少  
 正邪兼有之故不可  
 赦也





因騰去魯  
 齊人聞孔子為政，懼將霸，以遺魯君。魯君為周道遊，觀之，忘于故事。孔子隨不勝，遂行。

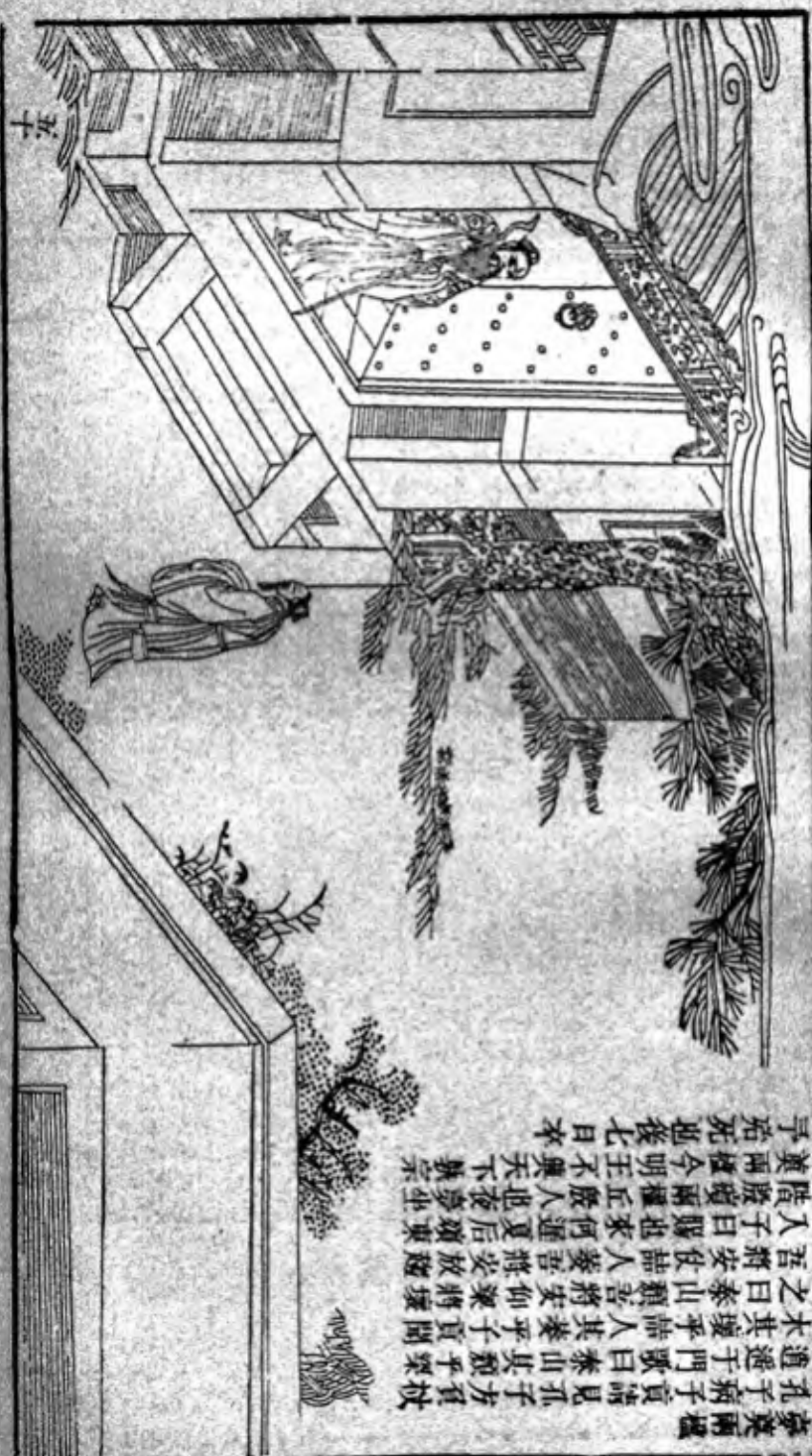


作歌邱陵  
孔子在衛季康子以幣迎歸魯作邱陵之歌曰登彼邱陵窈窕其坂任道在邇求之若遠逐逐不復自思連蹇嘒然四顧題彼泰山鬱確其高粱甫四邇相輔繼路陟之無緣將伐無柯患澁豈廷惟以咏嘆涕洟

源



夢英兩楹  
 孔子病子貢請見孔子方負杖  
 適過于門喟曰泰山其崩乎梁  
 木其壞乎誦人其萎乎子貢聞  
 之曰泰山其崩乎將安仰梁其壞  
 吾將安仗誦人其萎乎將安放趙  
 入子曰賜也來何遲夏后頌東  
 階廣峻兩楹丘殿人也夜夢坐  
 奠兩楹今明王不興天下執宗  
 子殆死也後七日卒





## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A meeting of the East India Association was held at the Westminster Town Hall on Monday, March 15th, 1897, to hear a paper by Dr. R. N. Cust, LL.D., Hon. Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, on "The treatment of natives of British India in Natal." Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Chairman of the Council of the Association, was in the chair. The meeting was well attended, the following among others being present: Mrs. and Miss Cust, Miss Jennings; Lord Stratheden; Sirs C. Lawson, P. Melville, H. Prendergast; Col. B. Hobart; Mr. W. Peace (Agent-General, Natal); Drs. T. H. Thornton, G. W. Leitner, J. C. Penny; Messrs. L. Probyn, R. Sewell, W. Coldstream, M. Wood, H. R. Cook, A. R. Hutchins, J. W. Kent, H. Palmer, H. F. Reece, R. Russell, M. Walhame, E. J. Challoner, Sewak Ram, T. J. Desai, B. L. Rai, A. K. Banerjee, M. Barkatulla, M. S. Bhagut, J. G. M. Bootee, M. Singh, B. H. Singh, H. B. Tayabji, P. Pillai, D. Rai, Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN then opened the meeting with the following remarks: Ladies and gentlemen, my first duty this afternoon is to express my regret at the absence, through indisposition, of Lord Reay, the President of the Association, who was very anxious to be present. The subject for discussion is one in which, having been so long Governor of Bombay, he takes an especial interest.

In opening these proceedings I would only desire to say that when this question was offered for discussion by this Association, it was thought by some that it would give rise to rather an acrimonious discussion, but on the other hand it was felt that an Association like this, which was so entirely concerned with the welfare of India and the interests of our fellow-subjects there, could not with any decency ignore a subject which had excited amongst them so much interest. (Hear, hear.) Consequently we invited Dr. Robert Cust to read a paper on the subject which there is no one more competent than him to do. He is well known to all who are connected not only with India, but with learning generally. He is a most distinguished modern philologist, and one who in India obtained as high a reputation as he chose to attain, by which I mean that he chose to leave India before he took those highest places which were his right, and which would undoubtedly have fallen to him. (Hear, hear.) There is no man who has been in the service of India who has ever lived a more learned and honourable life since his retirement, than the gentleman who is now going to lecture to you. I will now call upon Dr. Cust to be good enough to read his paper.

Dr. ROBERT N. CUST, LL.D., then read the paper which will be found elsewhere in this Review.

At its conclusion, the CHAIRMAN invited discussion which began by Dr. THORNTON asking whether Dr. Cust could state what was the nature of the reply given by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Deputation that made the representations that had been referred to.

Dr. CUST: The deputation was received by Mr. Chamberlain, and I am sorry to say it did not get a direct reply. It was rather in the nature

of what I may call putting off the matter, and I do not know whether the Laws have been disallowed. Perhaps Dr. Leitner knows.

Dr. LEITNER : He seemed to admit that there was a legitimate grievance, but clearly a matter in which the Home Government were very chary in interfering with Colonial Governments.

Dr. CUST : He wanted to put off the subject. That was two years ago, but now the time has come when India must act in order to stop the emigration.

Mr. MARTIN WOOD said the question was whether the Natal Act reducing the Indian franchise, would be disallowed, which should have been long ago. Mr. Chamberlain did not hold out any expectation that he would do so, but promised to look into the matter, and expressed his general sympathy with the appeals that were made to him. Recently in reply to some questions in the House, the Colonial Secretary, almost in so many words, expressed himself as helpless in the matter. He protested against this as an English Politician. In these days much was heard of Imperialism and Imperial sentiment, which he hoped was shared by all in one way or another, but it really came to be a question of where the dominant power of Imperialism lay. One would suppose it would be at the centre of things here, but it seemed from the answer of Mr. Chamberlain in the House and from his apparent inability to deal with the subject effectually that a good deal of it rested with the Colonies. It was a most inverted state of things that the power of the Empire should be relegated to its outlying portions. What would be said with regard to India itself? There had been certain indications of that spirit which Dr. Cust had referred to, that local dominant spirit, which had interfered with the impartial course that the Indian Government had pursued, but those attempts had been overruled time after time, and it was a question for English Politicians of all parties to consider whether these off-shoots of the British Empire, many of them consisting, as Dr. Cust had said, of men who were comparatively juniors, and, in the case of the Colonies, of little experience, should arrogate to themselves a position which was inconsistent with every proper principle, not only of British justice but of Imperial right and power. He was very glad that the East India Association had taken up the matter, and trusted that the Council would see its way to approach the authorities direct. Dr. Cust had confined himself to Natal and it was proper, no doubt, that the Council should confine itself to the British Colonies, but these abuses took place, as the Deputation showed, in the Transvaal and other places. That was more a matter of remonstrance with them, but with regard to our own Colonies, the Council and the public should take up the matter. He was well aware of the intense feeling which Dr. Cust had only glanced at in the Colonies, but surely British Politicians and Statesmen were men enough to deal with any refractory conduct of that kind. Dr. Cust had alluded in most telling terms to the claims that the Indians had as British citizens, and it became a matter of high political importance, quite apart from any feeling of the gross injustice and the indignities which were placed on people in their position. (Hear, hear.)

MOULVI RAFT'UDDIN :—I was rather surprised to hear from the chairman that the Council hesitated to take up this subject, because it would give rise to an "acrimonious" discussion. I do not think when such a paper as this is read, able, learned, and, in every way, sympathetic with the natives of India, that it should give rise to any acrimony. I have taken some interest in this question, as I trust every Indian has done, and I hope Anglo-Indians will do on this occasion. The point is not so much to show sympathy, but to find a remedy. I also waited upon Mr. Chamberlain on this question, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he would give any reply. He said that self-governing colonies were altogether independent in their legislation, and the tie so slender between the Imperial and the Colonial Governments, that it threatened to break at any moment, therefore he did not want to exercise any pressure; he might give independent advice, but he could not possibly exercise the veto of the Queen. Unless he does so, nothing can be effected, for when the Colonists are assured of the Colonial Office not exercising the Imperial Veto, they will pass any legislation that would benefit them, irrespective of the feelings of the people of India inhabiting Natal. What then are we going to do if Mr. Chamberlain or the Colonial Office does not exercise the right of veto? I do not think that there is any remedy. You might seek to influence public opinion, but, as I have seen, the influence of public opinion does not always go very much in favour of shaping the policy either of the India Office or the Colonial Office or the Foreign Office. We natives of India, as has been so ably demonstrated by the lecturer, have as good rights as you natives of England. I am rather surprised sometimes when people talk gravely about the rule of the Sultan or about the rule of President Krüger. It is no doubt true that the people of England are actuated by feelings of generosity and justice, but I am afraid the same thing cannot be said of their descendants in Natal or for that matter in the other Cape Colonies. Mr. Chamberlain says in Crown Colonies more authority would be exercised than in self-governing Colonies, but have we not a right to go to all parts of Her Majesty's Empire and be governed in the same way as other citizens of the Empire are governed? By what right is it that you call upon the people of India to defend the British Empire if it is not coming to their defence when in danger? It is the most wicked form of Government that could possibly be invented to treat natives of India, in spite of all the rights given to them in the Queen's Proclamation, even worse than natives of Africa. The lecturer has demonstrated that we are in no way wanting in civilization; we are not incapable mentally, morally, and even physically. How is it, then, that the Imperial Government represented by the Colonial Office does not take the part of the people of India in Natal? Many of you remember that in the Australian Colonies a law was passed legalising marriages with deceased wife's sisters. Here, the Imperial Government says, that we do not recognise it. At any rate the Colonies have done that. If one could not control the self-governing Colonies in that matter, one might, at any rate, have said that one would not be any party to such legislation. So far from the present subject being a foreign subject to this Association, it is the duty of this Association which



pretends or professes to take up the cause of India, to come forward on such occasions in order to show to the people of India that the Association is a representative of the people of India, and unless this Association takes up such a course, in my opinion it would not be worthy of its name. I do hope that subsequent speakers will take up other parts of the lecture, but I would certainly call upon this Association to do its duty in this matter. Generosity and justice are always to be found in the administration of the laws by England, and we as natives of India, ask for nothing more than for you to come forward and defend those rights which the people of England have given us. (Applause.)

Dr. LEITNER said a proof that the Association were not averse to taking up the subject was the fact that they were at this very moment discussing it; so they *had* taken it up. He had no doubt that what took place at this meeting would be carefully and respectfully considered by the Council of the Association. Moulvi Rafi'uddin had said some good things, but he had pointed out that there was nothing to be done except stirring up public opinion which was ineffectual to influence the Colonial, India, and Foreign Offices. Representations to the Government itself seemed to fail in their object, but, in this particular case, he thought that there was a very real prospect of success. An ex-Colonial Governor had told him that the solution of the difficulty consisted in the sensible proposal made by Dr. Cust himself. The only way of bringing the colonists to their senses was for the Indian Government to prohibit the emigration of Indians till a better treatment for them could be secured. *That* was a ground on which the Council might approach the Colonial Office with a memorial or take such other steps as they thought fit in a good cause. It might appear strange that with Imperialism all the fashion we did not interfere in the self-governing Colonies, but even Moulvi Rafi'uddin's own instance told against him, for interfering in the Australian legislation regarding a deceased wife's sister would certainly appear objectionable even to uncompromising Imperialists. It must, however, not be forgotten that it was not so much Natal that was the sinner in the matter of the Indians. Indeed, it was probable that Natal would be the first colony to be converted to their better treatment, for they *wanted* the Indians, though not so much as, e.g. Uganda, whose able chief, Sir Harry Johnstone, was such an advocate for their importation on the best of terms (hear, hear). A member of the Natal Government had published a statement of the whole of the labour question in that Colony, and there seemed every prospect of a *modus vivendi*, so far as our cause was concerned, for negotiations were going on between the Governments concerned and it was only necessary for the Indian Government to take up the attitude suggested by Dr. Cust and for the Association to memorialize it in that sense (hear, hear). As Dr. Cust had said not only was the native Indian equal to the white class, but in self-control and in cleanliness, the Indian labourer, whether Sikh, Hindu or Mussulman, was a gentleman. (Applause.) From centuries of past civilisation he had an inherited culture which any vicissitudes did not seem sufficiently strong to eradicate, and speaking from personal knowledge of the different classes of peasants he might say that it

would be a great blessing if that veneration for the Deity, for the rights and feelings of others and for the claims of relatives were as strong or deep in the country-place he lived in, though within the immediate range of the civilization of London, as he had found it in the remotest villages of India. (Hear, Hear.). Complaints about native filthiness came rather from the Transvaal where they were relegated in many instances to huts of such small dimensions that cleanliness was an impossibility under the circumstances. But the meeting was not dealing with the Transvaal and rightly not dealing with the Transvaal. We should first get rid of our own sins in the matter. Dr. Cust had given us a good example that should be followed. At the end of an active official career Dr. Cust had, since his retirement, taken an important part in philanthropic movements in this country. He did not know many charitable or Literary Societies dealing with the East that did not count Dr. Cust among their supporters. He trusted that Anglo-Indians would ever be open to appeals on behalf of the country with which their labours had been identified, and that if the Council acted in the matter it would find that its own body of Anglo-Indians would come forward in quite an enthusiastic and, perhaps in the practical manner, that had been suggested. He hoped that among the successes of the Society would be counted some improvement in the condition of the Natives of India who had elected to remain in Natal, to their preservation from anything like oppression (which was much rarer in Natal than in other Colonies) and the removal of the new legislative inability of those that had hitherto been "qualified" by property and education. They were only admissible in future to the franchise by a special permission, in each case, of the Governor, the franchise thus becoming a favour rather than a right in "qualified" cases. (Hear, Hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: There are a good many gentlemen here to-day who are eminently qualified to speak on this subject. I do not know if any one of them will be kind enough to oblige us, such as Sir Charles Lawson, Lord Stratheden, Sir Philip Melville or General Prendergast. If any of these gentlemen would be kind enough to say a few words we should be exceedingly pleased to hear him.

The gentlemen mentioned not responding—COLONEL BERTIE HOBART said in default of anybody really acquainted with the subject and well qualified to support the Government view, coming forward he would ask to be permitted to say a few words. He had great sympathies with the natives of India but was averse to interfering with one of our Colonial Governments. It must be obvious to everybody connected with India how carefully public opinion and the House of Commons were steered from interference with the Government of India which had the best interests of the Native at heart. No doubt it would be well to put some pressure by deputations and expressions of views to the Secretary of State for the Colonies so as to protect the natives of India from any feeling of degradation while they were serving in Natal and from being deprived of the liberty which had hitherto been granted to them of settling in the Colonies and becoming free citizens with the advantage of being able to give their labour in any form they liked. Growing in riches, they might entitle themselves

to the franchise but he did not think it was for the people of this country to call upon the Government of Natal to lower the franchise or in any other way to allow the natives of India or any other Natives the franchise. Natives of China were opposed in the United States for fear they should become a preponderating influence in the Legislature. He really thought it was not right that the Government of Natal should be pressed with anything but a general hope that they would give conscientious freedom to all the natives who might be under their control. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN : I do not rise in order to in any way bring to a termination a discussion which others may wish to continue, but simply that having the honour to take the chair when my friend was delivering his paper, I did not wish to leave without saying a few words, and as I have to attend a meeting in Bedfordshire I will, with your permission, do so at once. I think from the clever and trenchant remarks that we have heard this afternoon, it will at once be evidenced to everyone here who is unprejudiced that this question has two sides to it. I do not think in the first place that we can accuse the Colonial Office of being indifferent to the interests of Indians in this matter. By the kindness of the Colonial Secretary I have been able to read the correspondence which has taken place with his office, both with the Government of the Transvaal and that of Natal and I should like to read one or two sentences from Mr. Chamberlain's last letter in order that everyone may see the attitude which that distinguished statesman has taken with reference to the matter. Now I quite agree with the Lecturer that it is no use taking up to-day the question of the Transvaal. We cannot get justice in the Transvaal for our own people and we must leave the question of the rights and wrongs of Indian emigrants there for the moment. That should not be forgotten but it is no use moving just at present, I consequently only referred to the Transvaal in order to read one paragraph from a letter which was written synchronously with a letter to Natal about the franchise, and in this Mr. Chamberlain writing about the Transvaal says "I regret extremely that I cannot return a more encouraging answer to the memorial. I believe the petitioners to be a peaceable, law-abiding, meritorious body of persons and I can only hope that even as matters stand their undoubted industry and intelligence and their indomitable perseverance will finally overcome any obstacles which may now face them in the pursuit of their avocations." He also says "In conclusion while desirous loyally to abide by the award and to allow it to close the legal questions in dispute between the two Governments I reserve to myself the power to make friendly representations to the South African Republic as to its treaties and possibly to invite that Government to consider whether when once its legal position has been made good, it would not be wise to review the situation from a new point of view and decide whether it would not be better in the interests of its own Burghers to treat the Indians more generously and to free itself from even the appearance of countenancing the trade jealousy which I have some reason to believe does not emanate from the Governing power in the Republic."

Then with regard to Natal you will remember that in 1895 the law as then amended excluded from the franchise all Natives of India.



A VOICE :—That is not quite correct.

The CHAIRMAN :— It excluded from the future franchise all Natives of India.

A VOICE :—That is not correct. There is no such law in Natal.

The CHAIRMAN :—Will you kindly allow me to make my statement, and then you shall correct me. I am reading from Mr. Chamberlain's own letter. The Bill as sent to Her Majesty's Government for sanction, but which was vetoed by the Colonial Office, provides that no Asiatics save those whose names are contained in any roll in force (hear, hear) shall be qualified to have their names inserted in any list of Electors or in any future roll or to vote in any election of Members for the Assembly. This Bill which was submitted for sanction was not approved. Mr. Chamberlain said "Your Ministers will not be unprepared to learn that a measure of this sweeping nature is regarded by Her Majesty's Government as open to the very gravest objection. It draws no distinction between aliens and subjects of Her Majesty or between the most ignorant and most enlightened of the Natives of India. I need not remind you that among the latter class there are to be found gentlemen whose position and attainments fully qualify them for all the duties and privileges of citizenship" (hear, hear) "and you must be aware that in two cases within the last few years the Electors of important constituencies in this country have considered Indian gentlemen worthy not merely to exercise the franchise, but to represent them in the House of Commons." (Hear, hear.) For these reasons (and I am not wishing to criticise the conduct of the Natal Government in any way) this Bill as put before the Colonial Secretary was not accepted, and certain amendments were introduced into a new Bill which did satisfy the Colonial Secretary because it contained the proviso that Natives of India might be elected to the franchise if they should first obtain an order from the Governor General in Council exempting them from the operation of the Act. Well, gentlemen, I am not going to criticise these particular laws, but I have only read this to show you that the policy of the Colonial Secretary towards the Natives of India is entirely friendly and favourable. No one who is at all acquainted not only with this question in South Africa but all over the world—in the United States, in Australia and elsewhere—will fail to understand that action can only be of the most tentative and cautious character. It divides itself entirely into two parts, first there is the question of the franchise, and you cannot persuade the Colonists of Natal, and you never will persuade them to admit freely and thoroughly to the franchise, a body of men who in a short space of time which can be really prophetically stated as within 20 or 30 or 50 years will undoubtedly develop to such an extent as to absolutely swamp the white population. Moulvi Rafi'uddin has spoken very warmly of the connection between the Colonial office and the Colonies of the Queen, but those relations are notorious to the whole world and will not be influenced by speeches in this room. (Hear, hear.) We know entirely what the relations between Her Majesty's Government and her Colonies are and the deliberate opinion of this country as stated by Colonel Hobart with considerable force, which is that they are and they will remain lightly and slenderly attached to the

mother-country which does not attempt in internal matters to interfere with them any more than the British Government in India attempts to interfere with the internal Government of the Native States. There is no question of it at all, and now that all Natives of wealth, position and intelligence are under this new law which is now in force in Natal permitted to exercise the franchise, I think that the bitterest and worst part of the grievance as regards the franchise is removed. (Hear, hear.) There is, however, a point of real grievance which I think this Association should attempt, so far as its power goes, to remedy either by approaching the Secretary of State or in any other way which it thinks fit, that is, the disabilities on labour whatever they may be, and to try by representing to the Colonists which surely may be done in some authoritative way, that these men whom they choose to despise, may fairly be considered as amongst Her Majesty's most estimable citizens. Surely this can be done in some way, and public opinion made to a certain extent effective. I would only say one more thing. Everyone who really knows anything of these matters is aware that the whole question is one of labour and the price of labour. With the Colonists, or the inhabitants of any country, whether it be the United States, where they have the Chinese, or Australia as regards both the Chinese and the Indians, or the East African Coast, it is all a question of low priced labour ousting high priced labour, and none of those who are ousted by the cheap labour like it, and you cannot expect them to like it. That will remain to the end of the chapter, and where they have the power they will doubtless use it. But I think that the Colonial Office and public opinion which this Association in the interests of the Indians must try to influence can do something, and what it can do, that I pledge the Association to do on behalf of the natives of India. (Applause.) I had invited Mr. Rhodes to attend this afternoon, and I think he would have done so if he had been in the country because this is a question upon which of all others he could speak best. There are parts of South Africa where the native Indians can be employed with far better advantage than in lowering prices in Natal. There are enormous tracts of South Africa which can only be developed with his assistance or with the assistance of Asiatics of equal calibre with them. There are none so good and there are none who will be so valuable under good regulations to develop South Africa. The future of South Africa depends very largely on the emigration of Indians, and I do most earnestly trust that some serious effort will be made by the Government of India and the Colonial Office to pass regulations that can be worked without the abuses which are now complained of. (Applause.)

Mr. W. PEACE (Agent General for Natal) denied *in toto* the statement that the future of South Africa depended to a large extent on the future emigration of Indians into South Africa. From a long experience of South Africa he knew the Indians, and their good qualities; he had found them very good servants, and some of them very good friends. He challenged the lecturer's right to speak as to the conditions under which Indians lived at the Cape, and denied that they were not well treated. Thousands upon thousands of Indians had been introduced into Natal at the cost of the

Colonies, with free passages, guaranteed good wages, a Protector specially appointed to look after them, a hospital provided when they were sick, and a free passage back when they wanted to go home. How many thousands of English working men would jump at such a chance, and it must be remembered that the wages and food given to them were altogether superior to what they would receive in India. He denied that the natives of India required protection from the philanthropic societies in England. Surely at a time like this when Mr. Chamberlain's hands were so full of a complexity of difficulties such as no other Secretary of State for the Colonies had had to encounter, the Association would hesitate before adding to his troubles, though Mr. Chamberlain was perfectly able to take care of himself. With regard to the franchise all who could satisfy the Governor in Council that they were qualified to exercise the franchise intelligently were admitted to it, and that meeting ought to be careful before letting the idea go forth that there was anything like ill-treatment of British Indians in South Africa. He confined his remarks entirely to Natal, where there had been many Indians who had displaced a great number of white men from avocations in which they earned their living. He did not know that that was a bad thing for the colony; certainly it was not a bad thing for the Indians, and it would not be a bad thing for the Europeans who were displaced if it stimulated their enterprise, but they could not expect the men who were displaced either in the field of labour or in other spheres, to relish the process. If the same process went on in this country as occurred in Natal six weeks ago, and steamers full of Indians arrived ready to underbid the British workman in his labour, it would be pretty certain there would be some trouble in London. They would not argue about the rights of the question. Self-preservation was the first law. As for the prophecy which the Chairman had made that the Indians would swarm over the country and become the dominant race—

The CHAIRMAN denied he had ever made such a statement. What he had said was, the Indians would be very largely employed to develop those parts of South Africa which were not suited for European settlements. It was absurd to say they would become the dominant race.

Mr. PEACE was sorry he had mistaken the Chairman's remarks, and withdrew his statement. He would conclude by asking the Association to stay its hand for the reason that it had not got sufficient information on which an enlightened public opinion could be formed on the question. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. CUST expressed his regret that the last speaker had not a copy of his paper, as he would then have been able to deal more in detail with the subject. The Association wanted the matter fully discussed. They had no pecuniary interest in the matter; they were not colonists, but desired to look at the matter from an independent point of view. Their interest was the benefit of the human race, and the people of India especially. (Hear, hear.) They would also recollect that the colonists were not the ancient inhabitants of Natal as the Indians were of India. He remembered hearing from his brother, an officer at the Cape of Good Hope, of Natal being



occupied on a certain Christmas Day, 1838. That was why it was called Natal.

Mr. PEACE : This was 400 years ago. Natal has been built up by British enterprise.

Dr. CUST, continuing, said Mr. Peace must be alluding to some other event, because he well remembered Natal being occupied. A brother of his in the regiment was sent off by Sir George Napier when the Boers trecked to cross the Vaal River, and it was feared they would occupy Natal, and the regiment was sent by night about Christmas time to occupy Natal, and when the Boers went to take it they found we had already done so.

Mr. LESLEY PROBYN here took the chair.

Mr. PILLAI said he represented the people of Madras, who took a very keen interest in this subject. It was a matter affecting 300 millions of Her Majesty's subjects, including subjects of the Native States. It was a very serious question, not to say a dangerous one, and he hoped that some steps would be taken without any delay to remedy what he could only describe as an intolerable grievance.

The CHAIRMAN regretted Sir Lepel Griffin had had to leave before the conclusion of the meeting. He was sure they would all join in offering their best thanks to Dr. Cust for the very interesting paper which he had read, and which had given rise to such a warm discussion. (Applause.)

Dr. CUST having returned thanks, the proceedings terminated.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS.

## "THE 60TH YEAR OF THE VICTORIAN ERA."

Whilst I regret the introduction of the words "Diamond Jubilee," as barring the use of "Jubilee" for a future occasion when, as we all hope, Her Majesty's still longer reign may be commemorated, I believe that the simple statement of fact that the present year 1897 A.D. is "the 60th Victorian Year" or "the 60th year of the Victorian Era" is its most accurate as well as its most excellent description, till, as Her Majesty's Indian subjects pray, the celebration of the 70th or a still later Victorian year, assigns the current one into a historical place. The designation, which I suggest, increases in significance with every year, is itself its truest homage, and like the word "Victoria," to use an Oriental phrase, is always an "ism ba musamma" or "name that proves its praise." The use of "record" reign is inadmissible, because of the modern special application of the term, though History may yet "record" many more achievements in the present illustrious Era. To India, Her Majesty's second gift of £500 is a spontaneous thought of the Mother of her famine-stricken people following on the exercise of the Sovereign's bounty, and will be so appreciated in a country where the Government is described as "MĀ-BĀP" or "a mother and a father," in order to show its duties in their tender and severe, but just, aspects respectively.

THE ORIGINATOR OF THE TITLE: "KAISAR-I-HIND."

PROPOSED COMMEMORATION AT THE ORIENTAL  
INSTITUTE, WOKING.

In commemoration of Her Majesty's 60th year of reign, Dr. G. W. Leitner has, at his own expense, engaged the distinguished sculptor Signor Norfini, to model, from photographs or portraits, a series of busts of Indian Chiefs and others who have promoted Oriental learning, to be presented to a "Commemoration Gallery" at the Oriental Institute at Woking, where there are already busts of celebrities that have adorned, or that now adorn, the Victorian Era. The following works have so far been taken in hand: For the Bengal Presidency: H.H. the veteran Raja of Nabha represents the Sikh chivalry of the Panjab and their support of the Panjab University movement; for the Bombay Presidency: H.H. the Gaekwar of Baroda is a patron of Anglo-Oriental education and in the Madras Satrapy, H.H. the Maharaja of Vizianagram is typical of Sanscrit scholarship and of liberal encouragement given to it. Muhammadan Chiefs and Scholars, whose religion objects to delineation by sculpture, will be represented by their published works and other emblems of their learned activity. Among European practical Orientalists, there are the busts of the late Dr. W. H. Bellew and that of Sir Donald McLeod (in progress), whilst the learned Mentor of Bhaunagar statesmanship, Pandit Gauri Shankar, is already delineated. A bust of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales

by the eminent English sculptor, John Adams Acton, and one of Her Majesty in the year of Her accession, preside, as it were, over the gallery in progress, and Dr. Leitner also proposes to present a Statue of the Queen-Empress, as Kaisar-i-Hind, to the town of Woking, where he resides.

### "THE INDIAN CALENDAR."

(By R. Sewell and S. B. Dikshit with Tables of Solar Eclipses by Dr. Schram.)

IN our last July number (pages 212-13) we attempted a review of Messrs. R. Sewell and S. B. Dikshit's monumental work on "The Indian Calendar" and endeavoured to show its importance to every official, scholar and merchant connected with the East. We then expressed a hope that we might yet give the work the ample review that it deserved.

We have now received, through Dr. Cust, an account by Mr. Sewell himself, written in order to satisfy the learned curiosity of the former as to *how* this *magnum opus* was accomplished, but without the remotest intention by the writer that it should be published. Dr. Cust, however, rightly deemed that the cause of research would be advanced by showing how Mr. Sewell had surmounted the difficulties in his way and we, finally, obtained the permission of Mr. Sewell to publish a private letter, the unconventional style of which is an additional attraction to the sober chronicle of his important achievement.—*Ed.*

[*Rough note by Mr. R. Sewell, showing why the work was undertaken and how it was carried through.*]

I was placed on Archæological duty in 1881. in the Southern Presidency, and set to work to frame lists of antiquities, as directed by Government. But I resolved to do more if I could. The following were necessarily wanted :

(a) Lists of antiquities so prepared that in any district any resident or visitors could ascertain what there was worth examining in the neighbourhood ; how he could get to the place, and where the place was ; a summary of what had already been published about each, with references to volume and page, etc. ; and a slight outline sketch of the history of that district from earliest known times. This was done in Vol. I. of the *Madras Lists of Antiquities*.

(b) But supposing an inscription was to be examined it would be valuable for the student to know, if the grant was a royal grant or mentioned the name of the reigning sovereign, where other grants of the same sovereign were to be found, for purposes of comparison both as to date and the palæography of the inscription. (Is the character similar? etc.) This is now part of the same work, Vol. II.

(c) Also, it would be very interesting for palæographic study to have a complete list, so far as it could be arranged, of all inscriptions in chronological order, which would enable a man to trace the changes of character from year to year, if so disposed. (Done in Vol. II.)



(d) I examined all the copper-plate inscriptions I could lay my hands on, and gave a brief account of them. (Vol. II. also.)

But there remained two very important bits of work that were in no sense required of me by Government. They were :

I. To write as complete an account as possible, and as scientifically as possible, of the different dynasties, so that my supposed student could have ready to hand all necessary information about the sovereign mentioned in the grant. This is done in my *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern-India*, published also in Vol. II., with genealogical tables, and all the information I could get together. It was a very heavy business, and was no part of my official duty, but I thought it necessary.

II. The final desideratum was that the inquirer should be able to convert the Indian date into its corresponding English date. I could not get this work carried out in time for embodiment in Vol. II., so that the volume appeared without any chronological tables.

But I published a small set of tables of corresponding years in 1881, giving only the years. That was something, but it was clear that a great deal more was wanted. I was terribly hard-worked officially, and could not devote to the subject the time necessary, but I communicated my ideas to W. S. Krishnasami Naidu, a good chronologist, who came to consult me about a set of tables he was anxious to prepare for the use of the Law-Courts. Together we incubated the system which, at last, after his death, I was enabled to publish in his *South-Indian Chronological Tables*. The work done on this was immense, as every date was separately calculated. He did the work and left the results roughly tabulated. I put them together in proper form for printing, and published them, as before said, in 1889. I induced Government, however, to print only 50 copies, because I could not feel certain of the accuracy of K. N.'s work, and wanted the tables fully tested before final issue.

The copies were sent to various chronologists in Europe, but I received little help, as no one could find time to examine them thoroughly. Some valuable criticism, however, was received from Dr. Burgess, Dr. Fleet and others, and I made up my mind pretty soon that the tables would not do as a final and authoritative Government publication. No further copies, therefore, were printed.

Meanwhile had appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* the tables of Dr. Schram (based on the "Ahargana") and Prof. Jacobi. The latter's tables enabled anyone, with care, to determine a date. But I thought it necessary to go somewhat beyond this for practical use in Courts by establishing the exact moment of beginning of one day for each year, and naturally selected the initial day of the year, from which all others could be measured.

Government promised to publish the new tables if I would work them out, but this was not settled till 1893. Early in that year I began. I worked from Prof. Jacobi's tables, and finally calculated all the dates and figures now published in columns 1 to 5, and 19 to end of Table I. of the present volume.

Then I started on the very important work of ascertaining the real inter-

calated and suppressed months in each luni-solar year, of which various lists, never quite agreeing with one another, had appeared,—the work of different writers.

For the former (initial dates of the luni-solar year) it was necessary to determine, for the meridian of Ujjain, at mean sunrise on the morning of the new-moon day next following the sun's entrance into Aries ("the first point of Aries" in European astronomy), in each year for the period taken (1600 years)—(a) the eastward distance of the moon from the sun in mean longitude, (b) the moon's mean anomaly, (c) the sun's mean anomaly (see Art. 102, p. 56)—all given in the simple form adopted by Prof. Jacobi, where a lunation is divided into 10,000 parts, and each part is taken as a unit—such unit being equal to about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  minutes.

These figures are given in columns 23-25. Column 19 gives the day following that new moon in English reckoning, and therefore the day corresponding to the beginning of the Hindu luni-solar year.

Now for the latter (the proper intercalated and suppressed months) it was necessary to calculate for each year the exact moments of the sun's passing into the different signs of the zodiac (which passing the Hindus call a "sankranti")—but without going into detailed explanation here see Art. 79, p. 49, of the new volume. This was another very laborious undertaking.

Halfway through this I had the good fortune to secure the willing help of Sankara B. Dikshit, and together we have worked to the end. The letterpress is mostly his,—partly mine.

About 10,000 separate calculations had to be made, besides the information given in columns 1-7, for Table I alone. The other Tables speak for themselves.

In brief our work in this volume enables a man now by a purely mechanical process, with no special knowledge (only a little care), to decide in about ten minutes by his own fireside all the astronomical particulars necessary to prove the genuineness or falsity of any date given in an inscription or document all over India, and to fix the exact European day corresponding to the given Hindu or Muhammadan day.

Before this volume appeared the information could only be obtained after months of delay and correspondence, because of the necessity that existed for the carrying out, by a trained astronomer, of special and separate calculations for each date in question. (Jacobi's tables did away with this necessity equally with ours, except that they were only published in the columns of a scientific journal, the *Indian Antiquary* and *Epigraphia Indica*, and were not generally available. Roughly speaking, Jacobi pointed out how it would be possible to make calculations, and we actually made all the calculations necessary.)

An inscription often mentions the Nakshatra and Yoga (pp. 38, 3), and an eclipse of sun or moon. If all these data are found to agree with the given date, it may almost certainly be assumed that that date is accurate,—which goes far to prove the document to be genuine. Our tables enable the Nakshatra and Yoga to be fixed in about one minute, after the date is ascertained.

And for the eclipses we have :

- (1) Dr. Schram's excellent tables, now for the first time prepared for India. These enable one to determine, in three or four minutes, whether an eclipse of the sun occurred at all that day—whether it was visible at the place in question—what was the amount of the solar disk obscured—and the exact moment of its greatest phase. No words can say how deeply I appreciate all his kindness in the matter.
- (2) For lunar eclipses, the tables on which I am now engaged, and which I hope to publish separately, afterwards embodying them in a second edition.

Finally we have gone, as fully and carefully as possible, into all the difficult and intricate questions of Hindu chronology, and modes of reckoning—and explained their origin, and astronomic basis. Wherever necessary we have enabled calculations by the *Sūrya Siddhānta* to be converted into calculations by the *Ārya Siddhānta*, and have given tables to show how these vary. And in an appendix we have given tables for the finding of Jupiter's mean and apparent longitude on any day (pp. 155 to end), which it is necessary to find for the purpose of reckoning years according to the "twelve-year cycle of Jupiter" (p. 37).

The data given have been tested in all kinds of ways, and I have little doubt now as to their accuracy. If improvements suggest themselves (and already I perceive one or two), I hope to embody them in a second edition.

#### "A NEGLECTED LITERARY FIELD."

The question raised by "Civillian" in your last issue is, in my opinion, one of great importance, not only from a literary, but more especially from an educational point of view. Beyond acquiring a general idea of the History of India as a whole, the lads in Indian schools and colleges have no opportunity of learning any details of the history of that part of the country in which they were born, and which may possibly have been as distinct from the rest of India as England, for instance, is from Russia. In our own schools we should not think of limiting a boy's historical knowledge to a general history of Europe only, but this is the course we follow in India. A boy educated in Poona learns nothing more of the history of the great Mahratta nation than he can pick up from Mill, Marshman, Elphinstone or Wheeler. It is the same with a Bangalore boy, although for the instruction of both there exist such admirable histories as those of Grant Duff and Wilks. With all due respect, I do not think that Mr. Irvine's plan of taking periods quite meets the want. Studies of this kind can only command a limited field and will be of interest only to advanced scholars. I admit the difficulty which Mr. Irvine points out of separating the different provinces, but surely an ethnographical classification would be possible. But this is a matter of detail which could easily be settled after due discussion, if only the necessity of local histories were once acknowledged. Mr. Beames' suggestion of an "Indian Historical Research Society" is, I think, a very happy one,



and it would be by no means difficult for such a body to decide how the vast Indian Peninsula should be divided for the purpose of local histories. Probably there are not many new materials available, but what we want is to clear the huge jungle of Indian history, with its rapidly-shifting scenes, and its strange uncouth names, and to divide it into separate clearings, each as it were in a ring fence of its own. Take for instance Tod. It is a perfect mine of wealth as regards material, but how many persons have read the two volumes through, and how many of these have retained anything like a clear knowledge of Rajasthan history after having done so? Mr. Irvine and Mr. Beames both allude to the difficulty of publication, and all of us who have attempted anything of the kind know to our cost how little profit is to be gained from such a venture. But it seems to me that if a systematic attempt were made by a Society of the kind as proposed by Mr. Beames, there would be a possibility of the books being made profitable to publishers as well as to authors. If once the educational authorities could be made to admit the necessity of local histories, and they could be produced in anything like a cheap and popular form, they would find a ready and constant sale as class and text books, and more expensive editions could be used as prizes. Here is a matter in which the Society might well ask for the assistance of the Government.

There is another matter in which a Society of this kind would be of the greatest use to the members, and that is in mutual help and criticism. The latter is what we all especially are in need of, and it is exactly what we do not get. Speaking for myself and with reference to my recent attempt to localise Deccan History, though I have received many notices of my book all more or less favourable, I cannot help feeling a shrewd suspicion that the majority of the writers read little or nothing more of the book than the preface. The ordinary English critic has not the time or the inclination to read a book on Indian history, of which probably he knows next to nothing; members, however, of a Historical Research Society would have different tastes, and I am sure all of us would gladly welcome intelligent criticism made in a kindly spirit. For instance, Mr. Irvine says that in some of my concluding chapters there are statements it would be his duty to challenge. I shall be only too much obliged to him if he will do so either in your columns or elsewhere, for I am anxious to know where I am wrong, and shall welcome correction from so high a historical authority.

J. D. B. GRIBBLE.

Secunderabad, *January 13, 1897.*

#### THE NATAL AGENT-GENERAL ON DR. CUST'S PAPER.

"Without discrediting Dr. Cust's motives, my judgment, as one who knows by personal experience the beneficial conditions which Indian subjects enjoy in Natal, is, that just in proportion as Dr. Cust might get support for the general opinions he has expressed in his Paper, so he would probably injure those whom he wishes to befriend.

"There is absolutely no room for any outside influence to produce any

good effect in this matter, which is having careful consideration by the various Governments concerned.

"As I had not seen or heard Dr. Cust's Paper, when I joined in the discussion at the meeting of the East India Association on Monday last, I shall be glad if you will publish this letter.

"WALTER PEACE,  
"Agent General."

17th March 1897.

#### THE GOLDFIELDS IN CELEBES.

We have received from one of the Dutch pioneers in the discovery of the Diamond fields in South Africa, the true history of which has yet to be written, an apparently well-supported statement regarding the existence of "paying alluvial and native goldfields in Celebes," a healthy island, where large concessions of likely land may be obtained on the payment of a mere trifle to the native Chief concerned and to the Dutch Government. Certainly the Malay inhabitants of Celebes have always paid certain taxes in gold-dust, but they seem to be averse to mining and tunneling. Satisfactory experiments have already been made at Hamburg on several tons of quartz supplied from auriferous reefs in Celebes and a Dutch firm seems anxious to send out prospectors, but our correspondent, who offers to give every information yet not to publish his name, believes that the whole question can only be quickly, properly and thoroughly dealt with by British enterprise and he, therefore, suggests the formation of a British Syndicate in this country. We can only refer him to Mr. Rhodes and Colleagues who may soon be available for such "safe investments," for even diamonds, copper, silver and petroleum, not to speak of coal, are thrown in as among the probable "finds" of the new Eldorado.

#### AFGHANISTAN, CHITRÁL AND THE KAFIRS.

We reserve to our next issue our reply to the falsification of history that is being attempted by interested persons in justification of the surrender of Kafiristan to Afghanistan. It is alleged, *inter alia*, in a paragraph quoted by the *Times* that since the Afghan annexation the Kafir raids on Chitrál had ceased. Now we have a report in our possession written by a native explorer in our employ in 1873 who made his way over Swat and the Lowarai Pass into Chitrál, and describes at length how his party were only molested by Bashgali Káfirs at the compulsion of the then Mehtar of Chitrál, Aman-ul-Mulk, and how on leaving Chitrál, where the inhabitants of every third house had been sold into slavery, the Mehtar sought to prevent their travelling into Badakhshan through independent Kafir territory, lest they should *not* be plundered for his benefit, and thus his revenue suffer. "To make assurance doubly sure," however, we are just bringing out the Ethnographical Dialogues compiled in Chitráli and Persian by the late Mehtar Nizám-ul-Mulk in which the traveller is warned not to take a Chitráli with him into Kafiristan proper, if he wishes to escape being killed or plundered, the former being done by Káfirs hostile to Chitrál, and the other by subject Káfirs, an unaccompanied traveller being safe throughout generous and jovial Kafiristan. Officials from Chitrál, of course, like Dr. Robertson, have always been perfectly safe. The assertion also made in Dr. (now Sir)

G. Robertson's book, as to the prevalence of small-pox in that country, when it had only recently reached the border of Bashgal owing to contamination with Chitrál, has now been fully disproved by the Amir ordering all those Kafirs to be vaccinated that are to be deported from their fatherland, for, out of it, they almost invariably caught small-pox, from which they were free at home. Indeed, the whole of Dardistan was also free from syphilis, cholera and Rinderpest before our invasion of it with European and Indian troops.

#### PROFESSOR VAMBERY ON THE SULTAN.

Professor Vambéry, if correctly reported in the leading article of the *Événement* of the 10th ultimo., maintains that the Sultan, whom he would otherwise consign to the tutelage of the European Powers, is the spiritual head of all Mussulmans. The words attributed to him by the interviewer are textually: "In his capacity as 'sub-lieutenant' of God, the Commander of the faithful, has a unique position in the world—infinately superior to that of the Pope. He is not only the secular master of his Empire, he is also, above all, the uncontested spiritual Chief of the whole of Islám. Veneration for his august person is a dogma." A greater misrepresentation has never been made, and I hope that Prof. Vambéry will hasten to repudiate it. There is no Pontificate in Islám. The Sultan, like your Queen, is "the Defender of the Faith," but that does not imply that either is a spiritual Head like the Pope or higher than the Pope. Your *Revue* has defended the claims of the Sultan to a *de facto* Khalifate among Sunnis, principally of the Hanefi School, but neither the Persians nor Shiah elsewhere, nor the Moroccans, nor the bulk of the Arabs and of Muhammadan Africans, although Sunnis, admit it. A pamphlet has just been issued by some of the professors of the celebrated Muhammadan Azhar University, showing that an unjust or incompetent Khalifa must be deposed as a sacred duty by pious Muhammadans, and, as this pamphlet has been suppressed at Constantinople, it is considered by Mussulmans of the orthodox school that the Sultan is injuring his position as Khalifa in thus interfering with the issue of religious edicts or Fetwas, which would certainly be his function, and not that of the Sheikh-ul-Islám and of others learned in religion, if he were the uncontested spiritual Head of all Islám, instead of being its secular defender.

NAWWÁB ABDURRASHÍD KHAN.

#### NATIVE AND EUROPEAN GRAMMARIANS OF ARABIC: A REJOINDER.

BY M. S. HOWELL, LL.D., C.I.E.

Professor De Goeje, in concluding his reply to my criticisms on his edition (the third) of Wright's Arabic Grammar, asks why I did not publish similar criticisms on the second edition of that work during the 14 years which intervened between the publication of that edition in 1874-5 and the death of the author in 1889, or, in the alternative, why, having the privilege of the author's acquaintance, I did not submit my observations to him by letter. Many reasons may obviously be assigned



for not having reviewed a book ; but in this case one will suffice. I never had the good luck to possess, or, to the best of my recollection, even to see, a copy of the second edition. The references to Wright's Grammar contained in the Notes of my own work (Parts II. and III, pp. 11A, 18A, 29A, published in 1880) are all to the first edition, of which I had a copy, bought when I was a scholar at Corpus Christi College, Oxon., in 1859-62, not to the second, which, if my memory serves me right, my booksellers assured me in 1879 or 1880 was quite out of print. If Professor De Goeje's question be referred to the first edition, my answer is that, when I had acquired sufficient knowledge of the subject, that edition had long been superseded by the second, of the contents of which I was ignorant. As to submitting a list of *corrigenda* to Professor Wright, that would have been rather a delicate matter, considering his eminence among Arabic scholars : but I sent him a copy of each instalment of my Grammar, as soon as it was published ; and no man was better qualified than he to perceive and appreciate such differences as were to be found between his own teaching and the views of the native authorities cited in my work. If Professor De Goeje's question is intended to convey the insinuation that I kept back my criticisms until Wright's death should give me an opportunity of publishing them without risk of finding myself confuted by him, it is sufficient for me to point out that, after Wright's lamented death early in 1889, I still kept silence for more than 7 years, until August or September 1896, when the Editor of this Review sent me a copy of the new edition (vol. i.) brought out by Professor De Goeje, and requested me to notice it. And it was solely in compliance with this request that I wrote the article which, appearing in the number of October 1896, has had the misfortune to displease Professor De Goeje.

The proper issue, however, between that Professor and me is not whether my criticisms are well-timed, but whether they are well-founded. Now my position is briefly this. The Arabs were not, nor are they now, an illiterate race, whose grammar must be invented for them by foreign scholars. Their own learned men, native or naturalized, through the ceaseless labours of many centuries, have developed, and brought to perfection, a very accurate and elaborate system of grammar in exact harmony with the peculiar genius of their language. That system of grammar, whether it coincides or not with the notions of grammar familiar to European scholars from the study of languages of a radically different type, is an ultimate fact, which cannot be dismissed as a *quantité négligeable*. When an European scholar writes a grammar of Arabic, he ought to follow the native grammarians for three reasons, (1) because they are far more likely to be correct expounders of their own language than any foreigner, however learned, can ever hope to be ; (2) because their system of grammar is the basis of all grammatical explanations in the countless commentaries, glosses, and other exegetical aids indispensable for the study of the more difficult works in Arabic literature ; (3) because it is the only system available for the discussion of grammatical questions with contemporary scholars of Oriental countries. If, on any point, the European author's judgment compels him to dissent from the opinion

prevailing among the native grammarians, his duty to his readers binds him to state that opinion, and to give his reasons for rejecting it. Such points of difference, if he be wise, will be few. For it is very dangerous for a foreigner to forsake native guidance, and follow his own opinion or that of some other foreigner. Professor De Goeje has unwittingly supplied me with an apt illustration of this danger.\*

### THE LAST INDIAN BUDGET.

The telegraphic summary of Sir James Westland's Budget figures is less unsatisfactory than there was reason to expect. Briefly the famine is estimated to cost, including direct imperial and provincial expenditure and loss of railway earnings and of other revenue, Rx. 6,081,000 in 1896-97, and Rx. 5,005,000 in 1897-98. But the resulting Imperial deficit of the two years is owing to improvements on other accounts only Rx. 4,451,000. The most important factor in bringing about this reduction is the rise which has taken place in the gold value of the Rupee, accounting as it does for Rx. 1,329,000 in 1896-97, and Rx. 1,360,000 in 1897-98. In this connection it is to be regretted that there is still no definite announcement as to the future policy of the Government in regard to the Rupee, and as to any measure for putting that coin on a scientific and sound basis.

Sir James Westland explains very simply the history of the Famine Fund since 1888. There are some people who, without wishing to go quite so far as the man in the New Testament parable who tied up his money in a napkin, are still foolish enough to think the Famine Insurance Fund should have been absolutely ear marked against the day of need. We hope the summary given below will show them that the fund has been used for the purpose for which it was formed.

	Rx.
Protective Railways ... ..	6,560,000
Protective irrigation works ... ..	1,810,000
Interest on guaranteed Railways ... ..	3,630,000
Famine relief ... ..	320,000
Reduction of debt and part cost of construction of productive works ... ..	5,320,000
Total fifteen years famine insurance ...	Rx. 17,640,000

### THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASE ACT.

It will be noticed that the Army Sanitary Commission do not propose the re-imposition, even with modifications, of an Act that is alike advocated and opposed by amateur patrons of the Army. It points out that the Act had been a failure in reducing the evil, though unchecked liberty has now increased it. It is, indeed, inconceivable that in the Continental Armies the percentage of the afflicted soldiers should range between 26 and 46 per mille, whereas in the British Army in India it was never below 400 and is

\* Dr. Howell then proceeds in detail to confute Prof. de Goeje in a most scholarly comparison of the contested grammatical points, which want of space compels us very reluctantly to postpone to our next issue.—ED.

now over 600. It seems to me that there must be a mistake in the figures ; that is to say that it is not improbable that every admission of a soldier, even for a milder form of the disease, is counted over and over again as so many separate soldiers, for it is not likely that the British soldier should be, at least, ten times more vicious and careless than the soldier of any other country in Europe and that the military administration should, even with the precautions of the Act, be ten times worse. The fault, no doubt, consists in not giving more permissions to marry, in sending out the soldiers too young, in not paying sufficiently to attract a better class, in not giving them a chance, however remote, of rising from the ranks and in not doing enough to provide them with studies and healthful occupations and amusements, though much is already being done in these directions. The native Sepoy is married and respectable and, even should he fail to come up to the standard of his caste or religion, its hereditary instincts keep him, comparatively speaking, free from contamination, but the British soldier, whom animal food and intoxicants keep in a state of excitement in a hot climate, easily loses a self-respect, which his home associations are too far to foster. It is not too much to say that the exhibitions which he makes of himself largely tend to undo the advantage of his keeping India by the sword. The contempt for the "gora log," "white people" or "white trash," as he is called by the natives, must, unless a better class of soldiers is attracted or the best men of the present class are better treated, at last, overcome the fear in which they are now held. Cromwell's Ironsides did not require to be thus protected and it is discreditable, as it is unnecessary and politically a danger, for a civilized Government in an Oriental country to regulate vice. Indeed, the inspection of men would be a greater deterrent than that of the women, and the Army Commission suggest something of the kind. That kidnapping for an attractive supply went on under the old Act is undoubted ; that it has spread pollution among the natives is equally certain, and that it has been inefficacious, as well as tyrannical in its operations, may be read even between the lines of the Report of the Army Sanitary Commission.

POLITICAL.

#### MUHAMMADAN GATHERING AT WOKING.

A gathering of Muhammandan visitors to England took place at "the Pearl-Mosque" at Woking on the 5th March, in celebration of the I'd-ul-Fitr festival which follows their month of fasting or Ramazan. Among those present were four of Her Majesty's Indian attendants, the Prince of Rampur and his tutor, other Indians, members of the Persian Legation and community in London, etc. The prayers and readings were conducted by a Maulvi and Haji. After their conclusion, a meal, prepared in accordance with Muhammandan rules, was partaken by those present, which was followed by a "Musháa'ra" or "poetical gathering" of the visitors, at the Oriental University Institute, where recitations and improvisations in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Urdu verse took place. The Oriental publications of the Institute, including the photographed Manuscript of the Koran of the Institute, were then inspected, and the gathering dispersed late in the afternoon after a visit to the pleasure-grounds of the Institute, the day being an exceptionally fine one.



## THE PARIS ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

The International Congress of Orientalists to be held in Paris from the 5th to the 12th Sept. 1897 has already issued an interesting programme, in which we notice that H.S.H. Archduke Rainer, who was one of the patrons of the 1891 London Congress together with H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, has also joined the forthcoming Congress with H.M. Oscar II. King of Sweden and Norway and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, as Presidents of Honour. We are also very glad to see that one of the objects for which the 1891 Congress contended and in which it took the lead, will be adopted by the next Meeting. We refer to the preparation of "Summaries" in all branches of Oriental learning up to date since the preceding Congress, so that scholars and practical Orientalists will know exactly where they are in their respective specialities. Considerable railway and steam-boat reductions for Members of the Congress are in progress in every direction, except as yet in England where the Royal Asiatic Society has appointed a Committee in aid of the Paris Congress. The subscription is 20 francs, or 16 shillings, which may be sent to Mr. E. Leroux, 28 Rue Bonaparte, Paris, or to Messrs. Luzac and Co. 46 Great Russell Street, London. The President of the Congress is Mr. C. Schefer of the *Institut*, the Director of the Paris School of Living Oriental Languages. We have long advocated the formation of a similar School in this country, of which the Oriental Section at King's College was an early instalment and we hope to see it at last fully established in London by the Royal Commission over which Lord Reay now presides.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

## CHINESE PUBLICATIONS.

CATHOLIC MISSION LIBRARY; SHANGHAI.

1. *Variétés Sinologiques*, No. 10. *Histoire du Royaume de Ou*, 1122—473 B.C., by REV. P. ALBERT TSCHÉPE, S.J. This is the tenth of an excellent series of studies published within the past five years by the Jesuit Fathers at Shanghai. As probably many English readers are still ignorant of the solid work already accomplished in the direction of exact study by the members of this important mission, we may as well enumerate the series. 1. Father Havret's Ts'ung-ming Island and Yangtze Delta; 2. Father Havret's History of An-hwei Province; 3. Father Gaillard's History of the Cross and the Svastika in China; 4. Father Gandar's History of the Grand Canal; 5. Father Etienne Zi's Study of the Civil Examination System; 6. Father Le Gall's Study of Chu Hi's Confucianism; 7. Father Havret's Study on the Si-an Fu tablet; 8. Father Pétilion's Literary Allusions; 9. Father Zi's Military Examinations. The whole of these works belong to what may be called the new era in Chinese studies; that is to say; (allowance made for human imperfections); Chinese is now better understood than in the days of Ricci and Prémare; translations are more trustworthy than in the days of Rémusat and Panthier. There are better and more numerous reference books in all languages, on history, on geography, on philosophy, on matters of revenue and social life.

Father Tschepe tells us he has spent many years in evangelizing work within Kiang Su province (part of the old Ou kingdom), which, with An Hwei and East Chih Li, comprises the Jesuit field of action in China. He lost all his papers during the riots of five years ago, but he has since set bravely to work to make good the defects inseparable from such a disaster. He has still been able to give us a number of quaint illustrations and rare old maps, and there are added appendices explaining in detail the delta, canal, and lake systems. The war between the rival kings Fucha of Ou and Kowtsien of Yüeh is one of the most interesting and popular subjects in Chinese history, and reminds one in many respects forcibly of the conquest of Israel by Babylon. On page 49 Father Tschepe prints a reduced copy of the tomb inscription to the statesman Ki-tsz of Ou, originally written by Confucius with his own hand, as explained in the paper on "The Life and Labours of Confucius," published in this number. Either the stone or the carving of the letters was renewed during the Mongol dynasty, but there is something not quite clear about the date.

E. LEROUX; PARIS.

2. *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Tsien*, translated and annotated by EDOUARD CHAVANNES, Professor at the Collège de France. (Volume second.) The first volume was reviewed by Prof. C. de Harlez in our number of April, 1896. M. Chavannes is setting systematically to work in his self-imposed

task of textually translating and annotating the standard Chinese histories. The second volume now issued covers the most interesting and spirited periods of ancient development, the collapse of the old feudal system before the irresistible organization of the western state of Ts'in; the welding of almost the whole of China as we know it in modern days into one centralised administration; the building of the great wall, destruction of literature, struggle for supremacy between Hsiang Yü and the Duke of P'ei; and finally the triumph of the last-named, who secured himself and his family upon the throne of China under the dynastic style of Han. This volume does not carry us so far as the western advance of China into the Turkestan regions, but it introduces to us the Hiung-nu or Turko-Scythians for the first time in intelligible form: on one occasion the Emperor himself was surrounded and well-nigh taken prisoner. It was under his son, the Marcus Aurelius of China, usually known as Wên Tî, that China succeeded in gaining an effective hold upon the region of which modern Canton is the capital.

It is a matter of common complaint with those who are curious to understand something definite about Chinese history that no specialist will take the trouble to place the whole of the available original evidence before the public. Dr. Legge has, through his masterly translations, made the classics available to us all. M. Chavannes is patiently following the same course in regard to classical history. If we set aside the Spring and Autumn Annals of Confucius, (which the Emperor K'ang-hî in 1691 officially characterised as the first true historical work), and the meagre ancient records which he revised and collated, serious Chinese history may be said to begin with the work of Sz-ma Ts'ien, and there is now no excuse for anyone who can read French for pleading ignorance. Ample notes explain every doubtful point. Facsimiles are given of the few still surviving inscriptions indited in obsolete character. There is an excellent index for facilitating back references. In short, the means are at hand for gaining almost as exact an acquaintance with China of the past, her policy and her customs, as it is possible for a Chinaman himself to do. Another important result of M. Chavannes' conscientious labour is that persons totally unacquainted with Chinese literature are now in a position to check the statements of those who have hitherto seemed to possess a monopoly of such knowledge. In addition to his merits as a sagacious and discerning translator, M. Chavannes has established for himself quite a special reputation in the department of chronology; his latest rectifications of the tables by the help of which exact Gregorian dates may be calculated have been published in the *T'oung Pao Archives*, published at Leyden.

Previous to the receipt of this second volume, the writer of these lines had just completed a perusal of the original text of the *Sin-ki*, at least so far as the annals of the five emperors go. As the word-for-word translation of these chapters, with introductory preface and notes, take up for the two volumes over 1,000 pages of French printing, it will readily be understood that from so vast a mass of material it is difficult to single out any particular passages for special praise. The Chinese written language is better understood now than it was in the days of Julien and Panthier. Moreover



M. Chavannes, unlike those two savants, has had the advantage of personal residence in China. It is no exaggeration to say that he inaugurates a new era in Chinese work: it is by no means flattery to describe him as one of the very first of the exact school.

3. *The War between China and Japan* (in Chinese), by YOUNG J. ALLEN. The native name of this book is, literally, *Central East Battle Record Trunk Tip*. This has nothing to do with "straight tips," but means: "The account from top to toe of the fighting between the Central and East Empires." The fierce, hirsute portrait of Dr. Allen (Lin Yo-chi) on the frontispiece is enough to strike terror into the stoutest Chinese heart, for his flowing beard conceals half his body as well as his face, and is certain to be connected by the native mind in some devious way with the defeat of the Chinese. The author, so far as the Chinese composition goes, appears to be one Kung Sin-ming; the general preface, however, is signed by "the American doctor," on the 10th day after Easter 1896; though it is not stated that he actually wrote it, for preface-writing is a fine art, and quite a speciality amongst the most difficult and recondite portions of Chinese literary style. The work is terribly long, and in eight volumes, a single one of which would have been quite sufficient for the general reader. The mere list of contents is appalling. First come five prefaces, then seven abstract lectures on war by Dr. Allen, Mr. Timothy Richard, and others. Then an account of the Chinese Admiralty, Korean intrigues, correspondence with Japan, the Russian railway, English railways, the French in Annam, etc. The second volume consists of imperial decrees, and of reports upon all matters leading up to or connected with the war. The third contains rather flattering portraits of the Mikado and his Empress, besides very good ones of the senile King of Corea, Admiral Ting, Admiral Itô, and Marshal Oyama. Then comes an enormous number of telegrams from all sorts of persons in all parts of the world, having reference in a greater or less degree to the war. The fourth volume contains the Mikado's formal announcement of war, issued apparently in Chinese—only a moderately successful imitation of the genuine imperial article—and 17 wearisome chapters of Korean history, Korean intrigues, newspaper extracts, etc., with one chapter oddly interpolated giving an account of the Formosan "republic." It is a relief to get to the fifth volume, which gives us excellent portraits of Li Hung-chang and Count Itô. Then follow copies of all the correspondence between the first abortive mission, Li's mission, and the Japanese, together with the various treaties made, the alterations, suggestions, and conversations. A summary of all this, which is decidedly interesting, was, however, published in the *Hong Kong China Mail* six months ago, and none of either the Japanese or the Chinese heroes are of sufficient magnitude to make it worth the western world's while to inquire any further into the matter. The original correspondence between poor Admiral Ting and the Japanese Admiral Itô touching the surrender of Wei-hai-wei is new, although English summaries were published in local newspapers at the time. Admiral Ting's last letter of the 12th February, 1895, runs: "I have just received your reply, and beg to

express my gratitude on behalf of those whose lives are being saved. I also thank you for your presents; but, as our two countries are at war, I could not think of accepting them, and therefore beg to return them with my most heartfelt acknowledgments. Your letter stipulates for the surrender of forts, ships, and munitions of war to-morrow; but this is too short a notice, as the men require some little time to hand in their arms and pack up their effects, and I fear can hardly manage to finish by to-morrow. I beg therefore you will extend the time up to the 22nd of the Chinese first moon (16th February), when you can enter the port, and take over on separate days the Lew-Kung-tao forts and arms, together with the ships still remaining. You may depend absolutely on my word. My best compliments, and the three packets of presents, go with this incomplete note." The sixth volume consists of interminable treatises upon war in general, this war in particular, right principles, charity—in fact like the speech of the celebrated Roman advocate described by Martial, upon everything except the *three goats* he was instructed to reclaim: "Advocate! You only make a noise about the battle of Cannæ, the war of Mithridates, the perfidy of the Carthaginians,—about Sulla, Marius, and Mucius. Speak then, I pray you of my *three goats*." The seventh volume contains chapters on the following subjects: 1. China is not a fighting country. 2. China is a trading country. 3. Disbanding troops. 4. The harm done to China by philosophers. 5. Ten reasons for not holding Formosa. 6. The Mussulman Rebellion. 7. Admiral Lang. 8. Sir Thomas Wade. 9. Mr. Forster of the United States. 10. Herr von Hanneken, etc. The eighth volume once more relapses into the still more congenial vague philosophy, *e.g.*, New plans for securing peace; The regulation of Finance; The Reform School; Signs of the times; Mr. Timothy Richard, etc.

The fact is, there is a great deal of fine confused information heaped together anyhow in Dr. Allen's eight volumes, if one only had the time and the patience to pick it out. A Chinese idea of dealing with them, so far as the Chino-Japanese war is concerned, is this: Eight strong men of the criminal class, armed with scissors, paste, and blacking brushes ought to be turned each into a separate room and be instructed to black out all that does not touch the immediate subject at issue, cutting out, and pasting together, in order of dates, those limited portions which do. Food to be given in proportion to results attained. Dr. Allen should then be sentenced to a week's confinement as a first-class prisoner in a light and comfortable room, the imprisonment to cease so soon as the copy should have assumed a connected and readable form. Mr. Timothy Richard should then be made to read over the proofs, assisted by his Chinese friends, from beginning to end: one volume should be re-issued containing an amended account of the war, and the other seven should be recast in the shape of miscellaneous works on philosophy, political economy, and things in general.

4. *The Wan Kwoh Kung Pao; or, Review of the Times.* Edited by REV. DR. Y. S. ALLEN. Printed at Shanghai. This is a native monthly magazine, established in 1868. As No. 87 of April and No. 90 of July 1896 are now before us, we presume that the publication must once have

been biennial or quarterly. We have never even seen a copy of it before, having always preferred the genuine native article to Chinese composition with a foreign tinge about it, which grates upon our prejudiced literary sense much as the grotesque spectacle of a Japanese in a *Kimono*, patent leather boots, and a billycock is one which our sensitive eye willingly avoids. There can however be no doubt that this class of work must do a great deal of good amongst the Chinese, and the *Kung Pao* probably has a considerable circulation. For an Englishman, it may be wearisome to read in Chinese Dr. Edkin's paper upon A-tang Sz-mi (Adam Smith), and "How to enrich a nation"; but unquestionably there is much of novelty and interest in it to a thinking Chinaman. A version is given of the supposed secret treaty between Russia and China: as it is retranslated into Chinese from the English version already once translated from the apocryphal original Chinese for the *North China Daily News*, it cannot of course pretend to any authenticity; but the composition is highly creditable, and is certainly of a higher order than either the Nanking-Tientsin treaties or the recent Japanese treaty with China. Dr. Faber's *Chinese theories of Human Nature* are excellent. Fa Chi-an (the name by which he is known in China) has for many years locally distinguished himself by the profundity of his metaphysical and Confucian expositions: the literary Chinese mind rather enjoys quips and quibbles upon the precise nature of man's evil or good germs, just as a Scotch congregation settles itself comfortably in the corners of the pews when the "meenister" announces his intention to divide his definitions of temptation and damnation each into seventeen sub-categories. The notes on *Chinese Affairs*, the *Foreign Mail Summary*, *Telegraphic News*, etc., differ very little from what we are accustomed to read in the daily native papers, except that, as with the young ladies' editions of Shakespeare, such Falstaffian subjects as tea-house flirtations, concubines, opium *houris*, and jollifications generally are carefully excluded. There is a tea-cake and cold mutton flavour about the fare provided. It appears from the advertisement portion that Dr. Faber has already published over a hundred works in the native tongue: Mr. Timothy Richard (Li Ti-mo) comes in a good second. British traders might do worse than send out advertisements to the *Wan Kwoh Kung Pao*. It is noteworthy that the North-German Lloyd is the only steamer company which is enterprising enough to puff itself here: it informs the Chinese world that it completes the service between Europe and Shanghai in 30 days, "quicker than any other line"; has special accommodation for women; electric lights, and music (the music, we beg to add, is usually execrable, and it is disagreeable to be asked to subscribe to it). Messrs. F. C. Calvert and Co., of Manchester, are the only British firm to advertise, and we hope their carbolic soap will in consequence wash some of the Chinese sins away.

E. H. PARKER.

## THE STORY OF OUR AFRICAN CRISIS.

MESSRS. A. CONSTABLE AND CO.

5. Messrs. A. Constable seem to have the talent of publishing the right thing at the right time. Not to speak of Nansen's book, the Czar's visit



to this country synchronized with their publication of his Indian and other impressions, and, now that the South African Committee is sitting, they opportunely issue "*The Story of our African Crisis*," by E. GARRETT (elsewhere *F. E. Garrett*) and E. J. EDWARDS of the *Cape Times*. Nothing more judicial, from the British standpoint, has hitherto appeared. Without anticipating the verdict of the Committee, of Parliament and of the public, one can already see that, under the influence of the same feelings, it was natural that Rhodes should believe in the sympathy and support of Mr. Chamberlain, Dr. Jamieson should become the *âme damnée* of Mr. Rhodes, and Col. Willoughby should assure his officers that they were acting under secret orders of Government. That the High Commissioner should have enquired into, and even prepared for, possible eventualities was only his duty as it was of the Colonial Office, as it was, on his side, of President Krüger, but between that attitude, which the Foreign Offices of the most friendly countries must always consider within the range of possibilities against which to guard, and a conspiracy to revolutionize and raid a friendly State there is a vast difference, whatever may be inferred to the contrary by Mr. Stead's caricature of Dr. Harris, as a possible go-between in the alleged Chamberlain-Rhodes exchanges of views. The fact is simply that "the wish was father to the thought" of benefiting each from their several standpoints, *if* anything happened in the Transvaal and Dr. Jamieson erred in creating the something that *did* happen. What is curious is that military officers obeying a secret mission, as they believed, should complain of being "retired" on failure. This is done in all countries, and the complaint only shows the incapacity of Englishmen for plotting and, perhaps in this case, their reluctance to sacrifice pay and position for an idea, the success of which they thought would lead them to fame, promotion and decorations. Indeed, the altruistic heroic element is rather distinguished by its absence among all concerned, except so far, that there is an abundance of dash and even recklessness, provided something is to be gained by it. The illustrations seem to corroborate the impression created by the appearance of the witnesses; they either look like shrewd citymen, or bear the adventurer's type, but, on the whole, we should say, that for completeness and sequence of facts, as also for moderation of tone, no better book has hitherto been issued than the one now under notice.

#### WHAT IS NIRVĀNA?

FELIX L. DAMES, BERLIN.

#### 6. *Nirvāna eine Studie zur Vorgeschichte des Buddhismus*

von JOSEPH DAHLMANN, S.J.

In this book, which must be considered as a continuation of his larger work, Dr. Dahlmann deals with the perplexing problem of Nirvāna and the relation of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy to Buddhism.

He begins by pointing out a remarkable contradiction, which exists in the definitions of Nirvāna given in Buddhist treatises. Sometimes Nirvāna is spoken of as absolute extinction, sometimes terms are used to denote it, which, if words have any meaning, can only be interpreted as referring to a blessed state after death. Nirvāna is, in the language of Buddhist writers,

a state of "enduring peace," a "place free from change," a "saving shore which offers to the perfected saint an asylum from the raging and tossing billows," and "laps him in everlasting joy," a "peerless island where disease, old age, and death lose their sway," a "place of undying happiness," even "immortality itself," which opens to, the redeemed "an incomparable blessedness," an "indescribable endless happiness." Here they "escape the sway of death, which is so hard to overcome." *Nirvāṇa* is "the highest joy" and "ever-blissful rest."

It is clear that writers, who use figurative expressions of this kind, must be thinking of a state of everlasting happiness.

But the language used by Buddhist writers is no less precise, when they look upon *Nirvāṇa* as annihilation. "Those who enter into *Nirvāṇa* are extinguished like a lamp." Buddhist texts speak of the extinction of "self and existence." *Nirvāṇa* is "absolute passing away." "He who is good enters into heaven, but he who has cast away all passion, is absolutely extinguished." It is unnecessary to multiply quotations.

The problem before us is, "How are these contradictory statements to be reconciled?" Scholars of world-wide reputation have attempted a solution of the problem. Professor Max Müller has recourse to the hypothesis of development. He distinguishes two stages in the conception of *Nirvāṇa*. According to the more ancient view, it was an "entrance of the soul into rest." The elaboration of the nihilistic notion belongs to the later Buddhist philosophy.

Without altogether rejecting the view of the learned Oxford Professor, which to a certain extent harmonizes with his own, Dr. Dahmann points out that in the *Sutta Nipāta*, confessedly one of the oldest of Buddhist works, both conceptions of *Nirvāṇa* are found "running peacefully side by side."

The late Professor Childers attempted to get over the difficulty in another way. He distinguishes a state of imperfect *Nirvāṇa*, when all passions are subdued, but the material shell of the body still remains, and a state of absolute *Nirvāṇa*, when all the material organism is dissolved at death. The objection to this view is, that the expressions, which denote *Nirvāṇa* as a state of blissful existence, are applied by Buddhist writers to the latter state more liberally than they are to the former.

A further consideration is, that, though the Buddhists appear to hold the view that *Nirvāṇa* is absolute extinction, they are opposed to the views of the *Chārvākas*, and generally to the materialistic school of Indian philosophers. Moreover Buddha expressly refused to decide the question, whether the soul exists or does not exist after death.

The explanation of this complicated problem is sought by Dr. Dahmann in the hypothesis that the doctrine of *Nirvāṇa* is a fragment of another and an older system. "Buddhism makes a gallant show by the help of a garment borrowed from a strange wardrobe." *Nirvāṇa* is a pre-Buddhistic idea, borrowed neither from the classical *Vedānta* nor from the classical *Sāṅkhya*, but from an older system, in which *Nirvāṇa* means *Brahma-Nirvāṇa*, an entering into the absolute *Brahma*. This system is to be found in the *Mahābhārata*, the great poem which Dr. Dahmann knows so well. It is

impossible to exaggerate the eloquence and wealth of illustration which the author employs in developing this part of his subject. He makes great use of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, a portion of the *Mahābhārata*, often published separately, and treated practically as an independent work. Dr. Dahlmann's view is summed up in the following words, "The Sāṅkhya of the epic poems is, in its complete form, simply a knowledge of Brahma. From the plurality of its four and twenty principles is deduced the only spiritual twenty-fifth principle. In the knowledge of the Sāṅkhya is embodied the one only immutable knowledge that rests in Brahma. Sāṅkhya as knowledge simply is identified with Brahma, because in the lucidity of this knowledge is reflected the lucidity of absolute being. 'The Sāṅkhya is the highest knowledge, the intransient, ever enduring, infinite everlasting Brahma.' The 'Sāṅkhya is the embodiment of the bodiless Brahma.' Out of this variously ramifying and much diversified system rises as a crown the science of Brahma, in the idea of Brahma-Nirvāṇa dominating the Brahmanical Philosophy." It is impossible to overlook the fact that Dr. Dahlmann revives the view of Professor Gough, that "the Sāṅkhya was originally only an enumeration of the successive emanations out of *Māyā* or *Prakṛiti*, a precise set of terms to denote the primitive philosophy of the Upanishads, and that the distinctive tenets of what is now known as the Sāṅkhya philosophy are later developments."\* If we read "philosophy of the epic poems" for philosophy of the Upanishads, we have precisely the view of Professor Gough, combated by Professor Garbe.† It will be interesting to see what Professors Garbe and Deussen, the two doctors in Europe of the Sāṅkhya and Vedānta systems respectively, have to say to this new form of heresy.

It is important to note that, according to Dr. Dahlmann, the epic Sāṅkhya assumed the existence of only one Puruṣa an "eternal substantial existence." This is the principal difference between this system, and the so-called classical Sāṅkhya. From this epic Sāṅkhya, Buddhism, and the classical Vedānta and Sāṅkhya systems were developed. The first mentioned laid great stress upon the doctrine of Nirvāṇa, the second upon that of Ātman, the third upon that of Prakṛiti. It is satisfactory to find that Dr. Dahlmann is an adherent of the view that Buddhism arose out of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. If our memory does not deceive us, Professor Edmund Hardy has recently declared himself in favour of this theory.

One section of Dr. Dahlmann's treatise is devoted to the consideration of the chronological order of the philosophical treatises that have come down to us. The most ancient class consists of the philosophical hymns of the *Rig-Veda*, and the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* and *Chhāndogya*. Then follow the *Kaṭha*, *Svetāśvatara*, *Maitrāyaṇa*, and *Bhagavad Gītā*. The third class is represented by the Sāṅkhya-Sūtras and the *Kārikā*.

No doubt Dr. Dahlmann's book will evoke criticism, but even if his theories are not accepted, the systematic way in which he has worked up the date of the epic poems must be of abiding usefulness. It is not im-

\* Gough, *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, page 212.

† Sāṅkhya-Philosophie, pp. 8-10.



probable that the controversy will last for many years. For it is now as in the days of Hiouen Thsang. "Les écoles philosophiques sont constamment en lutte et le bruit de leurs discussions passionnées s'élève comme les flots de la mer."\* C. H. T.

MR. HENRY FROWDE (OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS).

7. *The Thackerays in India*, by SIR W. W. HUNTER. This remarkable little book furnishes a mass of information, in a style that cannot fail to please, on our popular novelist, his grandfather, father, and his kinsmen generally, who formed a typical family of the Bengal Civil Service in the days of John Company. The record of the Thackerays is never monotonous and is often bright and entertaining reading; their adventures, conflicts, administrative successes, heroisms, their pleasures and their sorrows pass under review. The story of Thackeray's father and of his two grand-uncles is specially interesting. The work is worthy of the author of "The Old Missionary," which was received so favourably. All lovers of Thackeray should possess themselves of this charming book. It is neatly got up and supplied with an excellent index.

8. *The Original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus*, by Mr. A. E. COWLEY and Dr. NEUBAUER. More than is suggested by the words at the head of this notice is contained in the dainty volume which has just been edited by the two eminent scholars, Dr. Neubauer and Mr. Cowley. But undoubtedly the importance of the publication centres in the remarkable discovery which has made it possible to give to the world the original Hebrew text of chapters xxxix. 15 to xlix. 11 of Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus, the son of Sirach, a work regarded as having been written between 200 and 170 B.C. in Jerusalem.

The history of this find has something of the romantic about it. For while, on the one hand, it was the good fortune of Mr. Schechter, Reader in Talmudic at Cambridge University, to recognise among some manuscript fragments belonging to Mrs. Lewis one leaf as containing a fragment of Sirach, fresh light was thrown upon the subject from another quarter. As the present editors tell us: "Almost simultaneously the Bodleian Library acquired, through Professor Sayce, a box of Hebrew and Arabic fragments, among which we recognised another portion of the same text of Sirach, consisting of nine leaves, and forming the continuation of Mrs. Lewis's leaf, from chapter xl. 9 to xlix. 11."

As regards the description of the MS. itself, the editors go on to remark that these fragments cannot be part of the copy mentioned by Saadiah, since they are not provided with vowel points or accents, and also because the writing is not of the tenth century, but of the end of the eleventh at the earliest, as may be seen from the facsimiles.

"The MS. does not seem to have been written by a Karaite. There are in both fragments marginal notes giving the variants of another copy of Sirach, or more probably of two other copies." The MS. is, unfortunately, damaged in many places, and the editors have restricted conjecture to its narrowest limits. As regards the translation, also, they have

\* Quoted by Professor Cowell in his Preface to the *Sarva-Darsana-Samgraha*, p. viii.

deemed it their duty, as editors of a unique manuscript, to express the text faithfully, and not to adopt conjectural readings, except where the text yielded absolutely no sense.

What is most important as regards the original work itself, is the question of language. And upon this point we are informed in the Editor's Preface in no uncertain manner: "The language is classical Hebrew, the syntax displaying no traces of the peculiar New-Hebrew constructions, such as occur, for instance, so frequently in Ecclesiastes, though the vocabulary has an admixture of late or Aramaic words or expressions, such as might be expected from the date at which the author wrote. The latter, together with other words not occurring in Biblical Hebrew, will be found collected in the glossary. The style is occasionally a little heavy, but this may sometimes be due to corruption of the text. Otherwise it is remarkably easy and flowing. It stands throughout on an altogether higher level than that, for instance, of Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, or the Hebrew parts of Daniel. We know from Ecclesiastes that the New-Hebrew idiom was in process of formation at this time, and it is evident that both New-Hebrew and Aramaic words were current in the Hebrew with which the author was familiar: but the predominant character of his style is nevertheless pure and classical."

As we remarked at starting, the editors have given us in this volume a good deal more than the Hebrew text, which in itself was something to be thankful for. What they have given us is in reality, (a) The Hebrew text, with the marginal notes and glosses arranged as in the MS.; (b) the English translation of the Hebrew, adopting as far as possible the diction of the Revised Version of the Old Testament; (c) the Syriac Version (which was made from the Hebrew) according to Lagarde; (d) the Greek translation, according to Swete; (e) the Old Latin; (f) a glossary; (g) a list of proverbs attributed to Sirach (Ben Sira) in Talmudic and Rabbinic literature, etc.

Who will not agree that the present publication is a valuable addition to the study of Hebrew Literature?

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9. SIR WILLIAM MARKBY has added to his laurels, by his "notes" on the *Indian Evidence Act*, published by the inexhaustible Oxford University Press. Its avowed object is to assist students in preparing for examinations. In doing so, the author succeeds in removing much of the obscurity and confusion in which the subject is dealt with in the Indian Evidence Act. In this task, he has been assisted by Field's notes on the Law of Evidence in India and by the writings of Stokes and Thayer. Principles, and not cases, would seem to be the author's motto, in writing this supplement to his lectures, which very markedly disagree with some of the views of Sir James Stephen, but which ought certainly to be in the hands of every student on the subject.

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HACHETTE ET CIE.; PARIS.

10. *Mon Voyage à la Mecque*, by GERVAIS COURTELLEMONT. The author, who describes his pilgrimage from Algiers to Mecca, is a well-

wisher of Islam and an enthusiast as regards the East, its inhabitants, languages and customs. To quote the author: "Moi j'aime l'Orient, et son ciel bleu, j'aime l'Islam dans sa foi naïve, et j'admire, n'osant la partager, son inébranlable espérance." With all our present knowledge of the "House of God" and the pilgrimages thereto of Sir Richard Burton, Dr. Snouck Hurgronje and others, we find new information in this very readable book. For instance, no taxes of any kind are levied at Mecca; the annual sacrifice of thousands of sheep, goats, camels and cattle leaves no vestige behind, as is supposed, for the air and sand calcinates it, and therefore it is not the fruitful source of epidemics, as is imagined, the real source being the influx of Indian pilgrims, in whose country cholera is endemic. It may be interesting for our Indian authorities to note that France not only takes special precautions to protect her Mussulman pilgrims from Algiers, Tunis, etc., but that she can manage to stop the pilgrimage to Mecca altogether in bad years, like the present one. M. Courtellemont, who was disguised as an Algerian Muhammadan, had an official mission to the Grand Sherif of Mecca, regarding which he naturally says very little, though the mere fact is sufficiently significant. His Oriental sympathies are greater than his Oriental attainments, for he has "Amdoulla" for "Al-hamdu lillah" and "Muhammad lallali on Salam" for "Muhammad Sala Allah 'aleyhi wa sallam"—the ordinary invocation that accompanies the prophet's name.

### TIMBUCTOO, THE MYSTERIOUS.

WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON, 1897.

11. *Timbuctoo, the Mysterious*, by FELIX DUBOIS. Without wishing to be satirical we can honestly say that nothing so becomes this work as its end, or rather the second part. Just as the beginning is trivial and might have been written by any globe-trotter, so is the latter half interesting and important. What we cannot understand is how so much out-of-the-way knowledge and so much real Arabic erudition could be combined with so much ignorance of the elements of that language, if not of the subject. Is the translator to blame for this or were there two translators, one more careful than the other? Be that as it may, the account of Timbuctoo is marvellously true. A population, fond of learning and women, is cowed by the surrounding Tuarak robber-tribes, whom the English are supposed to have encouraged, if not occasionally subsidized. It opens its town, in which massive doors and blank mud walls hide much concealed wealth, luxury and social gatherings, to a literal handful of French sailors, after their successful dash through unknown countries and tribes, an exploit before which Kelly's march, if not Gordon's heroisms, sinks into insignificance. Then comes the massacre of Bonnier's troops by the Tuarks, but the peace-loving Timbuctoos, like conquered Indians in our employ, turn on their old masters and help to subdue them. At any rate, though there is no danger of risings from these veiled nomads, (for among the Tuarks men are veiled and women unveiled and the former are only known to their comrades when their veils are on), they now wander, silent and humble, yielding, as even good Muhammadans, to the inevitable, among



the merchants whom they once ruled with an iron rod and whose goods they constantly plundered. At Timbuctoo all the main trade-routes converge—that to the French Senegal; to Algiers via Tuat, to Tunis via Ghadames, to Morocco via Fez and Tafilalet etc. Its population speaks many languages, but Arabic is honoured by all and it boasts of an University, once illustrious, and of many hidden libraries. Among the treasures unearthed by our Author is a complete copy of a History of the Sudan, read and commented on by the negroid tribes throughout the Sudan and the Sahara. Indeed, nothing is more marvellous than the aptitude of the negro for Muhammadan learning, the excellence which he achieves in it and the respect in which he is universally held if he acquires it. The Sudanese is naturally tolerant, but there is now a "Sanûsi" movement, chiefly led by men of Arab descent, which tends to inspire them with fanaticism. We have ourselves seen at Biskra and other neighbouring oases nightly gatherings of natives listening to the reading, with occasional comments, of histories of Spain, of Napoleon, of the Yaman, etc., and we have no doubt that their local history is equally read to attentive and thoughtful audiences. Many literary gems to Orientalists are described or indicated in Mr. Dubois' book. He was once a companion of the lamented Faïdherbe and he seems to be a man of a sympathetic turn of mind, for, although at the beginning he sometimes strikes his niggers and, like every European travelling in those countries, is filled with a sense of omnipotence, he soon ascribes his growing love for the natives to their natural goodness and the effects of the scenery and other surroundings. The British appear to have spent large sums on endeavours to get to Timbuctoo—Mungo Park, who is still affectionately remembered by all and one of whose tablets is still religiously preserved, failed—Barth was, practically, a prisoner in the house at Timbuctoo of a chief who was a Tuarak and, therefore, shunned—René Caillet, a poor Frenchman, was the first whose accounts of the mysterious city, are now proved to be true. M. Dubois quite reconciles us to the French protectorate of a region in which even Lavigerie's white friars have now been able to open a Church. Timbuctoo is being reclaimed from lawlessness and is on the road to the wealth of Africa and of a higher civilization, without detriment to the remnants of the ancient Arabic learning that it still preserves. The book should be in every library.

12. WILLIAM MARCHANT has rendered a service to the general reading British public by translating into English ANDRÉ CHEVRILLON'S *Romantic India*, just issued by the spirited publisher, W. Heinemann, to whom the more attractive side of Oriental lore already owes so much. India, still romantic, in spite of its growing Anglicism, is well contrasted with Egypt, already vulgarized by Europe, and the noble Rajput still stands out boldly defying the gods but honouring the learning of the Brahmin. Unconquered by even the tax-gatherer and the globe-trotter, what would M. Chevrillon have said to the Meo who still adorns the patch of an ancestral field by the inscription, "tum Deo, ham Meo"—you may be a God, but I am a Meo? India is not so romantic as even we knew it, but the hands of a sympathetic writer ever adorn what they touch. Soon will

India be assimilated to European commonplaces under the fussy care of English and Babu reformers, but Benares still stands out as a fragment of Classic India. It is the heart of Hinduism, where the omnivorous and restless European, though feared and served, ranks far below the Shudra, "for a Hindu must have committed many and odious sins to return to earth as a European." The glimpses the author gets and gives of Indian inner life, not to speak of his glance at Buddhism in Ceylon, at his own congenial and yet so alien Pondichery, at the Himalaya as seen from Darjiling, and at the ordinary Indian show-places, including the Elora caves, quite justify the translator and the publisher in bestowing this charming work on the public.

13. *Chun Ti-Kung*, by CLAUDE A. REES. A faithful picture of Chinese domestic life and official customs is presented in this little novel, which commences with Chun Ti-Kung's birth, his education on the "native" plan, his ambition to acquire Western knowledge, his progress therein, and his ultimate appointment to a post in the London Embassy. During his residence in England he marries an English girl, who returns with him to China, ignorant of the fact that he has already a Chinese wife. After many sad experiences she and her child die, after which event Chun Ti-Kung's fortunes decline. Official and private troubles succeed in rapid succession, until he is compelled to flee into exile with his Chinese son, never ceasing to regret his English wife.

14. *On the Face of the Waters*. This is another Anglo-Indian novel by MRS. F. A. STEEL. The reputation she has already won as a writer is a guarantee that anything she may write will deserve reading. She has selected her subject out of the innumerable episodes of the Mutiny, the siege of Delhi being the centre scene. It is called "On the Face of the Waters" because as the author explains, "when you ask an uneducated native of India why the Great Rebellion came to pass, he will, in nine cases out of ten, reply, 'God knows! He sent a Breath into the World.' From this to a spirit moving on the face of the Waters is not far." This seems to us somewhat far-fetched, as the explanation of a spirit moving "on the face of the waters" is biblical rather than a Hindustani interpretation of the Mutiny being caused by a breath sent by God, of which the most obvious result would be rather the *storm* of the mutiny, than of the too fanciful "on the face of the waters," which is the title of the book. The incidents are dramatically treated and graphically described with much evidence of a thorough knowledge of the country and its people. The novel will be perused with pleasure by even hypercritical readers.

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JOHN HEYWOOD; LONDON.

15. *History of Armenia*, by W. TER GREGOR. The patriotic author in giving us a short history of Armenia has acted wisely in his capacity of Armenian propagandist. His book is of course really a political pamphlet — we may add that it is prefaced by an autograph letter from Mr. Gladstone. It possesses no value from a strictly historical point of view, consisting as it does of a mere compilation from the Armenian chronicles.

without any attempt at collation with external authorities, or any inquiry into the development of the national life and character. The first half of the book which gives a detailed matter-of-fact history of Armenia from 2,000 B.C. up to the rise of the medieval Armenian monarchy in the 9th century is pure fiction. We begin with Haik, third in descent from Japhet, who founded the Armenian Kingdom after his departure from the building of the Tower of Babel. Haik was a good general, and defeated Nimrod in a battle which our author describes in some detail; he was also an excellent ruler and reigned some 400 years. We are also informed that Zarmair, one of his successors, was killed by Achilles in the Trojan War. It is unnecessary to dwell on this sort of "history." The real history of Armenia and the Armenians is sufficiently well known from Greek and Roman histories, and the researches of modern Assyriology. The Armenians, an Aryan race, ousted the old Turanian inhabitants of the regions round Lake Van at some period shortly before the 6th century B.C. This is a regrettable fact as it compels us to throw overboard some 1,500 years of Mr. Gregor's interesting history. They were subjects of the Persian Empire and its Greek successors. In the break-up of the greater Greek Empires Armenia became a principality usually tributary to the Parthians, but at times independent. For a very short period indeed under Tigroies the Great, Armenia, owing to the internal conflicts of Parthia, was the most powerful State in Western Asia. But Tigroies' power was soon crushed by Rome, and Armenia henceforward was alternately subject to Rome or Parthia, sometimes as a province, more usually as a semi-independent vassal State. The more recent part of Mr. Gregor's history is less completely fictitious but is extremely bald and short. The importance of the medieval Armenian Kingdom is much exaggerated, and little attempt is made to point out clearly that this Kingdom did not cover the region figuring in our maps as Armenia, but only that small district to the north of the Gulf of Iskenderun, known in ancient times as Lesser Armenia. The whole period from the expulsion of the last Armenian monarch Leo of Lusignan in 1374 down to 1896, is shortly summarised in one chapter, entitled "Five Centuries of Martyrdom." That period deserves close attention as being that in which the present Armenian nationality grew up. Of the diffusion of the Armenians in consequence of the Ottoman conquests, and the growth of the commercial spirit among them, of the privileges they enjoyed, and the disabilities and active oppression they had to undergo, our pamphleteer says nothing. His main argument is that the Armenians who were the first nation to embrace Christianity, and who have sought and been oppressed for Christianity ever since, deserve the help of Christian Europe. According to his version King Abgar of Armenia (the name is no doubt a confused echo of Abzar the Arab prince of Oschoene) became a Christian in 34 A.D. The real date was probably nearly three centuries later. The book contains one or two appendices, on Armenian literature, a list of last year's "reforms" and a dissertation on the present political situation, which last is perhaps the portion of the book best worth reading.

L. S. A.



MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH AND CO. ; LONDON, 1897.

16. *In the Land of the Bora or Camp Life and Sport in Dalmatia and the Herzegovina*, by "SNAFFLE." This is an account of a sporting tour, undertaken by a celebrated sportsman and his wife, in Dalmatia and the Herzegovina. They lived in a tent, which proved an economical and agreeable shelter in a country like Dalmatia, destitute almost of hotels. In turn they pitch their tent by the seashore, on the mountain side, in ploughed fields, on islets, in a cemetery or an old fort and many other strange places. Starting from Trieste, Zara, Sebenico with its thousands of scoglie or islets, Zablac, the old city of Trau and Spalatro are all described—the latter built in, and out of, the enormous palace of the Emperor Diocletian, with its old-world walls and columns, the ruins of Salona, the stupendous aqueduct of Diocletian, which supplies the town with the best water in all Dalmatia. Thence they proceed to the island of Brazza, one of the largest of the Dalmatian group, and Gradina where the Dalmatian trip ended and they entered the Herzegovina, wintering at Mostar. This town with its old Turkish bridge, its 33 mosques and innumerable minarets, strikes the eye from afar. The author dwells upon the comfort of the hotels in contradistinction to Dalmatia, the number of really good shops, and the excellent sanitation of Mostar, the curious medley of native costumes, and the babel of languages, of which the only one one does not hear is Turkish. The majority of the inhabitants of Mostar are Muhammadans, but in dress and language there is no distinction between them and the Christians; they are, however, much stricter in their religious observances than those of Constantinople. A good character is given to the Muhammadans of the Herzegovina and Bosnia, and to repeat the author's words: "No one who has lived in these provinces, and in India, can doubt the excellent qualities of the Muhammadan under a good government, but no one can doubt the bad ones of a Turk as an administrator, or fail to see the crying need of Western supervision for the unfortunate countries under the rule of the Sultan. It is not the Turk who should be expelled from Europe, but the Pasha." The book abounds with adventures of sport amongst the chamois, deer and bear, as also the feathered tribe, and should prove interesting to the sportsman who will confess, like the author does himself, that Mostar in the Herzegovina is "one of the gamiest places on earth."

The wind called "the Bora" is noticed; according to the natives it is born at Fiume, married at Quarnero, and dies at Vrulja. About half the winter days are reckoned as Bora days. It appears to blow for two or three days, and then to be followed by a fine calm day, when the Scirocco has its turn for a couple of days accompanied by heavy rain; so it is considered a lucky week on which one can shoot twice.

Chapter XXIII. is devoted to a description of those old-world heretics, the Bogulimites, whose faith resembled that of John of Leyden and the Albigenes. The author describes their graves of which 140,000 exist in extensive cemeteries bordering the road leading from the Adriatic to Constantinople. They are invariably covered with huge stones like a sarcophagus and ornamented in a primitive manner by crosses, crescents,

stars, suns, etc.; some present elaborate groups of figures, the dance of death, battle and hunting scenes, and on some there is a legible inscription. The Bogulimites were conquered by Muhammad II. in 1462 and nearly all embraced Islam. Speaking of the Herzegovinians, the writer says that for good fellowship, hospitality, and kindness to strangers, they are hard to beat.

## HINDU MEDICINE.

MACMILLAN AND CO.

17. *History of Aryan Medical Science*, by H. H. SIR BHAGVAT SINH JEE, M.D. etc., the Thakore of Gondal. If all medical officers in India had studied the Indian medical systems, whether Muhammadan or Aryan, there would have been no necessity for this readable book nor would its princely author have been obliged to adopt an apologetic tone in advocating a hearing for ancient Aryan researches in a learning, with the European results of which he has also made himself intimately acquainted after a distinguished Student's career at the University of Edinburgh. The first word uttered by the ancient Hindu physician regarding diagnosis and treatment is often the last word of medical discovery in Europe. The circulation of the blood, for instance, is an old Hindu axiom. Pandit Janardhan of Lahore, who has cured desperate cases given up by European physicians, has unconsciously shown in this Review that the present bacilli theory exists, in the crude appellation of "worms" some visible, some invisible and all infinitesimal, though in more numerous categories than Koch and others have as yet found, in Sanscrit writings—that they, whether hurtful or innocuous, carry on the struggle for the destruction and preservation respectively of the human body and that it is the predominance of one or the other species of the former that causes, in defined instances, this or that disease. No doubt the Hindu science of medicine acknowledges divine influences, which modern phraseology attributes to nerves and has recourse to mantras and prayer, where English Doctors would recommend a change of air, but in the specific remedies that are described those of the Indian Pharmacopœia are often more suited to people living in India, to vegetarians or to abstainers from alcohol than those that are prescribed by the Assistant Surgeon, which, indeed, are empirical, whereas those of the indigenous physicians are scientific, for they are based on a study of the antecedents and habits of each patient, his race, caste and religion, the time of the year and even the day, coupled with careful observations regarding the effects of drugs in various circumstances and stages. The writer remembers cases of successful rhinoplasty in Kangra whereas the best European surgery has failed in restoring the nose of an eminent patient and where a nasty sore had disfigured the face of a Professor under European treatment, its healing was effected by an itinerant Fakir in ridiculous feather-attire who, passing by, suggested the soot of a few grains of wheat burnt over a gridiron. No doubt, in surgery and anæsthetics (some of which were known to the ancient Hindus), European science has achieved marvellous results, but it also sacrifices holocausts of victims who perish under the knife. Therefore, Indian

science calls in operators as a last resort, for all cutting is the cure of Rakshasas or of demons, whereas cauterization is "human" and medicine "divine." The physician is the friend of the patient and his responsibility to the Gods as great a check on carelessness as ever the professional sense has proved to be in Europe, for the physician is sacerdotal and the conscientious discharge of his functions a *sine qua non* condition for his salvation. His vocation is hereditary and the accumulated experience of medical generations is handed down to the son, whose social position depends on his learning, honour, and devotion. Even in the higher Mohammadan families, one a reigning one which the writer knew, medical knowledge was deemed to be a necessary part of a liberal education and its gratuitous practice for the poor, a religious obligation, most faithfully discharged, whereas the laws of health, disease and cure are only known, in their vaguest generalities, if at all, to even highly educated Europeans. English education in India is changing, or has changed, all this. Instead of coming both as a learner and a student, the ordinary Military or Civil Surgeon sneers at a science that he cannot understand and so another indigenous profession is being destroyed, sometimes leaving whole districts without a single medical man where the old school has died out for want of occupation or practice and the new one has not yet supplied a member. A book like that of the ruler of Gondal is, therefore, most welcome, for he shows that even in its numerous surgical instruments and pharmaceutical apparatuses (of which 10 plates are given) ; its examination of the effects of mercury, its observations of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, and, above all, in its minute analyses of sexual relations, lessons are given from which the supercilious European may well profit. Indeed, it is barbarous that the most important relation of life should be left to caprice and chance, when so much greater care is taken in the rearing of plants and the breeding of animals. Nor are the effects ascribed to the use of drugs such as gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, etc., necessarily, any more ridiculous than those proved to be derived from the medicinal use of iron. Yet innumerable English drugs are Indian and are often given to the Indian patient in an expensive form, in bottles labelled with a foreign name, when they can be found growing in his com-  
ponal or procurable for a few pice in the native Bazaar. In medicine, as in every other science, progress is only possible by the comparative method, and it is satisfactory to find that the leaders of the medical profession in Europe have far greater respect for native methods of treatment and native drugs than the common practitioner to whom a Greek or Latin name is a Fetish. We would strongly urge every medical man, especially in India, to procure a copy of the Thakur of Gondal's book, for he will recognise in the author a colleague both trained in, and appreciative of, the European system, whilst his cautious suggestions and the information imparted by him will be invaluable in practice. There may be nonsense in omens, dreams, mantras and prayers; life may not be prolonged by breathing through one nostril more than another, but where dietary, for instance, is concerned, the closest attention is deserved. All honour to the Prince who in becoming a good English *savant* has not ceased to be a good native scholar. There is only one slip we notice and that is where



Avicenna is identified with Aflatoon. The former is Ibn Sina and the latter Plato.

18. *Leaves from a Diary in Lower Bengal*, by C. S. Admirers of Trollope's happy commonplaces will not ask why these leaves have been published. They give a better idea of the routine life of a civilian in dull "up-country" places than ambitious works written more for the admiration of the public than for the sympathetic friends or relatives of the author. The book is extremely well got up, and, as all men cannot be heroes, ought to be welcome to those who are satisfied with incidents of ordinary daily life, occasionally varied by more lively episodes. "The Gorgeous East" is here regarded in a more prosaic light than by writers on "Indian Affairs," whilst at the same time the sensible author does not look upon India as "a land of regrets"—a place of exile which offers little compensation for the loss of home surroundings. Some of the illustrations by the author and others are very lifelike and will interest sportsmen. "The Chittagong School Committee" is very typical of a meeting in which tired officials and time-serving natives profess to care for education. The book finishes with a trip to Burmah. If civilians never do anything more than write such works after their retirement, they will present a truer, if duller, picture of India to the British public than is given by writers in the Press who are "sacrificing the truth to the period."

19. *A Sketch of the Natural History of Australia*, by F. G. AFLALO, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. This is a well-illustrated handbook on the remarkable fauna of Australia, a country covering nearly three million square miles, and in which the predominating family is the marsupial. They nowadays exist, as is well-known, nowhere else, with the exception of the opossums (didelphys) of the New World. The author describes the different species in the following order—The Mammals, of which the Dingo, or wild dog, is very destructive, and the clever Kangaroo.—The Birds, of which two-thirds of the 700 species are found nowhere else, and include the brush-tongued lories, the honeysuckers, and the cockatoos.—Then come Reptiles, of which snakes are numerous, varied and venomous, but not necessarily dangerous to mankind.—Batrachians follow, with Fishes and Invertebrates. The fresh-water fishes seem to be unimportant, but sea-fish are plentiful, of great and curious variety, and give good sport; yet the fisheries are sadly neglected. We can recommend the book as a good, and probably the first vivid, account of the life-habits of Australian animals rather than of minute differences in their colouring and dentition, whilst it shows the errors of previous authors, "inter alia," in asserting that there are no bats, beasts of prey, insect-eaters, and rodents on that Continent.

20. Macmillan and Co., with the good taste and refined feeling that distinguish them have given us, chastely if profusely illustrated, a *multum in parvo* in "*A History of Greek Art*," by F. B. TARBELL. The cultured author first touches on Art in Egypt and Mesopotamia and then, with a charm and simplicity of language that renders much learning attractive, proceeds to show, in graceful order and without apparent effort, what was Prehistoric Art in Greece, develops Greek Architecture and dwells lovingly on the various periods of Greek sculpture. The volume then concludes

with "Greek painting" (so far as we can guess at the merits of the great Masters whose works have perished) through what humble craftsmen have left in the painted decorations of vases. One only fault we have to find and that is that no space has been given to the influence of Greek Art on what is barbaric, especially in Græco-bulldhistic, græco-persian, græco-egyptian and other similar sculptures. Mr. Tarbell's book should be not only in every Library but in the possession of every man of classical education or artistic tastes.

MESSRS. OSGOOD, McILVAINE AND CO. ; LONDON.

21. *What was the Gunpowder Plot?* by JOHN GERARD, S.J. This book must rank as the most brilliant of the fireworks with which the last Fifth of November was celebrated. Father Gerard seeks to set forth the evidence through which, as he somewhat inelegantly expresses it, "with ever-gathering force the conviction forced itself upon him," that the traditional account of the plot is, both fundamentally and in detail, unworthy of credit. The title, however, is somewhat illusory; the author himself admits that the answer which it leads us to expect cannot be given. Still the results are not entirely negative. Apart from the exposure of the inconsistency of the account with itself and the refutation of the theory that the plot was a movement of the whole Papist population, the author's point is that the Government, or rather Cecil, was aware of what was going to happen, deliberately fostered the conspiracy of a few discontented and reckless Papists in order to obtain a handle against the Papists in general and the more important of them in particular, and, when the plot was discovered, exaggerated its real proportions. A strong case is made out: it would be stronger if the author's language did not from the beginning anticipate the conclusion. There is no conscious attempt to whitewash the conspirators, but Cecil is painted so black that the result is much the same as if there had been: for whiteness after all is merely relative. Cecil may have lacked scrupulousness, disinterestedness, and straightforwardness, but it does not follow from this that he did not save his country from a real danger. The Catilinarian conspiracy was a real danger to Rome in spite of the fact that it was not countenanced by the democratic party: Cicero did a great service to Rome in spite of his vanity and his rôle of *agent provocateur*.

The author is to be congratulated on having written an interesting book which will doubtless be fruitful of discussion, and is in spite of its defects a valuable contribution to the history of the period.

MR. ANDREW MELROSE ; LONDON.

22. *Armenia and its Sorrows*, by W. J. WINTLE. This is a brief and yet comprehensive account of the Armenians and their recent sufferings. It gives a description of their country, followed by a sketch of their history and of their social and religious institutions. The Armenians, like the Jews, are now widely scattered, and their history has been one long record of oppression and cruel wrong. The book shows how the Sublime Porte steadily ignored its promises to protect the Armenians from the ravages of the Kurds and Circassians, the very condition on which alone Great

Britain guaranteed to Turkey the integrity of her Asiatic possessions. It may be thought that the description of the outrages is unduly ghastly, but the writer says that he has suppressed more than he has published. His information has been derived from official reports, or from eye-witnesses. The book is very opportune at the present moment even in the crowd of publications on the subject.

METHUEN AND CO. ; LONDON.

23. *The Fall and Resurrection of Turkey*, by H. ANTONY SALMONÉ. The author has evidently been "behind the scenes" in Turkey, besides being conversant with the Turkish language, to be able to give such an intelligent and truthful, though too brief, account of the Sultan and of his system of government. He points out the existing obstacles to progress, including the prevailing general corruption, and also gives an account of the origin of the Reform movement, and of the present attempt to regenerate the Empire by "Young Turkey." He defends the Muhammadan religion, and shows that the present state of affairs in Turkey has been brought about, not by the religious, but by the secular politics of successive rulers. In conclusion, he says that "the success of Russian diplomacy must lead to the partial, if not total, dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. Lacking any distinct provision for the seat of the Khalifat, such success of Russian diplomacy and arms would be the beginning of the end of Muhammadanism as a temporal power, which is the fundamental principle of the religion." With this we do not agree, for the seat of the Khalifat, if it still exists, may be established elsewhere, whilst Muhammadanism, both as a religious and a secular power, can exist and flourish without a Khalifa, as indeed it now does in various parts of the world, and has done in ages past, though, no doubt, the cessation of Muhammadan rule in Turkey would be a great sorrow to Sunni Muslims generally, including even Moroccans and the anti-Turkish Arabs of the Peninsula; whilst Shiah Persia and Sunni Afghanistan, not to speak of the numerous Muslim States of Africa, would continue to represent one form or other of Muhammadanism as a temporal power. X.

THOMAS NELSON AND SONS, LONDON.

24. *Cleely Sahib, a Tale of the Khyber Pass*, by HERBERT HAYENS. This novel combines the story of a young Englishman's adventures in Afghanistan in 1840-1, with a narrative of the awful events which attended the annihilation of the British army in the Khurd-Kabul Pass. The father of our hero is supposed to be in the employment of Runjit Singh, and is deputed by "the Lion of the Panjab" to convey a secret communication to Dost Muhammad Khan, whom the British had replaced by Shah Shujā. Father and son set out from Lahore undisguised and unattended. In the Khyber Pass the father is slain by the tribesmen and the son taken prisoner. He, however, manages to escape after a time, and is the means of saving from annihilation a detachment of British soldiers. The mission of his father having been frustrated by his death, our hero, Paul Cleely, joins the British army. During the disastrous retreat from Kabul, he takes charge of a young lady (to whom he is attached) and of her mother; the



latter dies of exposure, and the two reach the Jellalabad outlet of the pass in a wretched state. She becomes a prisoner in the hands of the Afghans, and he is found insensible and brought into Jellalabad. Eventually, on the advance of Pollock's avenging army, they are reunited and return to India together, where they marry, brave the trials of the mutiny, and finally leave for England, which Paul Clevely sees for the first time. The book is handsomely got up and illustrated.

JAMES NISBET AND CO.; LONDON.

25. *On the World's Roof*, by J. M. OXLEY. This is, practically, a well-written compilation from Wilson's "Abode of Snow" and Knight's "Where Three Empires Meet" and makes up a story of travel and adventure which will be greatly appreciated by boy-readers, as the principal actor in it is a youth fresh from school, who joins his Anglo-Indian father in a journey with the avowed object of penetrating into Tibet, but really ending in the opposite direction. Its incidents are full of interest; descriptions of grand scenery and strange tribes abound, and the reader's attention is sustained throughout.

#### THE KĀDAMBARĪ OF BĀṆA.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND. NEW SERIES.

26. *The Kādambārī of Bāṇa*, by C. M. RIDDING. This charming romance in Sanscrit of the 6th century of our era, forms, it appears to us, a second, and a very welcome, transition from the Perso-Arabic texts on the translation of which the Oriental Fund, revived by the liberality of Mr. Arbuthnot, has hitherto been almost entirely engaged. The work is not only the most exquisite composition of the kind in Sanscrit, but it is also invaluable, owing to the sidelights which it throws on the customs of the period. It may yet do more, for as our knowledge of ancient Indian ethnography advances and the basis of important events that so largely underlies Hindu mythology is approached through the mazes of ritual, the colour and posture of idols and the mysteries of certain mantras, this queen of novels in any language or country may be found to be of even historical value. The only thing to be regretted is that Miss Ridding, who has done her work so well, should have abstained from translating some, perhaps, ultra-detailed descriptions of the purest and tenderest love-making in the first part and should have condensed the second part or rather continuation of the romance, concluded by the filial piety of the author's son. "Kādambārī" is not likely to be read by the profane vulgar and for the learned or the student every word of this delightful text is of importance. Miss Ridding acknowledges her obligation to Professor E. Cowell and Mr. Thomas whose translation of Bana's "Harsha Charita" or the annals of the illustrious King Harsha, whom Bana served, may also soon be published by this useful Translation Fund, which has many translations yet to deal with, but should have more funds provided wherewith to publish them by the enlightened liberality of patrons of Oriental learning, including the India Office. Lucky is the Indian "*Pairie Queen*" to have found such a translator as Miss Ridding, and we hope to give a detailed account in a

future issue of the style and substance of a work that is, probably, unique in the annals of Indian literature. A few passages taken at random may now suffice to give an indication of the former. What a straightforward world in which the only sinuosity is in the curls of pretty women! What picture of the ascendancy of "the golden-peaked Meru in the midst of the noble mountains crouching together in fear of Indra's thunderbolt!" What tenderness even for the lowest *outcaste*, when a lovely Chandala maid is compared to "the child of a goddess, *claimed by no tribe*." The dying parrot who, to help his son, moves his wings "to shake off old age," the hunted deer whose "wives, very large, like lionesses, come to beg for amnesty" from the merciless Çabarás "whose worship of the Gods is with the blood of beasts," so different from the Utopia in which the very antelope "drinks at the bounteous breast of the lioness"—are also instances of the universal sympathies and loving hopes of the author. What insight we get into Ujjain when its "*light-hearted*" people are described, or a king is spoken of whose good deeds "were murmured like a hymn and were remembered like a sacred text." The lovers, whose union fate prevented on earth, will meet in heaven, but they must not precipitate that happy event by suicide on the death of either of them, for the guilt of such a deed only separates them for ever. Yet fidelity to a husband confers supernatural powers, and the Gods themselves worship the good among men. We have said nothing about paternal and filial love—about the respect to all creeds at the King's Court—the sacred bond of friendship between the two heroines—the platonic attachments of some women to men—the proud loyalty of attendants, but "*Kadambari*" is full of the most exalted examples of whatever is ennobling to the best of human nature, whilst it is full of incidents for the most charming of novels.

#### PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

27. LT.-COL. C. R. CONDER has largely added to his already great reputation and the Palestine Exploration Fund to their usefulness by publishing "*The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099 to 1299 A.D.*" History repeats itself, and a second Peter the Hermit, who in 1897 would stir up the sentiments of Europe as the first one did 800 years ago, would be confronted by the same difficulties in the apathy, selfishness and greed of the concert of Christian Europe, most of what may then be called the Powers, only anxious to rob the Byzantines, now the Greeks, of their rightful inheritance. After, however, a series of disasters to the then crusading Garibaldians and every variety of vicissitude between the contending Christians and Muhammadans, a Latin kingdom is founded, which "was the model of just and moderate rule, such as we boast to have given to India, under somewhat similar conditions." Yet Barbaric Europe had first to learn its lesson from the East, in which the statesmanship, humanity and military qualities of Saladdin were no mean example. "Europe profited by the Crusades, not only as regards art and commerce, but also as regards science and freer thought. The first Crusaders were ignorant men; Frederick II. was an elegant scholar. The army of Godfrey burned the 'detestable' libraries of Syria, the later emperor sought to learn from

Moslems." With this we agree. Where we find fault with the author is when he tries to make mazes of learning popular by the tricks of the novelist, e.g. "without the gates of Jerusalem, rugged pilgrims sate," and *hoc genus omne* as introductions to the dullest enumerations of places, names and events. The collusion of Richard Cœur de Lion with the Assassins is also not explained, nor is there any difference between them the Druses and certain Ismailian sects, whilst the secret of their creed is *not* either absolute infidelity or the sexual principle. Had Col. Conder read the articles that have appeared in this Review on the Assassins, he might have treated them with the authority that attaches to his name in every other subject connected with Palestine.

G. B. PUTNAM'S SONS (NEW YORK AND LONDON).

28. Both followers and opponents of the Theosophical School will agree that "Col." H. S. Olcott's "Old Diary Leaves" give the "true story of the Theosophical Society," which will enable the one party to prove, and the other to refute, the claims of that body. Mr. Olcott nothing extenuates nor sets down aught in malice. He is a thoroughly practical American who, coming under the intellectual influence of the, to him, incomprehensible erratic genius of a highly gifted and versatile woman of ever-changing moods, was first astonished, then puzzled and finally an instrument of her ambition as a world-teacher. He was not blind to her defects, among which inaccuracy appears to have been the worst, but he ascribes it to her being the mouthpiece sometimes of this and sometimes of that great "master" of occult science. How the Society practically rose from the ashes of the cremated Baron Palm, and what was Olcott's part in it, is described in a vivid, yet simple, manner. How he, if not Madame Blavatzky, gradually grew into a knowledge of Hinduism, Buddhism, and eclecticism generally, such as would be derived from more or less faulty translations of original texts, is portrayed in these pages. Their alliance and their quarrel with another product of the superficial education of this century, though a more exclusive body, the Arya Samaj, is described and, whether tricks or truths, we see in these pages what clever and honest men may be capable of believing, whose minds have not been disciplined by the severer studies of science and language.

CHAS. STRAKER AND SONS.

29. *Hindu Astronomy*, by W. BRENNAND. Mr. Brennand has succeeded in compiling an interesting work on a very dry subject, no easy task; and his excellent summary of the astronomical rules of work laid down in the *Sūrya Siddhānta* forms a valuable addition to the scanty bibliography of the subject. The earlier chapters are more theoretical in character, and in these the writer is not always on such safe ground; as, for instance, where he surmises that the sphinx of Egyptian temples represents the solstice at the time when it divided the constellations Leo and Virgo. Such a thing is no doubt possible, but in a work which should be purely scientific in character it is generally wisest to avoid any digression into the realm of fancy. His suggestion again that the titles "Solar Race" and



"Lunar Race" for the ancient ruling dynasties of Rājputāna may have had their origin in the astronomy adopted by the two sects, the one calculating the years and months by the period of the earth's orbit round the sun, the other by the moon's revolution round the earth, appears to be rather far-fetched; for it seems certain that, so far back as any old inscriptions carry us, the former system of notation did not obtain in that tract. It may however be noted in justice to the author that in the Chola country in Southern India, where the system of solar reckoning has always been in force, the Kings did claim to belong to the Solar Race. The author, on p. 28, quotes Bentley as asserting that the Hindus "invariably" make their *nakshatras*, or lunar mansions, to contain  $13^{\circ} 20'$  on the ecliptic, but this is certainly not the case. We know of three systems, the equal-space system, the unequal-space system of Garga, and the unequal-space system of the *Brahma Siddhānta*. It would have been well, therefore, to have qualified this assertion, and modified the diagram given on Plate III. In such a short review as the present it is not possible to enter on a detailed examination of Mr. Brennand's volume, but it is abundantly clear that it thoroughly deserves such a scrutiny; and that he is entitled to the thanks of the scientific world for having thrown so much light on this abstruse subject. The volume is excellently got up, and the use of large and clear type assists the reader to a marked degree.

#### SYRO-GREEK LITERATURE AND STUDIES IN ASIATIC HISTORY.

B. G. TEUBNER; LEIPZIG.

30. *Lucubrationes Syro-Græcæ*, by A. BAUMSTARK, Leipzig, 1894. The Syriac Literature, though, in a certain sense, poor, is yet important by reason of the fact, that it was one of the means of bringing the Science of Greece to the followers of Islām. The greater part of the literary activity displayed by Syriac monks consisted in translating Greek writings into Syriac. This process began at a very early period, some translations going as far back as the third and fourth centuries. With these translations the Arabs first came in contact, after their conquest of Syria. That literature thus formed the connecting link between Europe and Asia, and helped to preserve and to disseminate the rich heritage left by Hellas. Herein lies the double importance which attaches itself to Syriac literature in general. It forms the basis of the nascent Arabic science, and is, at the same time, probably the most perfect reflex of the oldest forms of those Greek writings which were then translated. It is well known that, with the exception of the recently-discovered Papyri, there are no Greek MSS. as old as some of the Syriac ones containing the translation. The study of Syriac texts has now been conducted, in addition to the purely philological side, on these two lines, downwards in the direction of the Arabic, and upwards in relation to the Greek. The "*Lucubrationes*" of Dr. Baumstark moves in the second direction. With exemplary thoroughness he investigates the works of Sergius, the Archiater of Resain, one of the most famous translators of the sixth century among the Monophysites. Sergius had a perfect

command of Greek, and translated, for the first time, not only the philosophy of Aristotle, but many a valuable and important Greek work. The remains of his labours are mostly contained in a MS. of the seventh century in the British Museum. Fragments are found elsewhere in the Vatican, at Berlin, etc. Dr. Baumstark's studies on the life and works of Sergius throw considerable light on many a point left doubtful by his predecessors, such as Renan, Wright and others. The activity of Sergius seems to have been prodigious, for he translated also medical and astronomical treatises (of Galen), and the mystical Hierarchy ascribed to Dionysius Areopagita. All this is carefully investigated in the first part of Dr. Baumstark's book. The second section of that part is devoted to establishing the authenticity of this very Sergius as author of the Syriac version of the "Geoponica." This point was doubted by Wright who, misled by the Arabic text of the translator (Kosta), read "Sergius the Greek" instead of "the work of Sergius *from* the Greek." Dr. B. further proves that the Arabic translation was made directly from this Syriac, and not from a Persian translation, as has hitherto been supposed. In the second part Dr. B. proceeds to examine the Syriac texts in comparison with the Greek, and to ascertain their value for the critical renderings of their originals. The third part is devoted to the Syriac versions (ed. Land and Sachau) of the Maxims of Menander, and to show that two Syriac Florilegia were practically circulating under the name of Menander, and that they represent as old a translation as the middle of the 4th century. Copious notes and references to authorities conclude this valuable contribution to both Greek and Syriac Literature.

31. *Kleine Schriften*, by ALFRED VON GUTSCHMID (II. and III. volumes). Were it not that the separate treatises or articles forming these two splendid volumes are, in the main, reprints of writings which have appeared at diverse intervals, one would be inclined to think that it is unjust to their author to attempt any review of them which falls much short of the size of a volume itself. Nevertheless, even in the case of a review of works appearing for the first time, it would sometimes be safer and more honest were critics to subject themselves to the self-denying task of abstaining from criticism, rather than pretending to criticise upon a hasty or imperfect perusal of the work before them. We, accordingly, prefer not to attempt more, in the few lines placed at our disposal, than to point out in outline some of the advantages offered in the volumes containing "the smaller treatises" written by Alfred von Gutschmid. We should add, that the 2nd volume refers to the History and Literature of the Semitic Peoples and to the Older Church History, while the 3rd volume deals with the History of the Non-Semitic Peoples of Asia. We agree with the editor, Franz Rühl, that such a volume as the 2nd must appeal at the same time to historians and theologians, and it is, indeed, a subject for regret that the articles therein contained should not have had, as separate publications, the wide circulation which they undoubtedly deserved. It is, therefore, to be hoped, in the interests of knowledge generally, that in the form in which they have now appeared, viz. :—collected in volume form, they will have been read and will continue to be read with increasing interest. Two portions of

VOL. II. are entirely new, the article on the Phœnicians, and that on the Patriarchs of Alexandria: the former having, however, appeared in English in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, but in abridged form, the latter having been found in MS. More valuable subjects than these two, than the Apocalypse of Ezra, the Nabatheans, the Names of Kings in the apocryphal histories of the Apostles, one can scarcely imagine. It certainly is a temptation to single out such pages as deal with that interesting ancient people, the Phœnicians. A more thorough knowledge of this nation of old might help us to a clearer understanding of many points in later history, in connexion with the peoples and races with whom they came into contact. In this volume of articles by Gutschmidt we are taught something concerning their origin, their religion, their industries, and inventions, their navigation, commerce, and work of colonisation, to which is added a section on "Fragments of Phœnician History." A splendid piece of work too, is the article on the Patriarchs of Alexandria, extending to the beginning of the 18th century. We must refer our readers to the article itself, if they wish to understand its real importance. Reviews written, say twenty years ago, are rather peculiar reading: for example, one on Martin's "*Josua Stylites*" cannot but conjure up before our mind Wright's more recent "*Joshua the Stylite*." As we remarked above, the 3rd volume refers to the non-Semitic peoples, including the Scythians. Gutschmidt's authority as regards the Iranians is unquestioned, and the same may be said of his knowledge of the history of Eastern Asia. In consequence of current events in the East, the article in the third volume, concerning "the Trustworthiness of the Armenian History of Moses of Khoren" may, perhaps, be read with additional interest at the present moment. On the whole, it was perhaps as well to re-edit the important articles contained in these two volumes and to present them to the world anew in collected form. H. G.

T. FISHER UNWIN, LONDON; 1896.

32. *The Balkans*; by WILLIAM MILLER, M.A.; 1896. The first part on Roumania treats of its origin, and of the difficulties which the Romans under Trajan experienced in subjugating the country. The Roman rule lasted 168 years, and was followed by barbarian invasions, and Gothic supremacy that continued a century. The book then deals with the invasion of Attila, and the devastation of the country by the Lombards and Avars who were crushed by the Emperor Heraclius. The Turkish supremacy in the middle of the 15th century continued until its independence in 1877. The next part is devoted to Bulgaria, whose golden age occurred under Simeon 893-1018, after which it became a dependency of Constantinople. It was then divided by the Greeks into provinces under governors; their tenure of office being short, they robbed the people as much as they could, giving them a foretaste of the coming Turkish rule, but the might of the Bulgarians was broken when the Serbs fell upon them in 1330, a few years later their Czar Sisman III. becoming the vassal of Sultan Murad. Since the middle of the 18th century they have looked to Russia for aid until the result of the Crimean War diminished their hopes. This part finishes with an account of the ferment of the Slavonic elements in 1875



and the final liberation of Bulgaria by the Berlin Treaty. Serbia is next discussed. The author tells us how the Serbs appeared in S.E. Europe in the 6th century and were a kind of aristocratic republic until the accession of Stephen Nemanja. The 14th century saw the Serbs assisting the Greeks in Asia Minor in driving back the Ottomans, the period of their golden age happening under Stephen Dusan 1336-56, but eventually (1459) Serbia was subjugated by Turkey. This part terminates with the story of her struggles for independence, which became a fact in 1867. The fourth and last part deals with Montenegro or the Black Mountain from its beginning as an independent State dating from the fatal battle of Kossovo when it became a refuge to those Serbs who preferred liberty to the Ottoman yoke up to the present time. The book is well illustrated with portraits and maps, and is a valuable handbook of the history of the Balkans.

33. *British India*, by R. W. FRAZER, LL.B., I.C.S., etc. The 42nd volume of "The Story of the Nations" series, gives us "British India," which is prefaced by an early History of Indian Commerce, followed by an account of the establishment of the Honourable East India Company in 1702. The main factors that led to the foundation and expansion of our empire in India are described by the author under three principal heads. The first wave of conquest was under Clive, the next is identified with the Marquess of Wellesley, when British supremacy in India was established, and the Mysore Sultan, the Hyderabad Nizam, the Nawab Vazir of Oudh, with the Maratha chiefs Sindhia, Holkar, Bonsla, Gaekwar, and the Peishwa were forced to bow to his dictates; the last was impelled to do so by Lord Dalhousie. The mutiny, the great famine, and our wars with Afghanistan are then described in this illustrated 8vo. volume of 400 pages, and Indian history is brought up to date by the events in Chitral in 1895. The work holds a distinguished place in a distinguished series.

34. *Tales of Ind and other Poems*, by T. RAMAKRISHNA, with an introduction by the Hon. the Rev. W. Miller. The author of these pleasing tales—all in verse—descriptive of Indian lore and scenery, has already acquired a deserved reputation by his excellent sketch of "Life in an Indian Village." Ramakrishna is a graduate of the Madras University and is to be congratulated on his command of the English language. He now comes before the public as a poet, and with no small success. He had the advantage of the late Lord Tennyson's personal acquaintance, and he, to whom the "Tales of Ind" are dedicated, has described them as "interesting and remarkable."

35. *On the Nile with a Camera*, by ANTHONY WILKIN (8vo., 238 pages, 111 illustrations). This book will be welcome both to those who have visited Egypt and to those who have not; the former will be pleasantly reminded by it of their own experiences; and the latter will find in it neither a guide-book, nor an archæological treatise, but a chronicle combining much of both with an account of a tour as far as Abû Simbel, made under present-day conditions, and evidently in a most enjoyable manner. The 111 illustrations are reproductions of photographs taken by the author, and are mostly views of the temples and other ancient buildings which he

visited, though much of the general scenery is also included; it might, however, have been better had some of them been on a rather larger scale. We regret to find that the author throws such influence as he can into the scale in favour of the scheme for drowning Philæ in a gigantic reservoir. He ought before doing so to have satisfied himself, firstly, that all alternative sites are hopeless; secondly, whether the scheme will be for the benefit of the fellah or for that of a parcel of rascally land speculators, recruited from the scum of the Mediterranean populations, compared with whom the worst of our own money-lenders are public benefactors; and thirdly, whether the stability of Egyptian institutions is ever likely to be such as to guarantee that a huge reservoir would always be kept in sufficient order to avoid a terrible catastrophe. We are pleased to note, however, that, while the author advocates the possible destruction of the temples of Philæ by water, he strongly objects to the damage and devastation committed by tourists, and also to the ridiculous manner in which they too often demoralise the people (and not in Egypt only) by the reckless and indiscriminate scattering of sums of money, small in themselves but large in the aggregate. As he truly says, "If a man can get enough to live on by begging of tourists, he is not likely to trouble himself to improve agriculture, or indeed to do anything at all for the country."

36. T. Fisher Unwin is certainly the prince of those publishers who make the most of little islands of text in seas of margin. Here is a book by OLIVE SCHREINER on *Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland* of 264 thick pages in big type which would seem to go comfortably in some twelve columns of the "Times." For instance, "there is no God, said the Englishman, he turned round on his shoulder, and said no more and afterwards the Colonial went to sleep"; this sentence fills the fourth of a page, but it is the key of the book, for the brutality, the greed and the sensuality of the white man in dealing with the most inoffensive negroes are shown to be so great, so unpunished, and so encouraged by the press and unscrupulous Company-mongers, that "the Englishman" may be forgiven if he is thereby driven to doubt the existence of a Providence that can tolerate all this wrong. It is needless to say that Rhodes and his followers get a severe mauling in this book, which may not be without interest during the present inquiries of the Parliamentary Committee, though it is full of inexpressibly dull, if true, sermonizing.

ROLAND WARD AND CO., LONDON.

37. *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia*, by F. C. SELOUS. Mr. Selous' description of the recent Matabele rebellion and the share he took in suppressing it bears the mark of sincerity and frankness throughout. The frankness is even carried to the verge of brutality—at least many at home will certainly think so—in justifying the acts of reprisal perpetrated by the infuriated colonists. On the other hand there is little attempt at white-washing anybody, and there is a fair-minded and dispassionate endeavour to trace the causes of the insurrection. The mistakes committed by the government of the British South Africa Company in their treatment of the

natives with regard to the cattle and labour questions, are clearly pointed out. According to Mr. Selous this vexatious treatment did not amount to actual oppression but was sufficiently irksome to tempt the Matabele, who had been only surprised and not really crushed by the conquest of 1893, to take the occasion offered by the removal of the police force southwards to take a part in the ill-advised and ill-fated invasion of the Transvaal, to overthrow the white rule. The revolt was accompanied with all those acts of treachery and cruelty to women and children which mark the uprising of a savage race against their lords. There was here no doubt sufficient explanation to account for the revengeful feelings of the white settlers, but has Mr. Selous shown that there was sufficient justification in policy for the merciless nature of some of the campaigning? It may be true that savages want severe lessons, but there seem considerable indications that the colonists were led partly by revenge and partly by sheer panic to acts of impolitic retaliation, which may have precluded all hopes of localising the rebellion to one or two districts. But it is perhaps difficult for us in England to gauge the exact situation. Our author is very bitter against Mr. Labouchere for his reckless criticism of the Rhodesian colonists. His writings certainly have produced considerable irritation among those who have been so recently struggling for their existence. As to the broader question of the relation of European settlers to native races there remains, as Mr. Selous himself recognises, an ultimate divergence of views according to the ideal supposed to be aimed at. If our ideal for a country like South Africa, is that it should be one where the natives shall multiply freely and be peaceful and contented, but remain—for very many generations at least—under the rule of the white, then we must grant the colonist the right to try and attain that result even against the will of the native. If on the other hand it is simply to maintain the present condition of the native intact, and keep out the white man as far as possible, there can be no further argument.

Mr. Selous adds some interesting comment on the relations of Dutch and English in South Africa. Though a friend both of Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson he admits that the fluctuating and strictly localised character of the Uitlander population in the Transvaal makes some of the demands brought forward on their behalf, based on a mere numerical comparison, somewhat unreasonable, and that there is a Boer side to the question; but he does not conceal his conviction that the real cause of the trouble lay in the non-Boer, Hollander clique who have secured the confidence of the Boers for their own ends. These views of Mr. Selous are scattered up and down the pages of his volume, but the greater part of it is of course devoted to a diary of the fights and skirmishes in which the author was engaged—interesting and exciting enough, but calling for no special comment.

L. S. A.

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WATTS AND CO.

38. The Nationalist Press Committee have issued the third volume of F. G. GOULD'S "*Concise history of religion*" containing a history of Christian origins and of Jewish and Christian Literature to the end of the second



century. The author professes to have penetrated the dark chamber of early Christian belief and practice, of contemporaneous Pagans and Jews, and of Gnostic notions by means of chronology and without fear of the Orthodox or favour to the Rationalist. He extends the same literary courtesy to the Epistles of Paul that he does to the visions of Hermas and the meditations of Aurelius, and the book will be found useful to those who have not made up their minds on the contested subjects, as also to those who have no mind to make up.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

It seems a poor return for the compliment paid to us by authors and the liberality of publishers, when we can only give a few words in noticing works that, as a rule, deserve an exhaustive treatment; but the demands on our space are so great, that with the utmost appreciation of labours, especially those within the range of this Review, we cannot, at present, at any rate, do more than introduce the following new publications to the attention of our readers:

*The Fanti Customary Laws*, by JOHN MENSAB SARBAH, who, perhaps first of Mensabs, is a barrister (WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS) introduces us, to what will probably be, the model of Law treatises, not only of the Gold Coast colony, but also of the large territories that are now being added in that part of Africa to the British sphere. Suffice it to say that where customs are not in direct conflict with our ideas of humanity, the Courts administer the existing customary laws in the spirit of modern civilization. The book is full of decided cases and gives deserved credit to "the African nature so great in all noble qualities." Much of what the writer says reminds us of our own procedure in the Panjab Customary Laws.

We have received the I. volume of "*Nippon*" by the pioneer of Japan and its adjoining countries and protectorates, BARON SIEBOLD, published in a magnificent quarto by the filial piety of his worthy sons (LEO WOERL, WÜRZBURG AND LEIPZIG). We there see Japan, as it was, in 1823 and subsequent years and thus can compare it with Japan, as it is, in order to understand both phases more correctly. We see in this work, charmingly printed and illustrated, not only a true picture of the eminent Baron's experiences and views, but also the history of the discovery of Japan and its intimate connections with other civilizations, not excluding that of India, of which, a pictorial title-page, showing the victory of Marisi over barbarisms of every kind, is a striking analogy. We must await the receipt of the second volume, before we can give to this monumental work, the full and careful review, that it so emphatically deserves.

GEORGE REDWAY deserves our thanks for sending us Mr. A. E. WAITE's translation of "*Transcendental Magic, its doctrine and its ritual*," by ELIPHAS LEVI. There is so much to learn in this world and so little time to do it in for each learner, our own efforts in that direction being little better than scratching the huge Himalayas of demonstrable knowledge with a quill, that, with every wish to be sympathetic, or at least tolerant, we have no space or leisure for disquisitions of the unknown. Still, we have no doubt that this book with its "triangle of Solomon," its "tetra-

gram" and "pentagram" will establish a "magical equilibrium" with all kindred minds. Only "initiation" is required in order to understand "the mysteries of the Kabbala." "Necromancy," "transmutations," "bewitchments," etc., follow each other in bewildering sequence. Whoever wants "talismans" should apply here, though "a warning to the imprudent enquirer" is also thoughtfully given.

Two large, but well-got-up and handy, volumes have been published by Messrs. Longmans and Co. on "CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SCIENCE OF MYTHOLOGY," by the *Right Hon. Professor F. Max Müller*, to which, besides reviewing them in our next issue, we shall, no doubt, have occasion to refer at length not once, but a great many times, in pursuance of one of the principal aims of this Review, that of promoting an accurate knowledge of Oriental learning. So far from considering that the school of the great populariser of Philology is dead, or that it has been displaced by recent Ethnological and Anthropological research, we hold that the inspiration which it has given, will, at any rate in the Aryan family of languages, be felt for ever, for Max Müller is a genius as well as a scholar, and his ideas will live, though modified in form, as the kindred sciences of languages, mythology, religion and thought add one conquest to the other to their constantly growing empire.

*Footprints of the Lion and other stories of Travel in Dalmatia, Montenegro, the Mediterranean, India and Siam*, by MAJOR-GENERAL J. BLAKSLEY (W. H. ALLEN AND CO.). This is a somewhat curious combination of places. Just as if one were to say, for instance, "travels in Dalecarlia, Norway, the North Sea, Egypt and Port Said." The general reader, however, will find it a fascinating volume dealing with attractive places, of which it gives nearly 3 dozen beautiful illustrations from photographs.

*Kakemonos Tales of the Far East*, by W. CARLTON DAWE. John Lane (THE BODLEY HEAD, LONDON AND NEW YORK). A collection of nine stories well told and pleasantly written.

*The Edge of the Orient*, by ROBERT HOWARD RUSSELL (KEGAN PAUL TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO.). A well written account of the author's travels from Trieste, through Dalmatia, Montenegro, Constantinople, the Levant and Syria to Assouan in Egypt. The illustrations and maps form a conspicuous and delightful feature of the book.

*Letters from the Soudan, by the Special Correspondent of "the Times."* E. F. KNIGHT (MACMILLAN AND CO.; 1897). Mr. Knight gives us in this book most interesting details of the late Anglo-Egyptian campaign, describing the preparations, the railway construction, the advance, the battle of Ferkeh and the final operations of the troops and gunboats at Dongola.

*Visits to Monasteries of the Levant*, by THE HONBLE. R. CURZON, JUN. (GEORGE NEWNES). This book, originally published in 1848, describes the manners and customs, as they existed in these lands 50 years ago and which the levelling effect of European influence has now partly effaced.

*A Pinchbeck Goddess*, by MRS. FLEMING (Alice M. Kipling) (W. HEINEMANN). One has seen this painted thing in the drawing-rooms of Simla and all that one can say in recommendation of "the Pinchbeck Goddess"

is that this novel fully answers to the title and that its only claim, if that be any, to notice, is that the authoress states that she is the sister of one, who has achieved notoriety; so if he be gold, this is, indeed, pinchbeck.

If the SWAMI VIVEKANANDA on his stay in England and the United States has resisted the temptations to beef, spirits and general good living, as also lionizing, which are so freely offered to Indians in these countries, much to the destruction of their *morale* and *physique*, he is, indeed, entitled to guide us in "*Raja Yoga or conquering the internal nature*" (LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.) and he will preserve an influence for good on his return to India, after the ovations of his reception there will have subsided. The subject, however, of Yoga Philosophy is too wide to be treated in a short notice and we propose to revert to it at length in a future issue, perhaps in connection with this volume, which certainly does credit to the sagacity of its author.

"*The Secret of Mankind*" published by G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS is a production that deserves a special and full notice; although it deals with domains of thought that defy criticism, it is both instructive and suggestive. Its motto is that of Numa Pompilius "Every alteration of a man's life is dangerous to him." Sages and poets of all ages and countries discuss the problems of the present and the hereafter in the enlarged solar Zone into which the anonymous author introduces man after his departure from earth and a brief account is also given of the planet Mercury and of its institutions. "The singular hints gathered in the Elsewheres or Afterlife" are, indeed, "unheard of" in our everyday Philosophy.

*The peace question between the Turks and the Christians*, by DINSHAH ARDESHIR TALÉARKHÂN (BOMBAY GAZETTE PRESS). This is a well-meant appeal, alike to the Powers and to the Sultan, to combine in bringing about peace and co-operation among Christians and Muhammadans. He urges the creation of an Islamic Society in India for this purpose and he would wish a few hundred Indians and Europeans to peregrinate Turkey on the mission of conciliation. A great festival meeting of all the Sovereigns of the world at Constantinople, or "Room," is another feature of the programme.

*A Talk with Mr. Gladstone*, by GENERAL BOOTH has too few references to Asia and the Colonies to justify our giving this curious pamphlet more than a passing reference.

Nor can we find much to interest our readers in T. FISHER UNWIN'S "*His Native Wife*" by LOUIS BECK (of the Caroline Islands), in spite of its title and its admission into the Century Library.

Another booklet by the same publishers is "*The Political Situation*," by O. AND C. S. C. SCHREINER urging the formation of a progressive association in South Africa to protect the native, to tax luxuries rather than necessities and to secure representation to individuals rather than property.

We welcome the able English translation of a book which we have already reviewed when it appeared in its original German. We refer to "*Armenia and Europe—an indictment by Dr. J. Lepsius*." This has been well edited by Mr. J. RENDEL HARRIS and has been published by MESSRS. HODDER AND STOUGHTON, as a very timely contribution to a burning question.



We reserve for review in our next issue :

"*The Sacred Tree or The Tree in Religion and Myth*," by Mrs. J. H. PHILPOT (MACMILLAN AND CO.)—a most suggestive work.

"*Dahomé, Niger, Touareg*," by COMMANDANT TOUTÉE (ARMAND COLIN ET CIE, PARIS)—full of instructive matter.

Parts I. and II. of Vol. IV. of another admirable series, "*The Historical Geography of the British Colonies*," published by the OXFORD CLARENDON PRESS. These parts deal with the Geography and History of South and East Africa and are well edited by C. P. LUCAS.

Two monumental works in "The Sacred Books of the East" series (CLARENDON PRESS) the "*Hymns of the Atharva-veda*" translated by MAURICE BLOOMFIELD (a volume of 716 pages) and "*Vedic Hymns*" (Part II.) translated by H. OLDENBERG containing the hymns to Agni.

An invaluable *magnum opus* of nearly a thousand royal 8vo. pages, magnificently and profusely illustrated on the *Marks and Monograms on European and Oriental Pottery and Porcelain*, by WILLIAM CHAFFERS, a new, eighth, edition, revised and edited by F. LITCHFIELD (GIBBINGS AND CO. FOR REEVES AND TURNER).

The following pamphlets on Oriental subjects, by different Orientalists : *Syrische Wechsellieder von Narses*, by FRANZ FELDMANN ; *Iran im Mittelalter nach den Arabischen Geographen*, by PAUL SCHWARZ ; *Jabalaha III.*, by DR. R. HILGENFELD ; *Über die Köktürkische Inschrift des Kül Tegin-Denkmal*, by W. BANG (OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, LEIPZIG).

*Travels in West Africa*, by MARY H. KINGSLEY (MACMILLAN AND CO., LONDON), record the personal experiences of the adventurous author in the Congo Français, Corisco, and Cameroons and contains a great amount of new information.

We beg to acknowledge also the receipt of : *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* ;—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.) ;—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris) ;—*The Contemporary Review* (London : Isbister and Co.) ;—*Le Polybiblion* (Paris : Rue St. Simon) ;—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris) ;—The American weekly, called *Public Opinion* (Astor Place, New York) ;—*Public Opinion*, (London) ;—*Journal of the Society of Arts*, (London) ;—*Le Mémorial Diplomatique*, (Paris) ;—*The Canadian Gazette*, (London) ;—*The Indian Magazine and Review*, (London : A. Constable and Co.) ;—*Comptes-rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris) ;—*Le Tour du Monde*, (London and Paris : Hachette) ;—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon : The National Press) ;—From Geo. Newnes, London : the three last numbers of *The Strand Magazine* ;—the three last numbers of *The Strand Musical Magazine* ;—Nos. 6, 7 and 8 of *England's History as pictured by famous Painters* ;—*The Navy and Army and Country Life both illustrated* ;—"The Way of the Cross," Part X. The last Quarter's "*SANSKRIT JOURNAL*" of the Oriental University Institute, Woking—full and interesting.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—At the beginning of the quarter the famine was in full sway and appeared to have got in some places beyond control, as the arrangements made were inadequate to cope with it; the Government resources are, however, already taxed to the very utmost. Although the anxiety as to the sufficiency of the food stocks in the country is less than formerly, the number on relief works has been gradually increasing. In none of the rice districts is there any chance of a fresh food supply until September. In many places, such as Jabalpur, where, out of a population of 750,000, no fewer than 120,000 persons are in receipt of relief and this number is sure to be doubled, the Government must support the entire population for at least six months, and a large proportion for eight months. This is expected to be the "Record Famine" of the century, greatly surpassing that of 1876 both in extent and severity. Sir A. S. Lethbridge, a member of the Viceregal Council, Mr. Thorburn, Brigadier Surgeon Roe, Afzal Khan, and other officials, made an inspection of the largest relief works in the Punjab, on the new Jhelam Irrigation canal, where 40,000 coolies were congregated.

In Delhi the distress is much felt by gold and silver wire workers, and embroiderers, for no Hindu marriages now take place and consequently there is no demand for jewellery and wedding garments. Even the descendants of the Delhi Royal family, who are Government pensioners, are unable to meet the high prices, and are receiving private charity in addition. Many other people, too proud to enter the relief works, are great sufferers. At the public kitchen at Delhi 1,000 of the poorest classes are fed daily.

The number of persons employed on relief works and receiving relief is now as follows. Madras 70,136, Bombay 417,206, Bengal 459,694, Panjab 116,700, North West Provinces and Oude 1,551,222, Central Provinces 335,769, Burma 23,924, Berar 18,167, making the total, including Native States, 3,140,000. The immediate outlook is not unfavourable, though the strain on the Relief administration is serious. The attitude of all classes is exemplary, and the people are truly grateful for the relief given.

The appeal made to the British public has been responded to, with the result, that up to now the sum of £455,000, has been contributed. Her Majesty the Queen has given a second contribution of £500.

The annual meeting of the Dufferin fund was presided over by the Viceroy. The report shows that 1,300,000 women have been treated in the already existing, or the new hospitals that have been connected with the fund. The Viceroy expressed his gratitude for the response made from all parts of the world to the appeal for help to the famine-stricken. There had been a temporary decrease of 100,000 persons on relief owing to harvest operations; he trusted that the end of the first stage of the famine had now arrived.

The plague shows little sign of diminution in Bombay, notwithstanding the exodus of over 330,000 of its inhabitants. It also continues to rage in Kurrachee and Poona. Calcutta is free from it. In view of the possibility of the plague reaching the East African coast, the Indian Government has prohibited the emigration of those resident in, or who have passed through Bombay or Sind. The labourers for the Mombasa railway, who were recruited in the Punjab, will be despatched from Calcutta instead of Bombay.

The plague is localized in the Bombay Presidency and Lower Sind; notwithstanding this, a close examination of railway passengers is maintained at all important junctions. It is, however, believed that the disease is beginning to die out.

The Proclamation parade at Calcutta on New Year's day, the 20th anniversary of the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India (*Kaisar-i-Hind*), was one of the largest and most successful ever held; the attendance of spectators was enormous, the march past being a very brilliant spectacle, evoking much enthusiasm.

The 12th Indian National Congress closed its sittings at Calcutta on the 31st December, after passing a series of Resolutions advocating various reforms.

The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Association, which is opposed to the Congress, under the presidency of Nawab Imád-ul-Mulk Moulvi Seyed Hussein Belgrami of Hyderabad, held its 11th congress, and has issued a manifesto discussing the representative system, and contending that, as at present arranged, it gives an undue preponderance to Hindu representatives, and too small a share to the Muhammadans.

A meeting of Muhammadans under the Presidency of Sirdar Muhammad Hyat Khan, C.S.I., was held at Aligarh to discuss the celebration of the 60th year of the reign of Her Majesty the Empress, when it was decided to send a deputation to England to present Her Majesty with a congratulatory address.

A Legislative Council will be established shortly in the Punjab.

The latest returns for the Opium Revenue show it to be some 37 lakhs worse than the estimate. The Indian tea trade has been very prosperous during the past year, the crop having been returned at 148,217,000 lbs. The revised estimates for widening the Dargai-Chakdara road on the Chitral line of communication amounts to Rs. 220,000.

A lakh and a quarter has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State for the extension of the Tirthoot State Railway. The Calcutta Commissioners have sanctioned an expenditure of Rs. 30,000 towards cleaning the town. The amount of remittances by Council bills to the Home Treasury in 1896-97 was: 1st April, 1896, to 16th January, 1897, £12,366,900. Balance to be remitted from 17th January to 31st March, 1897, £4,133,100. Total £16,500,000.

The marriage of H. H. Agha Khan of Bombay with his cousin, took place at Poona on the 20th January; some fifty thousand Khojahs, Moguls, Arabs and others were expected to attend the ceremony, but owing to the prevalence of the plague, and to a recent death in his family,



no very elaborate rejoicings took place, and only about ten thousand of his followers gathered at Poona.

The cold weather rains in Upper India have done a great amount of good, and will lessen the anxiety as to food supplies in the future, but until there is a general fall in prices, the poorer classes of the population will continue to suffer.

At the annual meeting at Calcutta of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Playfair spoke of the enormous increase of Indian trade during Her Majesty's reign, the value of exports and imports in 1837 was 19 crores, it now exceeds 200 crores.

The following financial statement was published in India on March 19th. Accounts closed with a surplus of Rx. 1,534,000. Expenditure on famine relief works 1896-7 is estimated at Rx. 1,966,000. Total loss of revenue directly attributable to famine and scarcity is Rx. 6,081,000. The exchange realized during the year has been 14.46d. In framing the Budget estimate 1897-98 the same rate of exchange has been taken and the estimate works out a deficit of Rx. 2,469,000. The famine relief expenditure provided for is Rx. 3,641,000. Total relief expenditure for both years Rx. 5,607,000, this is independent of Rx. 800,000 advanced to rayats. The railway expenditure in 1896-7 was Rx. 8,758,000, and Rx. 10,130,000 will be spent in 1897-8, besides Rx. 5,754,000 spent, and to be spent, by companies and branch lines. This necessitates a Government loan of four crores in India, and three and a half million sterling in England, besides a million sterling temporary debt. Drawings of the Secretary of State on India will amount to thirteen million sterling. The statement says that the cost of famine being so much greater than the declared deficits, it is hoped that, when the plague and famine have disappeared, financial progress will be resumed.

**BURMA.**—The elevation of Burma to a Local Government under a Lieut.-Governor will take place on May 1st. The present Chief Commissioner, Sir F. W. R. Fryer, K.C.S.I., has been nominated Lieutenant-Governor. The Legislative Council will consist of five official, and four non-official members.

**CEYLON.**—Heavy and destructive rains, in some places as much as 10 inches in two hours, have fallen. The Government Report for 1895 shows for the first time a revenue of over 20 million Rupees, and the trade in the same year amounted to 170 million Rupees. The Governor has appointed a commission for the sanitation of Colombo.

**NATIVE STATES.**—H. H. the Maharaja of *Nepal* had given permission to the Archæological Surveyor of the N. W. Provinces, to visit Nepal, and to explore in the vicinity of Konagamna, Buddha's birthplace. Dr. Führer has now made its actual discovery, although Dr. Waddell appears to have given an indication of the possible site. All students of ancient Indian history should be indebted to the Archæological Survey, the Maharaja, and Dr. Führer, the actual discoverer.

H. H. the Gaekwar of *Baroda* has made a tour of inspection through the northern portions of his territories, in order to acquaint himself with the state of things amongst the cultivators. He is expected to attend the

Jubilee in June, as also, it is said, the Raja of *Kapurthala*. Many chiefs will, naturally, be prevented from coming, owing to famine in their territories requiring their looking after their subjects. The death of the Maharaja of *Tipperah* occurred recently. The popular Thakore Sahib of *Palitana*, Sir Mansingji, K.C.S.I., had a cordial reception on his return home from Rajkot. The Godavery Valley Railway is about to be constructed to Manmar, 387 miles, and will traverse some of the most productive districts of the Nizam of *Hyderabad's* dominions; its estimated capital, two and a half millions sterling, will be wholly raised in England. The Nawab Sarvar Jang, private secretary to the Nizam, has resigned. The Raja of *Faridkot* has raised the pay of his "Imperial Service troops" on account of the prevailing scarcity. The Maharaja of *Darbhunga* has remitted 8 lakhs of revenue, and will spend 8 lakhs on relief works in consequence of the scarcity.

A durbar was held at Sibi, by the agent of the Governor-General which was largely attended by all classes, representatives from the most distant parts of *Beluchistan* being present.

Raja Jung Bahadur Khan, C.I.E., has contributed Rs. 20,000 to the Famine fund. Raja Sir Ramasawmy Mudaliar, the well-known philanthropist, intends commemorating his name in Ooty by erecting a home for all classes of travellers, with separate blocks, under capable supervision.

The Resident in Kashmir has presented Raja Sir Ram Singh, K.C.B., with the insignia of that order, for valuable services rendered to the Empire.

AFGHANISTAN.—The movement of Afghan regiments down the Kunar river some time ago, is said to have been caused by the slight collision which took place between the forces of the Khan of Pashat, and the Khan of Nawagai, and by the fear that the latter chief might assume the offensive, and threaten Afghan communications with Jellalabad. Peace has now been restored between the contending Chiefs by the Political agent at the Malakand. These occurrences, however, made it desirable that the "vexed question" of the Mittai Valley should at once be brought to a satisfactory settlement, of which there is now every prospect, as the Amir, after some hesitation, is now showing himself amenable. There will still be a Delimitation difficulty with the 100 miles from Lundi Kotal to Nawa Kotal, as there is no natural frontier, as also with regard to the division of the Momands, some of whose tribes are dependent on India, and others on Afghanistan, whilst their general Head, the Khan of Lalpura, is an Afghan vassal. Mr. R. Udny C.I.E. has been nominated British Commissioner to demarcate the boundary, and Col. Holdich will probably return to India and accompany the Commission, if his services are again required, as in connection with the Afghan-Kafiristan-Chitral boundary.

The Amir is said to be coining gold coins of the value of fifteen Rupees and storing the money as a reserve for a Jibad or "holy war" purposes. He has published a book, entitled "Takvim-ud-din" or "strengthening of the Faith" which is only issued to his Kázis and Governors of Provinces. A portion of this book, or a separate pamphlet, called "Targhib-ul-Jibad," or "causing desire for a holy war" is also printed at the Kabul Press for, apparently, general circulation among Muhammadans.

Seyed Muhammad Khan of Candahar has been appointed Governor of Jellalabad.

The notorious Is-hak Khan, who had applied to the Amir to be allowed to return to Turkestan, has been refused permission.

The Amir has prohibited corpses being brought from India to Afghanistan for burial as also the entry of sick persons. He has also prohibited the pilgrimage to Mecca till such time as the plague subsides.

By orders of the Amir, all the Kafirs are to be immediately vaccinated, as all those who are deported from their country seem to catch small pox, a disease that, before the invasion, had been practically unknown in Kafiristan, except the border of Chitral.

CHINA.—Li Hung Chang has not yet been restored to any post of influence in spite of, or because of, his royal tour in Europe and the United States. The Commission of Engineers, for the construction of the Manchurian railway, under M. Yugovitch, left St. Petersburg in the middle of March. The actual construction will probably be commenced in 1898, and the line will, if possible, be begun at both ends.

Work has commenced in the Shanghai-Wu-sung railway. Director Sheng's policy is to establish remunerative lines in the provinces of Kiang-si, and Kwang-tung, and to induce native capitalists to subscribe. His resources are sufficient for the work in Kiang-si, but there is no immediate prospect of any progress with the Peking-Han-kau trunk line, where foreign assistance will be necessary. A proclamation by the Viceroy of Ngan-king makes sales of railway land compulsory. The official valuation of the land in question is likely to present obstacles in the interior provinces, where railways will affect "li-kin" interests.

A consulate is about to be established at Warsaw, with the object of promoting trade between Poland and Manchuria.

A party of French engineers are expected shortly at Vladivostock from Australia, to study the auriferous and metalliferous character of the regions through which the Siberian and Manchurian railways will run.

Chang Yin Hoon has been appointed Special Ambassador to convey to the Queen the Emperor of China's congratulations, on the occasion of Her Majesty's "Diamond Jubilee."

A rice famine is apprehended in TONKING on account of the flooding of the Mekong.

JAPAN.—Count Itagaki has been re-elected President of the "Jiyuto." Marquis Yamagata is represented as extremely indignant with the Cabinet for pusillanimous yielding to Russia, and for weakness generally in Korea, notwithstanding the understanding he arrived at in St. Petersburg.

In consequence of the death of the Empress Dowager, the Court went into mourning and a large expenditure was sanctioned in connection with the funeral.

The Government have adopted a gold standard at the ratio of 32 1-3 to 1. The total cost of the war with China was 210,973,669 yen.

PHILIPPINES.—The insurrection still continues; severe fighting has taken place during the last three months, in which the rebels have sustained great losses. The Spanish troops have now captured Salitran, General Zaballa being killed in the assault.



The newly appointed Resident at Bangkok, (SIAM) is Mr. G. Greville.

PERSIA.—The new ministers of state are, Mirza Mohsin Khan, Mushir-ed-dowleh (Foreign Affairs); Ali Kuli Khan, Mukhber-ed-dowleh (Interior); Nusret-ed-dowleh (War); Nizam-ul-mulk (Finance).

Several weeks ago some disturbances occurred at Borasjün, Tabriz, Bushire, Ispahan and Abadeh; much of the rioting is attributed to the discontent and want caused by the introduction of large quantities of copper money and its consequent great depreciation in value, as compared with silver. Things have, however, quieted down again.

An earthquake occurred on the 11th January in the island of Kishm in the Persian Gulf, 2,500 of the population of 5,000 (mostly Arabs) are said to have perished.

Lieut. W. Ware has started from Quetta, with a cavalry escort, accompanied by several traders, to exploit a new route to Persia, along which all taxes have recently been removed.

The Russian Government has sent doctors to Teheran, Bushire, Bander Abbäs, and Kerman to watch for any appearance of plague. Quarantine regulations have been instituted in the Gulf, and a plan for preventing the entry of coasting vessels from the Indian side of Cape Mussendom is about to come into force.

It is said that the Russian Government has lent engineers to the company, which has the concession for making a road from Enzelli on the Caspian to the centre of Persia, and that Russian troops are expected to guard the road.

A Russian consulate has been established at Ispahan. Sheikh Djemäl-ed-din, to whom was imputed the instigation of the murder of the late Shah, died at Constantinople on the 9th March.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—The execution of the Pamir Convention is announced; the principalities of Shignan, Roshan and Wakhan, previously ceded to Russia, have been restored to Bukharä, and Darwáz has been transferred from Bukharan to Afghan rule; two hundred families, not wishing to become Afghan subjects, have emigrated to Bukharä. Work on the railway between Samarkand and Andijan, with a branch line to Tashkent, is in such active progress that the whole of this important section should be open for traffic before the end of this year.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—Sir E. Vincent's report on the Financial position of the Ottoman Empire says that the annual receipts, since 1890, have averaged from £T. 17,600,000, expenditure to £T. 18,600,000, there being a yearly deficit of £T. 1,000,000. Great anarchy prevails in the six north East provinces of Asia Minor and much distress exists among the Armenians in those parts, who have, it is said, even applied to the Kurds for protection.

The Sultan attempted to exile Fuad Pasha, who is highly obnoxious to the Palace Camarilla, by appointing him to the command of the 6th army corps at Bagdad, but he declined the appointment; he was then sent as Wali to Beirut, with orders to leave in 5 days. As to the Hauran Druses, we may refer to an article elsewhere in this issue by an Anatolian Pasha.

EGYPT.—All trade between Suakin and the Sudan is absolutely prohibited, as everything arriving there would be from the stores of the

Khalifa and would provide him with the sinews of war. A wonderful revival of industry and agriculture is noted in the province of Dongola, since its rescue last September. The Khalifa has transported all women, children and valuables from Omdurman to El Obeid, and Omdurman is being strongly fortified.

The Sirdar, Maj.-Genl. Kitchener, has made his annual visit of inspection to Suakin.

Two Englishmen and a Belgian have been selected as additional judges of the Egyptian Native Court of Appeal, which will now consist of 10 Europeans and 10 natives.

Crookshank Pasha succeeds Mr. Lang as British Controller of the Daira Sanieh, the latter having resigned through ill-health. The Budget of "Wakfs," or religious trusts administration, dealing with an income of nearly £250,000, has been published; it shows a surplus of £E32,000.

The "Caisse de la Dette" has granted the Govt. £E250,000 from the General Reserve Fund for drainage works, and £E30,000 for the expenses of a census to be taken this year.

Importation of cattle from Syria is prohibited, owing to the outbreak of rinderpest there.

Sir M. Hicks Beach's statements in the House of Commons on 5 Feby. in regard to the policy of the "prolonged occupation" of the British Govt. in Egypt, have caused the liveliest satisfaction amongst Europeans resident in that country.

The Ministry have prohibited the reporters of 4 Egyptian papers from entering any Ministerial Department, owing to the violent personal and political attacks published by them.

Lord Cromer's annual Report says that the revenue has flourished, being as regards receipts £E433,000 in excess of the estimates, and giving a surplus of £E.316,000; the management of the Domains and the Daira has had the very best results, railway receipts are improving, the sugar industry is rapidly increasing and altogether progress is everywhere evident.

Statistics for 1896 show an important decrease of crime, and another highly satisfactory feature is the harmonious working of the police with the judiciary.

The Governor of ALGERIA has announced that unless the plague in India ceased, he should forbid the pilgrimage this year to Mecca.

Everything in UGANDA continues to progress satisfactorily, the King's attitude being now one of friendliness and loyalty.

The MAURITIUS Government has voted a special grant of Rs 6,000 to Dr. C. Meldrum, C.M.G. as a reward for long and valuable services rendered to the colony. Sir Virgile Naz, K.C.M.G., has been appointed a member of the council.

News from MOZAMBIQUE states that the Portuguese expedition against the Namarallos has been victorious, and has now reached Monte Pao.

MADAGASCAR. — General Gallieni has mastered the insurrection in Imerina; and under his rule, the island is settling down, and a scheme for attracting colonists is being devised. Queen Ranavalona has been exiled

to Reunion, as a result of the hostility of the nobles, who used her name to agitate the population.

**ABYSSINIA.**—The Italian Government has decided to evacuate Abyssinian Erythrea, retaining the port of Massowah, and, indeed, by the "Treaty of peace" a larger territory than was conceded by the agreement of Ucciali that caused the war. A British mission is proceeding to the court of King Menelik, to reopen direct relations between this country and Abyssinia. The party is composed as follows: Mr. Rennell Rodd, C.M.G. Special envoy; Lieut.-Col. Wingate, C.B.; Capt. H. G. C. Swayne, R.E.; Capt. Count Gleichen; Capt. the Honble. Cecil Bingham; Lieut. Lord E. Cecil; Capt. Speedy, interpreter, and Dr. Pinchin, they are the bearers of valuable presents for the King.

**NIGER.**—The last expedition against a great Muhammadan power, is the largest in which the ROYAL NIGER COMPANY has yet been engaged. The reasons for the quarrel with the most powerful chief of the Fulahs were that he held a despotic sway over the pagan tribes of the interior, within the company's sphere of influence, and that he, and the other Fulah Emirs, raided these tribes most unmercifully, in their hunt for slaves, so that it was deemed necessary to give the boldest of them a lesson. The expeditionary force commanded by Major Arnold, and accompanied by Sir George Goldie, also aided by some of the Nupé people, marched against the Fulahs. On Jany. 14th, with the co-operation of the Company's flotilla, it destroyed the stronghold of Shonga. On the 25th Jany. the force arrived at Lokitsha, near BIDA, the Fulah capital, driving in the enemy's advanced posts. The next day a desperate battle was fought, the Fulahs being estimated at 20,000 men, when the enemy was defeated with great loss, and the town taken, we having to deplore only one casualty amongst the whites, that of Lt. Thomson of the Leicestershire Regiment. On the 29th Jany., Sir G. Goldie took up his residence in Bida, and issued a proclamation announcing that all Nupés could have freedom and free farms to the South-West of the Niger. We draw the attention of our readers to what is said about Bida elsewhere in this Review in an article by Dr. Harford-Battersby.

With regard to ILORIN, a small expedition under Major Arnold marched on the town, where they were unexpectedly attacked by an overwhelming number; after a hard fight the enemy was defeated and the town taken. The Emir afterwards with his war chiefs made submission and was reinstated. A treaty was signed giving complete power to the Royal Niger Company over the country and effecting a settlement of the Lagos frontier. Major Arnold and all the special service officers are now on their way to England, and the Hausa troops have returned to their headquarters at Lokoja. A FRENCH EXPEDITION from Dahomey, consisting of 400 men and four officers has descended the river Elo and occupied the town of BUSA.

In another direction a peaceful and unarmed British party, which was proceeding to BENIN has been massacred by the King of Benin's people. It included Acting Consul General Phillips, Major P. W. G. C. Crawford, Deputy Commissioner Capt. A. M. Boisragon, Commandant Niger Protec-



torate Force, Captain Maling, Messrs. R. F. Locke, R. C. Campbell, Powiss and Gordon, and Dr. R. H. Elliott. Capt. Boisragon and Mr. Locke alone escaped both being wounded. Arrangements for a punitive expedition were quickly made, and left Ologbo on the 14 Feby. where a base had been formed. After a running fight in 24 miles of dense bush, it reached Benin, where considerable resistance was encountered; the defenders, however, fled, and steps are being taken to follow them up and capture the King and the "Ju-ju" men, about whom more elsewhere in this issue. In spite of all obstacles, our little force of five hundred odd men has established itself in the town, and has broken up the power of a gang, which had made the place a pandemonium of slaughter.

CAPE COLONY.—The imports for 1896 amounted to £18,771,371, as compared with £19,094,880 in 1895, the decrease is due to the import of nearly five million less specie than in 1896. Exports £16,970,168 against £16,904,756.

The extreme Africander party is in disfavour at the Cape; it is accused of encouraging disloyalty to the Imperial connexion, and Sir J. Sivewright speaking on a public occasion, gave a pointed warning to the neighbouring republics, by saying, that Cape Colony would not tolerate their conduct in sending emissaries to propagate republicanism and instil poison into the minds of the Cape Boers in order to prevent their being loyal subjects of the Queen.

A meeting of the South African league at Port Elizabeth has passed a resolution that the strongest representation be made with regard to the fact that British subjects are suffering under the operation of the Alien and Passport Law of the Transvaal. In compliance with urgent medical advice Sir J. Robinson has resigned the Premiership of Natal.

TRANSCAAL.—President Krüger has expressed his strong disapproval of Mr. Chamberlain's course in mixing up the so-called Uitlanders' grievances with the Chartered Company's invasion of the Republic, which, he said, admits of no whitewashing.

A difficulty has arisen out of the withdrawal of a proclamation, under which a licence was granted to a gold prospector. The action of the Executive in refusing to recognise the claim of the prospector was upheld by the Volksraad, but declared to be unconstitutional by the High Court; this declaration by Chief Justice Kotze alarmed both the President and the Volksraad, who have adopted a resolution insisting that the High Court must abandon its claim to try questions before it in the light of the Constitution. The Law Courts have consequently been indefinitely closed.

In connection with the circumstances leading up to the raid, Mr. Cecil Rhodes and Sir Graham Bower, Imperial Secretary to the High Commissioner, have been under examination in London before the South Africa Committee. President Krüger discussed the question of a closer union between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State at Bloemfontein. Great stagnation of trade exists at Johannesburg, which together with the epidemic of typhoid, causes depression.

CANADA.—In order to encourage emigration to Canada, personal canvassing among tenant farmers is being arranged, and a concentrated effort will

be made to advertise Canada in Europe; the advantages offered to immigrants, and the unlimited opportunities existing for the investment of capital are said not to be excelled by any other part of the world. We take this opportunity of drawing attention to the able papers elsewhere in this issue, by Mr. Cattell Hopkins on "Canada in 1896 and 1897," and "Canada under the Queen."

The United Empire Association has been started in order to advocate the abolition of obnoxious treaty stipulations, and an Imperial tariff for naval defence. Other measures include representation in an Imperial Parliament according to contributed revenue.

A milling firm has contracted to supply six thousand tons of flour monthly for several months to Australia.

At a banquet at Montreal, Lord Aberdeen said that the Government would approach the Washington authorities regarding trade relations, not as suppliants, but as free men to talk business; they would not go there to starve the country to which they belonged.

Six members of the Opposition have been unseated for corrupt practices.

In Nova Scotia an abundant harvest, successful fisheries, continued improvement in the mining industry, etc., shows the general progress and prosperity of that province.

The Ontario Legislature has passed a Bill restricting the immigration of English waifs.

More than \$50,000 have been subscribed to the Indian Famine Fund, and the Ontario Government have promised \$6,000; this example will, doubtless, be followed by other provinces.

The Revenue for the last six months exceeded the estimates by \$800,000. The exports are valued at \$80,098,504 and the imports at \$58,102,407, an increase of nearly seven millions, and one million dollars respectively. The Revenue for the first half of the current fiscal year is \$17,452,647, an increase of \$169,000, and the expenditure \$14,061,406, an increase of \$526,375.

The trade returns for January show a reduction of \$2,250,000 in imports, and \$1,500,000 in exports. Pending the revision of the tariff, merchants are unwilling to import large stocks.

A splendid petroleum well has been struck at St. Paul's Inlet in NEWFOUNDLAND. The Legislature which opened on the 18th March unanimously adopted an address to the Queen.

AUSTRALASIA.—The Australian Federal Council was formally opened at Hobart on January 27th under the presidency of Sir J. Forrest, premier of *West Australia*, and terminated on 4 February, the results proving disappointing. In consequence of differences that arose, several important matters were not decided. The question of continuing the Australian Auxiliary Squadron was dropped, whilst that of reciprocal trade relations among the colonies was shelved, pending the Federal convention. It was resolved that a commission of experts should inquire fully into the Zollverein suggestions, and definite proposals by Mr. Chamberlain were invited.

The trade statistics for Australasia for 1896, omitting Western Australia, the returns for which are incomplete, show imports £56,286,000, and

exports £63,916,000, an increase of £9,471,000, and £1,677,000 respectively.

The Australian gold yield for 1896 was 2,375,948 oz. Sydney banking clearances for 1896 exceed those of 1895 by £7,000,000. The following are the Revenue returns for 1896: *Victoria*, £6,579,969, being a decrease of £26,631; *West Australia* £2,440,390, against £1,438,707 in 1895; *New South Wales*, for the quarter £2,332,215, a decrease of £111,804; for the half year £4,613,646, a decrease of £218,074.

The remission of Customs duties caused a loss of £444,911. *Tasmania*, £807,696, an increase of £45,752. *New Zealand*, £4,662,000 against £4,311,000 in 1895. Imports £7,034,000 against £6,115,000 in 1895 exclusive of specie. Exports of £9,297,000 against £8,518,000 in 1895 exclusive of specie.

The gold received at the Sydney mint amounted to 712,809 oz. valued at £2,610,459, *New South Wales* sent 203,336 oz. and *Queensland* 467,884 oz. The receipts of gold at the Melbourne mint were 1,186,851 oz. The gold exports from *Western Australia* for 1896 amounted to 281,263 oz., valued at £1,068,805.

The banking returns for the seven colonies for the December quarter show deposits £100,038,000, advances £114,693,000, and coin £26,934,000.

A short strike of marine engineers occurred at Melbourne. France has asked *New South Wales* to postpone the proposed Exhibition in 1889 beyond the year 1900, at the same time promising her assistance. Mr. Reid, the Premier, is inclined to agree. A cyclone destroyed the town of Nevertire. The movement in the direction of Australian Federation has resulted that delegates were elected to attend a National Federal Convention, which met at Adelaide, on March 22nd. The colonies of *South Australia*, *West Australia* and *Tasmania* are solid for State rights, but in the larger colonies the Radical press bitterly oppose them. Equal representation in the Senate will probably be conceded. The ultimate fate of Federation depends upon the settlement of the financial powers of the Senate.

The premiers of Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, and West Australia have accepted the invitation to attend the celebration of the Queen's long reign, those of South Australia and New Zealand are also expected to accept.

OBITUARY.—The deaths have been recorded, during this quarter, of:—Major-General H. T. Richmond (China, Panjab, Kohat);—Lt.-Col. John Thomas Carruthers (Abyssinia, Afghanistan);—Col. R. B. Gardner, R.M.A. (Maori war);—Lt.-Col. Francis Grant Maltby, I.S.C. (Afghanistan and Burma);—Rear-Admiral H. M'Clintock Alexander (Burma and New Zealand);—Sir Francis Boileau Davis (a recognised authority on China);—Surgeon Lt.-Col. Francis Cobham Nicholson, M.D. Indian Medical Service;—The Russian General Sheremetieff;—Capt. R. Stokes, R.N. (China and Russia);—Admiral Sir A. Milne, G.C.B. (West Indies);—Major-Genl. J. D. Mein, R.A. (Burma and Mutiny);—Col. C. H. Ewart, I.S.C.;—The Comte de Mas-Latrie;—M. Vivien de St. Martin (French Geographer);—Mr. G. H.



Ellis, Madras Civil Service ;—Mr. B. O. Wallis (Victorian colonist) ;—Surgeon Lt.-Col. A. Macgregor, Indian Medical Service ;—Mr. L. A. Campbell, Consul-General for San Salvador ;—Mr. A. C. Duff, I.C.S. ;—Mr. F. Farrell, a well-known Victorian architect ;—Surgeon-Genl. Manifold (Crimea and India) ;—Sir J. Hickson of Montreal ;—Mr. J. P. Gawan, a N.S.W. colonist ;—Surgeon-Major Mauser, Indian Medical Service ;—Prince Muhammad Farrukh Shah, head of the Mysore family ;—Major-Genl. G. A. Williams (Mutiny, Burma and Afghanistan) ;—Major-Genl. J. I. Gibbs (Sutlej, Mutiny) ;—The Dowager Empress Asako of Japan ;—Mr. R. V. Doyne, barrister for Indian cases ;—Johann A. Streng, a celebrated mineralogist ;—Mr. J. T. Wheeler, the Indian historian ;—Capt. W. W. Vine, R.N. (West Africa, Russia and China) ;—Sir Travers Twiss, the great jurist ;—Lieut.-Col. H. S. S. Burney (Burma) ;—Rr.-Admiral A. E. Dupuis (Russia, China and Suakin) ;—Mr. A. Forster, of Adelaide ;—Mr. F. J. Mouat, M.D., F.R.C.S., LL.D. (India) ;—Lt.-Col. M. B. W. Taylor (Ashanti and Burma) ;—General E. W. Donovan (Crimea) ; Mr. S. E. J. Clark, secy. Calcutta Chamber of Commerce ;—The Honble. Sir St. George Foley, K.C.B. (Crimea and China) ;—Mr. F. Pinfield, of Assam ;—Sirdar Tharindal Khan, Afghan governor of Khost ;—Kazi Mulla Khan of Kabul ;—Nawab Muhammad Khan, chief of the Leghari tribe ;—Rao Bahadur Ramchundra Rajaram Mule, administrator of the Jath State ;—Mr. J. D. Maclean, I.C.S. ;—Mr. A. J. Wells, of Rangoon ;—Lieut. H. Lucas, I.S.C. ;—General A. B. Little (Mutiny and Abyssinia) ;—M. Rousseau, Govr. Genl. of Indo-China ;—Mr. Horatio Hale, the Nestor of Ethnologists ;—The Earl of Kinnoull ;—The Nawab Nasir Ali Khan, Kizilbash ;—Col. W. G. Waterfield, C.S.I., of Panjab and Afghan celebrity ;—The Raja Saheb of Akalkot ;—Mr. W. C. Tarleton, late Bombay army ;—Surg.-Gl. T. Hastings, I.M.S. ;—Mr. S. N. Ward, Madras C. S. ;—Capt. T. W. J. M. Georges, I.S.C. ;—Mr. J. R. K. Sutherland, J.P., of Calcutta ;—Genl. H. B. Turner, R.E. ;—Lt.-Col. G. R. Gibbs, I.S.C. ;—Sheth Duwarkabhai, head of the Hindoo Mahajans ;—Dr. C. J. Foster, LL.D., of the New Zealand bar ;—The Venerable C. H. Leigh Lye, formerly Archdeacon of Bombay ;—Mr. J. J. Quin, late consul Japan ;—Mr. J. P. Fitzmaurice, Indian Judge ;—Sir W. O. Lennox, V.C., K.C.B. (Crimea, Mutiny) ;—H. H. the Maharani of Patiala ;—Major C. E. Poynder, I.S.C. ;—Col. C. Ball-Acton, C.B. (Burmese and Afghan war) ;—Lieut. A. C. Thomson (Royal Niger Co.'s Service) ;—The Sirdar Ahmad Khan, son of the famous Dost Muhammad Khan ;—Sir John Thurston, Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner for the Western Pacific ;—Mr. G. E. Watson, B.C.S. ;—Maj.-General J. Lampen, M.S.C. ;—Maj.-General H. McDonell de Wend Douglas, B.S.C. ;—Mr. H. A. D. Phillips, B.C.S. ;—Col. H. M. T. Wood, Indian Judge ;—Sirdar Shir Ali, ex Wali of Candahar ;—Lieut. and Commander H. Hammersley St. George (Sudan) ;—Commander G. Y. R. Rattray, R.N. (Arctic Search expedition and Russian war) ;—Sewa Hadji, a well-known Indian wholesale merchant of East Africa ;—Lieut. E. S. H. Cator, R.E. (Egypt) ;—Naval Surgeon C. J. Fyfe, M.B. (at Benin) ;—Surg.-Lt.-Col. W. A. D. Fasken ;—Capt. J. P. Hill, B.L. ;—Major J. G. Stephen, M.A. ;—Ras Alula, the powerful Abyssinian chief ;—Major E. Knightley, who rose from the

ranks (Crimea and Mutiny);—The Honble. Martin Lister, late a British resident Malay States;—Lieut. H. C. Chaworth Musters, special service in Nupé;—Capt. G. T. Byrne, R.M.L.I.;—The Dewan Rai Jay Prokash, of Dumraon;—Depy. Surgeon-Genl. J. C. H. Wright, A.M.S. (Crimea and Abyssinia);—Surgeon R. Way, R.N. (Benin);—Mr. J. D. S. Fitzmaurice, Indian Judge;—Lt.-Col. E. Spry, R.M. (Crimea);—The Rev. W. A. Scott-Robertson, a well-known antiquary;—Lt.-General A. W. Montagu, B.S.C. (Burma and Nepal);—Mr. J. B. van Blokland, Minister Plenipotentiary from the South African Republic to the Netherlands;—Lt.-Col. A. H. Campbell, B.S.C. (Crimea, Mutiny and Oudh);—Col. J. Brasyer, C.B., late of Brasyer's Sikhs (Afghan, Sikh, and Mutiny campaigns);—Col. Sir C. C. Goring (India and Abyssinia);—Lieut.-Col. C. E. B. Leacock, R.A. (Abyssinia);—Mr. Antoine Thomson d'Abbadie, the well-known Orientalist;—Dr. de Bossy, M.D.;—General Sir W. P. Radcliffe, K.C.B. (Crimea and Mutiny).

23 March, 1897.







W. J. W.

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